CICERO

EN ORATIONS AND

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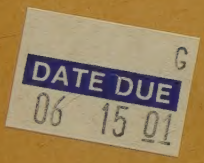

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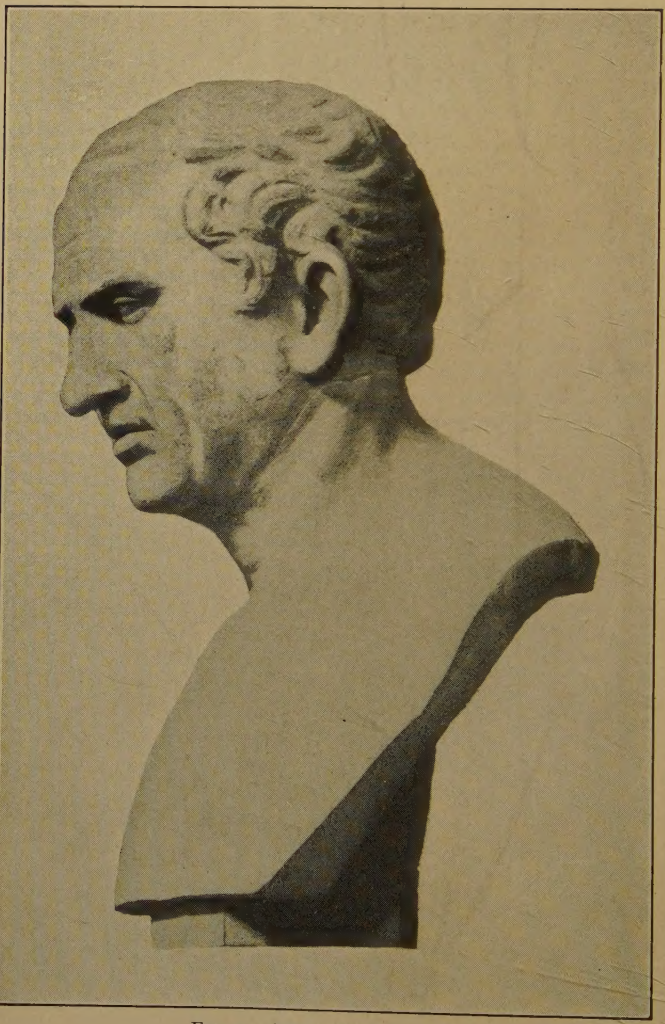

FIG. 1. The Vatican Cicero.

cop. 1

CICERO

TEN ORATIONS AND SELECTED LETTERS

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PREFACE

For the last forty years there has been a growing tendency to load the text-book of a Latin author with matter about the author and his times. The numerous American and foreign editions of selections from Cicero's orations have undoubtedly been very useful and have reflected much credit upon the diligence and scholarship of the editors; but they have all fallen short of the ideal text-book as a means for the preparation of assigned lessons. Some of them, furnishing an abundance of bibliographical and other material for the teacher's use, have been admirable from the teacher's standpoint and should be in every Latin teacher's library. Others have had excellent pictorial illustrations but such meager commentary as to leave the student unpiloted amid the rich flow of Cicero's eloquence. To let the author, after a complete but moderate introduction, interpret himself through suggestions of his real meaning, given in adequate English, has seemed to the editors of this edition the proper principle upon which to make the text-book of a Latin author for American schools. Cicero the man, and not Cicero the historical figure surrounded by people with little or no interest for us, has been our chief concern.

The aim in making this edition has been helpfulness toward an appreciation of Cicero and of such of his literary work as we have been able to include in this school text-book. Too great a display of borrowed or original erudition will, we hope, not be found anywhere between its covers.

The smoothing out of difficulties which the pupil may reasonably be expected to conquer by himself has been avoided, but such help as seemed to be required by the ordinary student has been freely given. In the few cases where the reading presents genuine difficulty, a plausible solution is given without comment. We believe that it is simpler and in the long run more effective to be able to say to pupils, "Study the whole book."

1196

The text of an edition of a Latin author is necessarily its most important feature. We have used the admirable text of Mr. Albert S. Clark, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Our thanks are due to Mr. Clark and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for permission to publish in this country Mr. Clark's text of all the orations in this volume except the *Archias*. In the case of the *Archias*, Mr. Clark generously furnished us with his text, that has lately appeared in a volume of the Oxford Classical Texts. It is needless to state that Mr. Clark's text represents the most advanced criticism and the latest application of conservative common sense to the making of a text of Cicero.

We have also to thank the Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to publish a photograph of the Head of a Roman in that Museum, and Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons for allowing us to use the Map of the Roman Empire.

In the matter of hidden quantities, we follow the marking in the *Revised Edition* of Lane's *Latin Grammar* and Bennett's *Latin Language* (Revision of his *Appendix*).

The illustrations have been carefully selected to picture the environment of the orator as it was in the *republican*, and not as it was in the *imperial*, period. The source of each illustration is indicated with exactness in the list.

The Vocabulary at the end of this volume has been compiled especially for this book from the Lexicons of Merguet.

A word should be added regarding the inclusion of the *Murena* in this edition. American school editions seem generally to have omitted this oration, yet it exhibits the powers of the author to a generous degree. The *Milo* and the *Murena* will together afford ample material for rapid reading, and will also be welcomed by those teachers who prefer to vary the reading of their classes from year to year.

If we have to some degree made it a more satisfactory task to introduce the adolescent mind to the polished diction and the fervid oratory of Cicero, we feel justified in presenting this volume to the kindly criticism of our colleagues. We hope that the general character of the work will show that any errors it may contain have not resulted from lack of care.

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INTRODUCTION

SKETCH OF CICERO'S LIFE

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, of equestrian rank, was born at Arpinum, a town of Latium on the border of Campania, January 3, in the year 106 B.C.[1] His early life was spent in the neighborhood of his native place and in Rome. In Rome one of his teachers is said to have been the poet Archias. Forty years later Cicero defended Archias in a splendid oration, which is included in this edition. Through the influence of such associates as Archias, Cicero became an omnivorous reader, and the habit remained with him throughout his life. He tells us, in a book about orators, that a man who wishes to become an orator cannot study too much nor make his range of culture too wide.

The Social War, caused by the discontent of the Italian allies of Rome, who had not the full right of citizenship, broke out when Cicero was about seventeen years of age. In this war he gained his first experience as a soldier.

The young Cicero lost no opportunity, while in the city, to hear speeches from the rostrum, "and every day wrote and read and took notes." The Rhodian rhetorician Molo, who was visiting Rome, gave him lessons in the art of oratory. He was trained in philosophy by the Athenian refugee Philo, and afterwards by the Stoic Diodotus. A practical knowledge of the law came to him from listening to the discourses and pithy sayings of the greatest lawyers of his time, Scaevola the augur and Scaevola's cousin of the same name, the pontifex maximus. Thus the young man became thoroughly equipped for the duties of an advocate and of a citizen.

[1] All dates in this volume denote years before Christ unless otherwise designated.

In the year 88 the Civil War began between Sulla and the followers of Marius. The cruel conflict ended in 81, after frightful massacres had thinned the numbers of distinguished Romans. The period is eventful in the life of Cicero, because he now entered the courts of law. Although he was but twenty-five years of age, he boldly matched himself with Hortensius, whom the proscription had left without a rival at the bar. His defense of Quinctius and the plea for Roscius, charged with parricide, immediately placed the young advocate in the front rank of Roman orators.

Physical weakness and overexertion of the lungs threatened to force Cicero to renounce his hopes of winning renown in oratory. Two years of successful practice had given him a reputation when, by the advice of his physicians, he left Rome in 79 and journeyed to Greece and Asia Minor. Molo, his former instructor in Rome, welcomed him in Rhodes and gave him further practical training in oratory. After two years he returned to Rome improved in health and, a matter of nearly as great importance, now able to manage his voice so as to avoid straining his vocal organs.

Soon after his return from the East, Cicero married a lady of good birth named Terentia, with whom he seems not to have lived happily. Their children were a daughter, Tullia, and a son, Marcus, who became distinguished and was consul in 30.

Cicero was elected quaestor in 76. This would insure him a place in the senate for life and entitle him to draw lots for a province. In 75 he accordingly went to western Sicily. Here he administered his duties with scrupulous honesty. On his return to Rome in 74 he found that he had fallen out of public notice, but it did not take him long to make himself prominent again in the arena of politics.

In 69 Cicero held the office of aedile. The chief value of this office was that it formed a step toward the consulship. Cicero had not the means for lavish expenditures upon public games, as was the custom of rich men who held the office, but he was shrewd enough to satisfy the people without ruining himself.

When Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, whom we call Pompey, came back to Rome in 71, he took sides with the democrats against the nobles. Cicero went with his order, the equestrian, and accepted Pompey for his political leader. The speeches against Verres rendered great service to the democratic party. Verres had been praetor in Sicily, and was impeached for plunder and oppression. He was a favorite of the nobles, and his order sought to shield him from the just punishment of his crimes.

The death of the orator Cotta, and the inactivity of Hortensius, now made Cicero the foremost advocate in Rome. The power of his oratory is attested by Quintilian, who says of him, "I fancy that those who heard him were transported and cheered because they must be, and not because they chose to be; like men beside themselves, who lost consciousness of where they stood, they burst forth into expressions of delight."

In 66 Cicero was praetor and was henceforth eligible to the consulship. This year is also noteworthy as marking the first appearance in history of Lucius Sergius Catilina, now commonly called Catiline, who was suspected, perhaps in this case unjustly, of conspiring with Crassus and Caesar. Catiline and Antonius, both disappointed candidates for the consulship, plotted to murder Cotta and Torquatus, the consuls, on the day of inauguration. There was some plan to change the constitution and abolish debts. The plot was discovered, but was tried again, only to fail through the premature giving of the signal by Catiline himself. The matter was passed over.

Cicero's most trusted friend was Titus Pomponius Atticus. Their friendship began when they were fellow-students in their youth, and lasted until Cicero's death. Cicero's impulsive nature found counsel and repose in the easy-tempered, stable nature of Atticus. He wrote to Atticus and received many letters from him, which, with letters to others (the *Ad Familiares*), form an important source of information concerning the time covered by this intimate and delightful correspondence. The series of Cicero's letters begins in 68. Atticus guarded the credit of his friend, who

may have been careless in money matters, and remained to the end Cicero's financial adviser. He also, being perhaps a regular publisher, gave Cicero the use of his skillful slaves for copying manuscript. In the work of revision Cicero had the assistance of the cultured literary criticism of Atticus and others.

In 66 Cicero delivered the great oration for the Manilian law, which gave Pompey the command against Mithridates. The oration is a remarkably skillful speech in which, while heaping encomiums upon Pompey, Cicero wisely praises Lucullus, who had been recalled from the last war under the impression that the victory had been won. The nobles naturally opposed the granting of fresh powers to Pompey. Hortensius was the orator for the opposition.

As an aspirant to the consulship, Cicero entered into the tumult of politics. Although there were political parties in Rome, the powers of a magistrate were so limited that these parties did not, as in our politics, chiefly expend their strength to elect some important member to high office. The advancement to the consulship was the reward of a man who, after passing through the preliminary offices, had been marked for this greatest political distinction by his wealth or by popularity among the electors. We must be careful not to confuse the officeholder of our day and country with the Roman magistrate, who had no extensive patronage with which to reward his supporters. The main exertion of the candidate was to keep himself before the people and to gain their favorable opinion. Thus, in the office of aedile an ambitious politician found an opportunity, by lavish expenditures on games and festivals, to curry favor with the people. In Cicero's case it was chiefly his prominence at the bar that won him the consulship. Otherwise the fact that he did not belong to any of the Roman families that for centuries had held office, might have defeated him. Catiline and Antonius were the most prominent candidates from such families in 64. Cicero and Antonius were elected consuls for the next year.

Elections in Rome were held at the dates set by the senate,

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Others to be announced later.

usually in July. The *ambitus*, or canvass for votes, began when the candidate announced himself such, seventeen days before the election. Clothed in the *toga candida*, the plain white garment that symbolized the candidate and gives us this English word, Cicero went about addressing the people, and by the persuasive power of his oratory won his election.

When he came into office, on January 1, 63, he found that Catiline, the defeated candidate for the consulship, had already begun his plots. This able but depraved man was a member of a patrician family, had risen through the various offices, and had been propraetor in Africa. After his command abroad had terminated, he was accused of extortion, but was acquitted. Profuse expenditure having plunged him overwhelmingly in debt, he joined with himself other nobles who, though desperately in debt, could still command the services of retainers. Together they formed an association for common ends, including the overthrow of the government.

Catiline's plans leaked out. A woman, with whom an associate of Catiline was in love, gave information of the plot. Cicero, in possession of evidence against Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, assembled the senate and publicly challenged him to deny his plans. At first the senate was lukewarm in the matter and allowed Catiline to leave the senate house free and defiant. With fresh information at hand Cicero again convened the senate and presented the facts concerning the movements of Manlius, commander of Catiline's forces in Faesulae. Cicero's words produced some effect; Antonius and Metellus Celer were directed to take the field against Manlius.

At a meeting of the conspirators it was decided that Catiline should join Manlius and take command of the rebel army, but that Cicero should first be assassinated. The spies of Cicero gave him immediate information of the intended moves; and the attempted murder was easily prevented.

Cicero's opportunity now had come. He wished to drive Catiline into open rebellion, that all might perforce believe in the

seriousness of the plot. Lest Catiline should seem to have deceived him, and should make his escape in defiance of Cicero's guards, the consul called the senate together and attacked the chief conspirator in the powerful First Speech against Catiline. Catiline immediately left the city.[1]

On the next day (November 9) Cicero spoke to the assembled citizens, announcing Catiline's departure and exulting in the fact that it was now open war against a declared enemy. There was then a pause in operations, caused by Catiline's absence and the preparations for the final contest. At this time Cicero delivered a speech for the *consul designatus*, Murena, who was charged with bribery.

On December 3, Cicero, having gathered evidence against the conspirators, Lentulus, Gabinius, Statilius, and others, recounted to the people the results of his efforts. A mad attempt to incite the Allobroges to revolt, through tampering with the ambassadors of that tribe, gave Cicero material for a dramatic recital that holds our interest to-day as it did that of a Roman audience long ago.

After another day had passed, Cicero assembled the senate in the Temple of Concord and presented the case (*rem ad senatum detulit*). The question was, what was to be done with the conspirators, who had been placed under arrest. A great debate followed, in which Cato and Caesar took a prominent part. Silanus, the consul-elect and therefore entitled to give his opinion first, declared for the death of the conspirators; but when Caesar's turn came, he pointed out the risk incurred by putting citizens to death without trial and the opportunity to appeal to the people. Cato, in his turn, argued for the death penalty because of the great danger threatening the state. Cato's eloquence turned the scale in favor of the condemnation of the conspirators to death. Cicero had Lentulus and his companions strangled in the Tullianum, an ancient dungeon, still to be seen, in which prisoners who were to be put to death were imprisoned. There has been great difference of opinion on the part of the historians

[1] Details and dates will be found in the introduction to the Catilinarian Orations.

concerning the legality of this execution. The consequences to Cicero himself were severe.

On December 31, 63, Cicero retired from the consulship. Metellus, a lieutenant of Pompey, had returned, and had been elected to the tribunate. Acting under an understanding with his chief, Metellus began to agitate the recall of Pompey from the East to preserve order in the city. Cicero, who, fearing the overthrow of the republic as the result, did not advocate this scheme, was regarded by Pompey as barring the way to his return, and a coldness grew between the two great men. The patriotic ideal of Cicero was to bring about harmony between the orders. He was not prepared to welcome another Sulla, even with the assurance that the new Sulla would not shed blood. His hope was that Pompey would return, not as perpetual dictator supported by the military arm, but as a second Scipio. He desired Pompey to separate himself from the army and become simply the most important civilian.

The failure of this cherished plan to save the republic is the remainder of his political history. The great state, it was soon perceived, could be preserved only by the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a one-man form of government. Caesar and Pompey each determined to be the head of the Roman Empire. The senate was too weak to deal with the affairs of a great state, with boundaries far afield. That the political ingenuity of the Romans failed for the time to invent fresh machinery short of despotism is perhaps due to the terrible rivalry of Pompey and Caesar.

The acquittal of Clodius in 61, upon the charge of sacrilege, of which he was manifestly guilty, caused Cicero to waver in his hopes of preserving the republic. The democratic party was responsible for this miscarriage of justice. Pompey became disgusted with so corrupt a party, and began to incline toward the constitutional party, of which Cicero was the exponent. Cicero devoted all his powers to the support of Pompey, and favored in Pompey's interest a law that would reward his disbanded

soldiers. If passed, this law would have removed an important element of unrest, but it failed of passage. Between the knights and the senate quarrels now arose, in which impending perils were obscured. Cicero's ideal harmony ended in hopeless discord. Matters remained for a time at a standstill in politics. Cicero turned from his fruitless efforts to establish Pompey as the defender of the republic to the pursuit of the law.

Two speeches of Cicero, delivered in 62, have come down to us in their literary form. Servius Sulla was accused of having had a share in Catiline's conspiracy. It was not difficult for Cicero, with his full knowledge of the conspiracy, to refute the charge. The other speech was in support of the claims of Archias to citizenship and has already been mentioned. No more splendid praise of literature than Cicero's *Pro Archia Poeta* is to be found in Latin or in any other tongue.

In June, 60, Caesar returned from Spain, out of debt and with an excellent reputation as a provincial governor. His intention now was to associate himself with the leaders of the state, Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero. However, when a coalition was formed, Cicero was not a member, and was left without any direct share in the changes effected by the famous first triumvirate.

Meanwhile Caesar, in 59, became consul and determined to obtain command in Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum. Cicero incurred Caesar's displeasure by refusing to serve on a committee to carry out the provisions of a law dividing parts of Campania among impoverished citizens of Rome. Clodius, having had himself adopted into a plebeian family to make himself eligible, was elected tribune, and soon took advantage of the strained relations between Caesar and Cicero. The new consuls, Gabinius and Piso, who entered office January 1, 58, did not interfere with the plans of Clodius to secure revenge for Cicero's evidence against him, given at his trial. A bill was brought in providing that any magistrate who had put citizens to death without trial should be outlawed. Clodius occupied the streets with gangs of ruffians and practically took possession of the city. The triumvirs maintained

what they called neutrality, but in reality they supported Clodius. The bill was passed, and, Cicero having left Rome, another measure was passed declaring that Cicero had been outlawed, confiscating his goods, and ordering his house razed to the ground. Cicero fled and Clodius, with his followers, took it into their own hands to destroy Cicero's house and appropriate his other possessions.

Cicero remained in exile in southern Italy, in Epirus, and in Thessalonica, a city of Macedonia, from 58 until the autumn of 57. By decree of the senate, ratified by the people, he was then restored to all his rights. His return was a triumphal progress. Even those whose hostility to him was notorious joined in the welcome. Cicero told his friend Atticus that he felt as if he were beginning a new life. He did not realize, apparently, that the old Roman constitution was virtually already a thing of the past, and that it was beyond his power to revive it.

Cicero's influence, after his return from exile, was of importance in political affairs, and to some extent he became an active participant. He moved that Pompey be given proconsular power for five years and control of the corn supply. This gave offense to the nobles and afforded Clodius, Cicero's old enemy, an opportunity to attack him. Clodius opposed the restoration of Cicero's house, and Cicero pleaded the case before the pontiffs in an oration *Pro Domo*. Pompey was not satisfied with what he was to receive, and had a counter proposal made to give him greater power in every province than the governor of the province. Cicero was thus again in difficulties, but still believed Pompey to be the sole hope of the state. While the nobles allowed Clodius full scope to injure Cicero, Milo, the inveterate foe of Clodius, fought the ruffian with his own weapons — riot and ruffianism. The city was kept in perpetual turmoil.

At this time (the spring of 56) Cicero in a fine speech successfully defended Sestius, who had been accused of riot by Clodius. A speech against Vatinius, one of the hostile witnesses of this trial, is full of vulgar abuse and not, according to modern

ideas, worthy of the great orator. In the same year he defended Marcus Caelius Rufus, one of the younger men of the hour, who had been charged with poisoning Clodia, the sister of Clodius.

Cicero's main effort now (56) was to strengthen Pompey and weaken Caesar. One of Caesar's laws was attacked, and an alliance of Pompey and Cicero against Caesar seemed possible. Caesar cleverly prevented this by making overtures to Pompey, whom, in April, 56, he invited, along with Crassus, to a conference at Lucca, the southernmost point of his dominion. The famous division of the Roman world that followed secured a separate field for each triumvir. Pompey was to remain in Rome, controlling Cicero and defending the acts of Caesar's consulship. Cicero had no choice but to submit, however humiliating submission might be. In fact he became in the senate a half-hearted supporter of Caesar; but, as his letters prove, in thus yielding to stern necessity, he did not escape self-reproach. It must have been bitter for him to be forced to a reconciliation with Crassus and even with Appius, the brother and abettor of Clodius.

Devoid now of political power, Cicero still continued to be in urgent request for every important law case. His speech for Plancius, brought to trial upon the charge of procuring his election by improper means, secured an acquittal. Vatinius, whom he had before virulently attacked, and Gabinius, who had been his enemy, were now defended by him in law suits; Gabinius, tried before the stern Cato, was not acquitted.

Not to be outdone in this era of reconciliation, Caesar loaned Cicero money and intrusted to him large sums for the adornment of the city. The fact that Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator, was one of Caesar's lieutenants undoubtedly influenced both Cicero and Caesar. For a time Cicero was completely won by Caesar's personal charm, but the destruction of his old ideals was none the less a keen disappointment. He said, "There is no republic left which can give me any pleasure, or on which my eyes can rest with satisfaction." In this enforced retirement from political life, he turned for solace to literary work, and produced

LATIUM
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
L.L.POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
ROMA
Ostia
Portus Augusti
Tiburis
Praeneste
Tusculum
Gabii
Aricia
Velitrae
Antium
Astura
Laurentum
Lavinium
Ardea
Tarracina
(Anxur)
Prom. Circaeum
Circei
Caieta
Formiae
Minturnae
Fundi
Anagnia
Frusino
Fregellae
Arpinum
Sora
Lacus
Fucinus
Alba Fucens
Corfinium
Caere
Veii
Alsium
Fregenae
Forum Appii
Satricum
Norba
Signia
Sublaqueum
Carseoli
Teanum
Sidicinum
Casilinum
Sinuessa
(Vescia)
Liris
Via Appia
Via Latina
ETRURIA
HERNICI
MARE TYRRHENUM
CAMPANIA

his *De Oratore*, an essay still extant in the form of a dialogue between orators of the preceding generation, and his treatises *De Republica* and *De Legibus*. About one third of the former and one half of the latter remain to us.

In 53 Crassus and his army suffered a reverse in Mesopotamia. Caesar's power continued to grow, and Pompey, becoming alarmed, drew off toward the nobles. Milo and Clodius renewed their brawls, with the result that in 52 Clodius was killed in the Appian Way. Cicero defended Milo, but was powerless to prevent disorder in the city. Pompey seemed the only man capable of restoring quiet. At this juncture the senate decreed that Pompey, with others named, "should see to it that the state suffer no harm." This decree permitted the exercise of the military *imperium* within the city walls, and practically made dictators of those thus invested with extraordinary power. In effect, Pompey became dictator. Milo was arraigned, and in spite of Cicero's defense of him, was exiled. Cicero was successful in defending Saufeius, a comrade of Milo, and in prosecuting Munatius Bursa, concerned in the riot that followed the death of Clodius.

Cicero set out for Cilicia, of which province he was made governor in the spring of 51. He had previously been elected to the college of augurs. Personal success was to some degree a compensation for political failure. Only one trouble clouded his private life at this time; his financial affairs fell into such disorder that rigid economy and the aid of Atticus were necessary to retrieve matters without borrowing from Caesar.

Cicero regarded his governorship of Cilicia as a species of exile. To be kept from his beloved city in a critical time was a severe trial to him. Still, longing for home did not interfere with the faithful administering of the affairs of his province. He even introduced reforms which, if carried out by succeeding governors, would have been of lasting value.

After his year of office as proconsul Cicero promptly returned to Rome, landing at Brundisium in November. He found the city breathlessly awaiting the next move of Caesar, whose ten

years' governorship in Gaul was soon to end. Pompey was Caesar's only opponent; but the constitutional party thought that, with Pompey's help, they could prevent Caesar from becoming consul and master of Rome. The prestige of Cæsar's wonderful campaign in Gaul was great, but the senate had appointed Ahenobarbus in his place. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero says, "The position is this: we must either let Caesar stand for the consulship, still keeping his army with the senate's consent, or supported by the tribunes; or we must persuade him to resign his province and his army, and so be consul."

But civil war was now on the eve of breaking out between Caesar and Pompey. Cicero, who had cultivated the friendship of Caesar to please Pompey, was compelled to choose between the two. His dread of Caesar's revolutionary political principles left him in reality no recourse. He took sides with Pompey and the nobles. Events succeeded one another with startling rapidity. In January, 49, the senate declared martial law, to obviate the veto of Caesar's tribunes, who at once left the city. Caesar led part of his army across the Rubicon, and the Civil War was begun. Pompey, hastily abandoning the city, attempted a stand against Caesar in Apulia, with Brundisium in the rear. This plan was defeated by his own lieutenant, Domitius Ahenobarbus, who ventured to encounter Caesar at Corfinium, eighty miles east of Rome. The overwhelming defeat of Domitius destroyed Pompey's chance of holding Italy. He escaped from Brundisium, which already was partially blocked by Caesar, and in April crossed the Adriatic with the remnant of his troops.

Pompey's prestige in the East, the scene of his former triumphs, enabled him to raise a fresh army. Meantime Caesar went to Spain and crushed Pompey's followers in the West. By the end of 49 he was ready to cross over to Greece and enter upon the death struggle with Pompey. In Italy Caesar had won all hearts by his generosity toward the conquered. Cicero wrote to Atticus, speaking of Caesar and Pompey, "The one (alas, that it should be so!) earns applause in the worst of causes; the other, in the

best of causes, nothing but reproach." Caesar's merciful law in regard to debtors not only relieved the debtors, but at the same time allayed the fears of the money lenders. Land was required to be taken by creditors at its value before the Civil War. The equestrian order was thus permanently attached to Caesar.

While these events were changing the course of Roman history, Cicero was in great trouble and perplexity. In spite of all, he contrived still to hope for peace. Caesar had, in fact, though perhaps insincerely, made some proposals to Pompey, which were accepted with the condition that Caesar should withdraw his troops from Italy. When Caesar refused to accept this condition, Cicero, content with doing what he could as circumstances might arise, ceased to take an active part in the conflict. His affection for Pompey wavered for a time and then returned with its former strength.

Caësar, now master of the situation, made strenuous efforts to induce Cicero to acquiesce. He hoped that Cicero's acceptance of the present state of affairs would soothe the minds of those who still waited for the return of Pompey and still clung to the constitutional party. Caesar, meeting Cicero at Formiae, tried to persuade him to come to Rome and "speak for peace." Cicero could not be persuaded to give any assistance to Caesar, but, on the contrary, in June, 49, he sailed from Caieta for Pompey's headquarters in Greece.

Active operations were again begun in the Civil War. At Dyrrachium Pompey gained a strategic advantage and Caesar moved into eastern Greece. Pompey passed, by the north, into Macedonia. At Pharsalus, in August, 48, the armies met. Pompey was defeated, fled to Egypt, and was murdered by the order of the Egyptian king. Meanwhile Cicero, soon after Pharsalus, returned to Italy. He was allowed by Antony, Caesar's master of horse, to remain in Brundisium. The state of his mind was pitiable, and his health was weakened. He blamed himself for having mingled in the strife and for having failed to throw in his lot with the remnant of Pompey's forces in Africa. Misfortunes

fell thick upon him. The condition of his domestic affairs was distressing, his son-in-law Dolabella misbehaved, and the fate of his brother Quintus was uncertain. This was, indeed, the darkest hour of his life.

Caesar dallied in Egypt during the early half of 47, but by letter expressed the most generous intentions toward Cicero. He permitted Cicero to retain the laureled fasces gained in Cilicia, as if he had taken no part in the war, and pardoned Quintus. When Caesar returned and met Cicero in southern Italy, the reconciliation was complete.

We may well imagine Cicero's deep interest in the measures which Caesar, during his brief rule, instituted in Italy. Besides putting into force new laws, he provided for roads and drainage works, and introduced a modified Egyptian calendar. The reform in the calendar was of no small benefit, because the errors of the old Roman reckoning had caused a discrepancy between the recorded and the actual year. He, also, broadened the franchise, and gave limited home rule to the Asiatic provinces. He established a working method by which the great Empire could be successfully governed, but forgot that the people would not forever suffer themselves to be excluded from a share in the management of their affairs. Cicero was forced to abandon the hope that Caesar might found "some sort of a free state," yet, against Cicero's better judgment, Caesar's unfailing generosity and fairness finally won the great orator, partially at least, to his side.

Cicero now became the chosen channel through which Caesar exercised clemency toward his late opponents. The speeches for Ligarius and for Marcellus are fine specimens of pleas for mercy. Socially Cicero enjoyed this new life. He became the friend of the younger supporters of Caesar, among whom were Hirtius and Pansa. In the society of congenial friends and in writing the *Brutus*, the *Orator*, and a series of works expounding Greek philosophy, he tried to find consolation for the downfall of his political hopes. He also wrote a panegyric of Cato, which called forth from Caesar a reply called *Anti-Cato*. Other literary works of

Cicero belonging to this period or immediately following the death of Caesar are his *Tusculan Disputations*, *Academic Questions*, *On the Definitions of Good and Evil*, *On the Nature of the Gods*, *On Divination*, *On Old Age*, *On Friendship*, and the *Essay on Duty* addressed to his son Marcus. These works are valuable both for the great beauty of their language and as a repository of the thoughts of the Greek philosophers.

In the year 46 he divorced his wife Terentia, and married a young woman named Publilia, who had been his ward. Soon after he also divorced Publilia.

Caesar's monarchical rule became galling to the freemen of Rome. He refused concessions to the spirit of republicanism, and paid the penalty with his life. In the year 44 on the Ides of March — the old New Year's Day of Rome — he was assassinated. At a meeting of the senate, two days later, Cicero proposed an act of oblivion. Caesar's acts were confirmed, but the murderers were relieved from the penalty of their crime. A public funeral was granted.

Mark Antony, then consul, Caesar's self-constituted avenger, at first accepted this adjustment of affairs, but Decimus Brutus, one of the "Liberators," as the slayers styled themselves, mistrusted Antony and collected a force of soldiers in the country districts. Cicero, at the risk of becoming a foe of Antony, openly lauded the "Liberators." When Decimus Brutus, soon after, went to Cisalpine Gaul, Cicero's son Marcus hastened to join Marcus Brutus in the East. Cicero himself actually started to join the army of the "Liberators" in Greece, but was recalled by a letter from Atticus.

On September 2, 44, Cicero delivered his First Philippic against Antony, so called after the famous denunciation of Philip of Macedon by Demosthenes. In this speech Cicero argued for peace, but the tenor of the argument roused the deadly hatred of Antony, who withdrew from the city and raised an army of Caesar's veterans, with the avowed intention of opposing the "Liberators" with force, and of taking possession of Rome.

At this juncture a new actor appeared on the scene. The

young Octavianus, nephew and heir of Caesar, raised an army and blocked Antony's progress toward Rome. Antony marched against Mutina, held by Decimus Brutus, whereupon Octavianus, acting in concert with Cicero, promised to assist Brutus. Cicero did not wholly trust Octavianus, but was forced to choose between him and Antony. Cicero's Second Philippic, published late in the year 44, accused Antony of having offered the crown to Julius Caesar. On January 1, 43, Cicero proposed that Octavianus be made propraetor, in order that he might legally command an army. He continued his attacks on Antony, and became a sort of executive officer of a new Roman republic. Antony's acts were repealed, and Marcus Brutus, along with Cassius, was given full powers in the East. It seemed that despotism had been overthrown; for Antony, as Cicero jubilantly relates in his Fourteenth Philippic, was defeated at Mutina.

Those who hoped for peace after Antony's defeat forgot the cruel consequences that inevitably follow the formation of a military caste. Caesar's legionary soldiers were simply awaiting an opportunity to avenge his death. They needed but a leader. Antony, defeated though he was, easily gathered a large number of them around him by raising the cry of vengeance. Cicero's only hope now was that Antony and Octavianus might weaken each other. Antony's tactics were admirable, and worthy of a better cause. Leaving Octavianus to march undisturbed to Rome, where he was elected consul, Antony crossed the Alps into Gaul, to join Lepidus. There had been enmity between Antony and Lepidus, but this was now changed to cordial support of the common ideas of vengeance upon Caesar's murderers and power for themselves. Octavianus, learning of this coalition, at once started north. The three chiefs met, toward the end of the year, in conference, upon an island in the river near Bologna. It is indicative of the character of these men that they there made the most infamous bargain recorded in history. Bloody proscription was to begin at once. Cicero was to be a victim.

Utterly at an end of all his hopes Cicero had retired to his villa

at Tusculum. Here he heard the news of the proscription, and attempted to escape by sea. For some reason he changed his mind, and landed at Caieta. Next day, December 7, 43, he ordered his servants to carry him to the shore, but Antony's emissaries overtook them on the way. Resistance was useless. Cicero commanded that his litter be set on the ground and calmly received the fatal stroke. His head and hand were hung on the rostra in the Roman Forum, where he had thundered forth his denunciations of Antony.

We have no exact description of the personal appearance of Cicero in any ancient writer, nor can we be sure that any one of the busts now to be seen in different museums of Europe was actually intended to represent him. Among them, perhaps the bust in the Vatican, found at Roma Vecchia on the Via Appia, and thought to have been executed in his time, whomever it may have been meant to represent, corresponds as well as any to the ideal of him which we can form for ourselves from his writings and from what is said of his character by the ancients. It is accordingly reproduced as the frontispiece of this book.

Cicero was at times vacillating in policy, but he was unswervingly loyal to the republic. We who know the inestimable treasure of a free state must revere his wisdom in opposing despotism, even when the stars in their courses pointed to the inevitable temporary triumph of absolute rule. The personal vanity exhibited in his orations is little more than mannerism. At heart he was sound and true — a Roman of the best type.

THE ROMAN BODY POLITIC

ROME'S power and grandeur were essentially political — manifested through her wonderful scheme of government. Though the beginnings of most of her institutions are lost in the night of time, yet throughout the period of her known history we can easily trace the development of her distinctive character. As she extended her boundaries from the seven hills first to the confines of Italy, then east, north, south, and west, she carried to each conquered district the elements of her civiliza-

tion. As Dr. Morey puts it: Rome first *conquered*, then *organized*, and finally *civilized*. No one has expressed this better, however, than the Roman poet Vergil:

> "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

By Cicero's time, Rome's political institutions had become very complex. Laws relating to persons and property and to the administration of government had emerged only after the most bitter struggles of opposing elements. Many modern nations, recognizing their intrinsic value, have made these laws the basis of their legal systems. Only the briefest outline of the constituent elements of her populace and the rights which it had acquired in the time of Cicero can be given here.

CITIZENS

Originally all Roman citizens — and all were citizens — had a share in the government. Later, a foreign element was introduced composed of strangers who had come to Rome of their own accord or had been brought there as captives. These were called *Plebeians*, whereas the original settlers were termed *Patricians*. A long struggle ensued between them, which resulted in a sort of amalgamation involving political equality. This struggle was ended only to be replaced by another, this time between the senators — the so-called *optimates* — and the knights, both aristocratic classes, the former based upon family standing and political power; the latter, upon wealth and merit. Besides these there was another element which persistently entered into the struggle, namely, the common people, or *populares*. These three classes are variously referred to by Roman writers as:

(1) *Ordo senatorius, optimates;*
(2) *Ordo equestris, equites;*
(3) *Ordo plebeius, populus, populares, plebs.*

In addition to these there were also in Rome a large number of *libertini*, or freedmen, and *servi*, slaves. Outside of the city were the inhabitants of the allied Italian communities (*civitates foederatae: coloniae, municipia, praefecturae*), and beyond the borders of Italy — in the Hispaniae, the Galliae, Greece, Asia, Africa, and many of the islands of the Mediterranean — the various types of provincials.

ITALIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
GALLIA TRANSPADANA
VENETIA
ISTRIA
GALLIA CISPADANA
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
PICENUM
LATIUM
SAMNIUM
APULIA
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
BRUTII
CALABRIA
SICILIA
MARE ADRIATICUM
MARE TYRRHENUM (INFERUM)
MARE INTERNUM
LIGURIA
DALMATIA
Aquileia
Verona
Patavium
Mediolanum
Cremona
Placentia
Parma
Mutina
Bononia
Ravenna
Padus F.
Pola
Ariminum
Ancona
Arnus
Pisae
Sinus Ligusticus
Sena
Perusia
Russellae
Camerinum
Asculum
ILVA
Forum Aurelium
Tarquinii
Aternum
Reate
Alba Fucensis
Roma
Praeneste
Ostia
Tarracina
Beneventum
Caieta
Capua
Neapolis
PONTIAE I.
Misenum Pr.
Vesuvius
Nuceria Alfaterna
Paestum
Salapia
Canusium
Barium
Brundisium
Tarentum
Heraclia
Sinus Tarentinus
Buxentum
Lavinium
Thurii
Consentia
Croton
Rhegium
Messana
LIPARAEAE I.
Panormus
Locri
Aetna M.
Heraclea
Agrigentum
Syracusae
Utica
Carthago
MELITA I.
9
10
11
12
13
36
38
40
42
44
46
30

Before Cicero had reached the age of eighteen, practically all of Italy, as one of the results of the Social War, had gained the franchise,[1] which, however, could be exercised only in Rome.

Full Roman citizenship was acquired (1) by birth, (2) by gift (most frequently at the hands of Roman generals), and (3) by manumission. Citizenship (*civitas*), except in the first class, — that acquired through birth in lawful wedlock, — was often conditioned or limited. Thus, whereas a full-fledged citizen possessed —

(1) the right to vote (*ius suffragi*),
(2) the right to hold office (*ius honorum*),
(3) the right to marry (*ius conubi*),
(4) the right to enter into contracts (*ius commerci*),
(5) the right to appeal (*ius provocationis*), and
(6) the right to free grain,[2]

the inhabitants of surrendered towns (*dediticii*), and foreigners generally (*peregrini*), though nominally Roman citizens, were variously limited in the exercise of their rights. The slaves (*servi*) were mere chattels without any rights.

MAGISTRATES

I. *The Consuls*

The consuls — two in number — were the executive officers of the Roman state. They were elected, usually about the first of July, by the *Comitia Centuriata* for one year, and were not eligible for reëlection within the next ten years. Though elected in July, they were not inaugurated until the following January. During this interval they were called *consules designati*, *i.e.* consuls-elect, and as such took precedence of all in the senate except the actual consuls. At some time after their term of office they were usually sent to provinces as governors, with the title of *proconsules*. At home, and especially in the senate, they were called *consulares*.

The consuls were for the most part chosen from the nobility — so commonly, in fact, that if an outsider were selected, like Cicero, he was termed a *novus homo*. But the Latin words *nobilitas* and *nobiles*, though commonly translated 'nobility' and 'nobles,' really signified

[1] *Lex Iulia* passed in 90 B.C.; *Lex Plautia Papiria*, in 89 B.C.
[2] *Lex Claudia frumentaria* passed in 58 B.C.

something quite different from what we generally understand by these English words. In Rome, a man was *nobilis* if one or more of his ancestors, no matter how remote, had held a curule magistracy, that is, the office of curule aedile (p. 31) or a higher office. One without such an ancestor was *ignobilis;* that is, his family was 'not known' (compare *notus*) in contrast to the families that were 'known' by having held office. The Patrician families were naturally all *nobiles*, but so were very many Plebeian families. Cicero's family had always lived in Arpinum, and were not technically noble; but his father was a man of much learning and in friendly relations with many Roman nobles, so that although Cicero was a *novus homo* in the technical sense, the modern term *parvenu*, which commonly means 'upstart,' does not apply to him.

Election to the offices of quaestor and praetor was regarded as prerequisite to holding the consulship. To this there were notable exceptions (granted under special legislation), as, for instance, in the case of Pompey, who was elected to the consulship before he had held any of the other offices. Cicero was forty-three years old when he was chosen consul. Perhaps there was a law in his time which made this the lowest possible age, though it is doubtful whether there was any law on the subject.

Though the usual official dress of a consul was the *toga praetexta*, — a white robe with a broad purple border, — on certain occasions he wore a gorgeous gown which was entirely purple. His official seat, called *sella curulis*, was a chair with folding legs and no back or sides. In public he was attended by twelve lictors carrying *fasces* (bundles of rods indicative of his authority to enforce the laws).

Theoretically the two consuls had exactly the same authority and the same duties to perform, but practically upon their entrance into office they agreed upon an equitable division of their official duties. They also served alternately — the elder usually first — as supreme head of the state. Each had the right to veto, or annul, the acts of the other. And as the tribune could forbid or veto the acts of both, the real power of a consul did not much exceed that of the average modern ruler. Their most valuable services were rendered in connection with the senate and the other assemblies, which they had the right to convoke and preside over, and before which they might lay any public matter.

During his term of office a consul could not be called to account for any of his actions, so that he might override the vetoes of his colleague

or even of the tribunes; but practically this was seldom done, as he was held strictly accountable for his entire administration immediately upon his retirement from office.

II. *The Praetors*

Next in importance to the consuls were the praetors — eight in Cicero's time — who presided over the standing courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*) established by Sulla. Like the consuls, they were elected for one year by the *Comitia Centuriata*, and entered office six months after their election — about January first. Their official dress and seat were also the same as those of a consul; but they were attended by only two lictors within the city, though by six outside of it.

Upon their entrance into office they announced in formal edicts — usually modifications of similar documents issued by their predecessors — the principles by which they would be governed in their decisions. In the trial of cases the praetors were assisted by jurors (*iudices*), who passed upon the innocence or guilt of defendants. At some time after their retirement from office, they were usually assigned, like the consuls, to provinces as governors — with the title, *propraetores*. At home they were called *praetorii*, and as such enjoyed certain privileges in the senate.

III. *The Censors*

There were two censors who, like the consuls and praetors, were elected by the *Comitia Centuriata*, theoretically only once in five years (but irregularly during Cicero's career) and for a term of only eighteen months. At one time their duties had been very important, including the assessment of property and classification of citizens, the general management of the contracts of the state as well as the supervision of public morals; but toward the close of the republic most of these functions were performed by other officials, so that during more than one *lustrum* (period of five years) no censors were appointed.

Almost without exception they were selected from the *consulares*, and the insignia of their office — the *toga praetexta* and *sella curulis* — were the same as those of a consul or praetor; but they did not possess the right to convoke the senate or the *Comitia*.

IV. *The Aediles*

The four aediles — two plebeian and two curule — were elected for one year by the *Comitia Tributa*. In general they had charge of the

public utilities, such as the public highways, the markets, the water supply, and the policing of the city. Much of their time and attention, however, was devoted to supervising the public games. The appropriations, which were made for these by the state, were often supplemented from the private resources of the aediles, who were usually looking for promotion to the higher offices. The curule, but not the plebeian aediles, were entitled to the curule chair and the *toga praetexta*.

V. *The Quaestors*

The quaestors, of whom there were twenty, were elected by the *Comitia Tributa* for one year. They entered into office December fifth. They were all concerned with the management of the finances: two in Rome, four in the different parts of Italy, the rest in the provinces or as paymasters in the army. Ex-quaestors were *ipso facto* members of the senate. The quaestors had not the curule insignia.

VI. *The Tribunes*

Ten tribunes were elected annually by the tribes. Their right to veto the acts of magistrates and the resolutions of the senate and the *Comitia* gave them the power to obstruct the wheels of government effectively. Towards the close of the republic this power was often used by demagogues to the embarrassment and often to the positive detriment of the commonwealth. Tribunes also had the right under certain conditions to convoke the senate and ask its advice upon important matters.

THE SENATE

The senate,—composed largely of men who had served the state as its chief executives, judges, priests, managers of finance, provincial governors, etc.,—though vested with absolutely no formal powers, exerted a tremendous influence in determining the conduct of every department of the government. Furthermore, as membership was for life or until withdrawn for cause, it gave a permanency and continuity to political institutions and customs which would have been difficult to maintain through the annual magistrates.

In Cicero's day there were six hundred members before the time of Caesar, who increased the number to nine hundred. Each senator probably had to possess the equivalent of $20,000. For generations the membership was regulated by the censors, but after Sulla's time

ROMAN EMPIRE
in 49 B.C.
ROMAN MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Roman Territory and Provinces
Allied States
By permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons
Longitude
OCEANUS GERMANICUS
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
Oceanus Britannicus
Oceanus Cantabrius
HIBERNIA
BRITANNIA
MONA
Londinium
Aquae Solis
Abus Fl.
Metaris Aest.
Amisia Fl.
Flevo L.
Saxones
Visurgis
Albis
Rhenus
GERMANIA
Danubius
Brigantinus L.
NORICUM
RAETIA
Dravus
Bolerium Pr.
CASSITERIDES IAE.
Damdonium Pr.
VECTIS
Gesoriacum
Samarobriva
Sequana
Lutetia
Genabum
Liger
Juliomagus
Condivicnum
Brivates Portus
Bibracte
GALLIA
Helvetii
Arverni
Garumna
Nemausus
G. NARB.
Arelate
Massilia
Narbo Martius
Alpes
Mediolanum
Aquileia
GALLIA CISALPINA
Placentia
Padus
Genua
Luna
Pisa
Nicaea
Forum Julii
ETRURIA
ITALIA
Spoletum
Asculum Picen.
ROMA
LATIUM
Capua
MARE HADRIATICUM
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Trileucum Pr.
Artabrorum Sinus
Nerium Pr.
Durius
HISPANIA CITERIOR
Pyrenaei Ms.
Iberus
Barcino
Tarraco
Saguntum
Pr. Magnum
Tagus
Anas
ULTERIOR
Baetis
Corduba
Hispalis
Ilici
Gades
Carthago Nova
Fretum Herculeum
Calpe M.
Abyla M.
BALEARES IAE.
BALEARIS MINOR
BALEARIS MAJOR
PITYUSAE IAE.
MARE
Hippo Regius
Carthago
Utica
Cirta
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
Palus Tritonis
Sinus Neapolitanus
Leptis-minor
Thapsus
CERCINA
Syrtis Minor
MENINX I.
MAURITANIA
Subur
Anatis
Atlas M.
Panormus
Drepanum
Lilybaeum
SICILIA
Selinus
Agrigentum
COSSYRA
MELITA
AEOLIAE IAE.
10
0
10
50
40
30
0
10

20
30
40
50
Turunthus Fl.
Rhubo Fl.
SARMATIA
Vistula Fl.
Tanais
Rha Fl.
Borysthenes Fl.
Hypanis
Carpates M.
Tyras or Danaster
Porato or Hierasus
BOSPORUS
Palus Maeotis
Hypanis
Udon
Alonta
Chersonesus Taurica
Caucasus M.
DACIA
Marisus
Aluta
Danubius
Ister or Danubius
Margus
Criu-metopon Pr.
PONTUS EUXINUS
COLCHIS
IBERIA
Phasis
Lychnitis L.
MOESIA
Vicopolis
Haemus M.
Hebrus
THRACIA
Bizantium
Bosporus
Nomedia
Hemelea
Pontica
Amastris
Sinope
Amisus
Iris Fl.
Trapezus
PAPHLAGONIA
Amasia
Lycus
PONTUS
Ararat M.
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Amphipolis
Pella
Thessalonica
Olympus M.
Athos
Aenos
Propontis
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
Gordium
Ancyra
GALATIA
Tavium
ARMENIA MINOR
Euphrates
Arceneor Thospitis L.
Tigranocerta
Pindus M.
Larissa
LEMNOS
MYSIA
Pessinus
Halys
Caesarea
CAPPADOCIA
Nisibis
Actium
LEUCAS
Athenae
LESBOS
Smyrna
Sardis
Lydia
Apamea
Cibotus
Antiochia
Iconium
Tarsus
COMMAGENE
Edessa
MESOPOTAMIA (PADAN-ARAM)
Tigris
Euphrates
Elis
Corinthus
SAMOS
Ephesus
Maender
Laodicea
PISIDIA
Selge
CARIA
CYLICIA
Issus
Beraea
Olympia
Peloponnesus
Sparta
MELOS
Messeniacus Sin.
CYTHERA
RHODUS
CARPATHOS
Cydonia
Gnossus
CRETA
Pamphylicus Sinus
Seleucia
Issicus
Seleucia
Antiochia
Salamis
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Damascus
Sidon
Tyrus
Jerusalem
TERNUM
Cyrene
Antipyrgos Portus
Alexandria
Pelusium
DELTA
Memphis
ARABIA PETRAEA
CYRENAICA
LIBYA
AEGYPTUS
Nilus
Hermopolites Sinus
Sinai
Aelanites Sinus
Myos Hormus
from Greenwich

the quaestorship — and of course all the higher magistracies, if held before the quaestorship — secured admission to the senate without further ceremony.

The senate had no regular meeting place. It usually met in the Curia Hostilia until that was burnt in 52 B.C.; but it might meet in any *templum*, *i.e.* in any place consecrated by the augurs. Thus the first oration against Catiline was delivered in the Temple of Jupiter Stator; the fourth, in the Temple of Concord. Nor did it have any fixed time for its meetings, but assembled at the call of a qualified magistrate, *e.g.* a consul, a praetor, or a tribune. The meetings were usually held early in the day, as sunset put an end to all transactions.

The magistrate who called a meeting presided over it. After taking the auspices, he formally presented the matter for which the meeting had been called, and then asked the members, in the order of their rank, for an expression of opinion. Magistrates-elect, if any were present, took precedence of all others in the same rank, followed by the ex-consuls, ex-praetors, etc., seniority of membership ordinarily determining the order in each of these classes. Each senator, when thus called upon, made a motion or assented to one already made. Though the presiding magistrate might take the floor at any time, other members were not allowed to speak unless called upon. Members were sometimes called out of their turn as a mark of respect, or entirely passed over out of spite. The presiding officer then selected one or more of the motions for a vote, and directed the senators who favored the motion to go to one side of the house, and those who opposed it to the other. When the senators had seated themselves as they wished to vote, the result was announced (*haec pars mihi maior videtur*), a count being made, if necessary, to determine the result. When a division was called for, every member was obliged to vote except the presiding magistrate, who was not allowed to vote. The measure, if carried, and not vetoed by a qualified official, became at once a *consultum patrum*, or *senatus consultum*, apparently with the force of law. In the case of a veto or the refusal of the presiding officer to accept the result, the action was termed *senatus auctoritas*, *i.e.* the senate's deliberate opinion, and as such had much weight in determining legislation in the *Comitia*.

The senate's action was final most frequently in settling diplomatic relations with foreign powers and with the provinces, and in determining the method of raising and disbursing the state revenues. The

FIG. 2. Earlier Republican Form of the Toga.

assignment of provinces to ex-magistrates was also in the hands of the senate, as was the granting of triumphs and the appointing of periods of thanksgiving. Furthermore, it superintended many matters connected with religion, as, for instance, the consulting of the Sibylline Books.

Besides the white toga, which was worn by all Roman citizens, senators wore a white tunic distinguished by the *latus clavus*—a broad purple stripe running down from each shoulder to the hem of the garment, both in front and behind. They also wore dark red shoes fastened above the instep with black straps. Ex-magistrates, however, wore the same attire as during their official terms.

THE ASSEMBLIES

I. *Contiones*

A *contio* was a public meeting—usually held in the Forum or Comitium—which any one might attend, even foreigners and slaves. It might be called by any magistrate for any reason which he deemed adequate. Though it was the only gathering open to the whole people in which discussion was allowed, yet even here no one could speak unless called upon by the presiding magistrate, who also had the right to adjourn the meeting at any time.

The contiones served two valuable purposes: (1) They enabled magis-

FIG. 3. Later Republican and Early Imperial Form of the Toga.

trates to explain and argue measures before they were presented in the *Comitia*. (2) They afforded a medium by which the people could be kept informed upon matters of public concern.

II. *Comitia Curiata*

Though the oldest of the legislative assemblies and originally one of great influence, the chief functions of the *Comitia Curiata* in Cicero's time were (1) the bestowing of the *imperium*, *i.e.* military and civil authority, upon consuls and praetors and (2) the inaugurating of certain religious officials.

III. *Comitia Centuriata*

The *Comitia Centuriata* owed its influence originally to its law-making powers and its jurisdiction in criminal cases, but in the republic these functions had for the most part been transferred to the standing courts and the other assemblies. It still retained the sole right, however, to declare war and to elect consuls, praetors, and censors. As it was in character a military body, it could not meet in the city proper.

Its meetings were usually held in the Campus Martius, at the call of either a consul or praetor.

IV. *Comitia Tributa*

The *Comitia Tributa*, based upon the division of the entire people into thirty tribes, met either in the Forum or the Campus Martius, at the call of a consul, praetor, or curule aedile. It enacted laws, which were called *leges*, and under certain circumstances sat as a court, when the curule aedile presided. It also elected quaestors, the curule aediles, and some of the inferior magistrates.

ROMAN RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

The Roman religion was a natural development from family worship. As the head of the family (*pater familias*) carried on the worship of the household gods (*Lares* and *Penates*) in his house, so the state religious officials propitiated the national divinities either on the rostra, in the Forum, in the Garden of Scipio, or more frequently, in fact regularly, in the auguraculum on the Capitoline Hill.

Officers of religion were divided into colleges (*collegia*). Of these the most important were the

(1) *Augures*,
(2) *Pontifices*,
(3) *Fetiales*.

Others that may be mentioned here were the

(4) *XV viri sacris faciundis*, and the
(5) *Haruspices*.

The Augurs, originally three in number, but fifteen in Cicero's time, were elected for life. They had as their chief function the interpretation of the auspices for state officials. This was done in at least five ways:

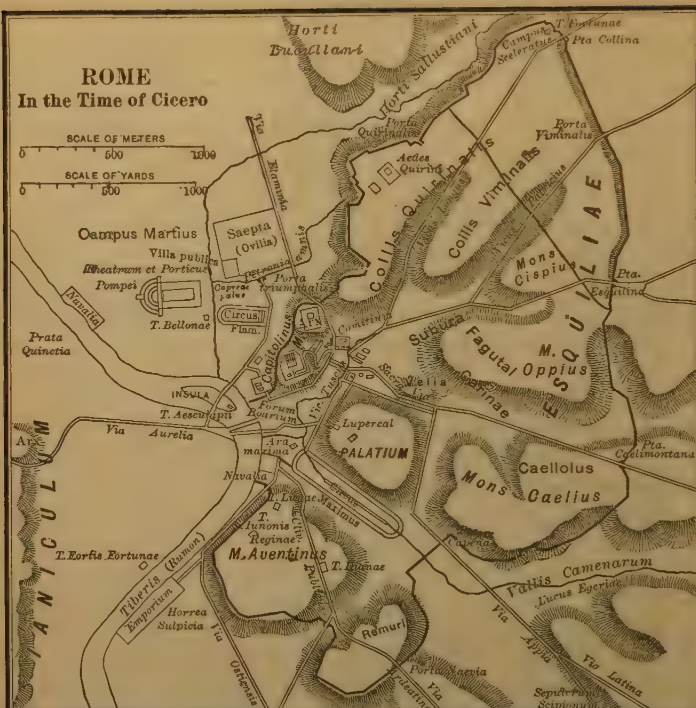
(1) *ex avibus* ("birds"),
(2) *ex quadrupedibus* ("animals"),
(3) *ex tripudiis* ("chickens"),
(4) *ex caelo* ("heavenly bodies"), and
(5) *ex diris* ("evil portents").

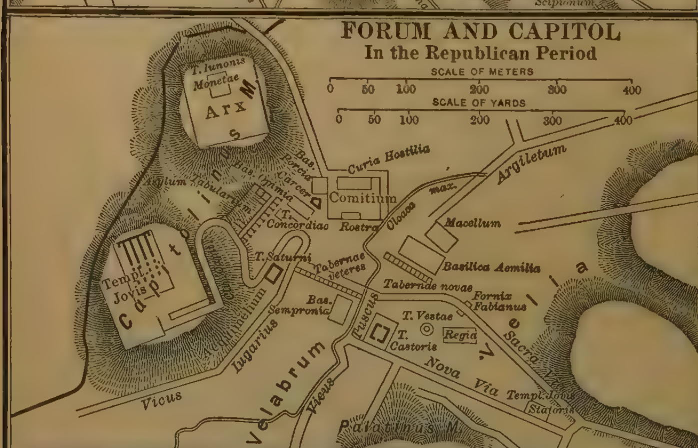
The Pontifices, also numbering fifteen, were chosen for life. Their official residence was the Regia, situated in the Sacra Via near the Forum. Their duties involved a general supervision of all religious ceremonies, including guardianship of the moral code (*fas*). It devolved upon them also to keep a list of all Roman magistrates, with some brief account of the achievements of each while in office. Their chief, the pontifex maximus, selected the Vestal virgins and the numerous *flamines*, both regular and special, regulated the Roman calendar (assigning dates for festivals, etc.), superintended various festivals, and prescribed and regulated many family ceremonies, especially marriage.

The Fetiales — twenty in number — were heralds who seem to have been the guardians of treaties with foreign nations and in general of all foreign relations. Apparent violations of treaty rights were referred to them. In extreme cases they might declare war.

The *XV viri sacris faciundis* — chosen from ex-consuls and ex-praetors for life — had charge of the Sibylline Books. According to tradition, these books were purchased by Tarquinius Superbus from the Cumaean Sibyl and kept under the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They were destroyed when the Capitol burned in 83 B.C., but were promptly replaced.

The Haruspices were soothsayers, corresponding in some measure to the modern medium, whose function was to read the future by observing natural phenomena (such as lightning, earthquakes, etc.) and by examining the entrails of animals.


ROME
In the Time of Cicero
SCALE OF METERS
0
500
1000
SCALE OF YARDS
0
500
1000
Horti
Horti Sallustiani
Campus Sceleratus
T. Fortunae
Pta Collina
Porta Quirinalis
Porta Viminalis
Aedes Quirini
Collis Quirinalis
Collis Viminalis
Campus Martius
Saepta (Ovilia)
Via Flaminia
Villa publica
Theatrum et Porticus Pompei
Navalia
Prata Quinctia
T. Bellonae
Circus Flam.
Porta triumphalis
Capitolinus
Arx
Comitium
Mons Cispius
Pta. Esquilina
ESQUILIAE
Subura
Fagutal
M. Oppius
Carinae
Velia
Sacra Via
INSULA
T. Aesculapii
Forum Boarium
Vic. Tuscus
Lupercal
PALATIUM
Via Aurelia
Arx
JANICULUM
Ara maxima
Navalia
Pta. Caelimontana
Caeliolus
Mons Caelius
T. Lunae
Circus Maximus
T. Iunonis Reginae
T. Fortis Fortunae
Tiberis (Rumon)
M. Aventinus
T. Dianae
Emporium
Horrea Sulpicia
Via Ostiensis
Remuria
Vallis Camenarum
Lucus Egeriae
Via Appia
Via Latina
Porta Naevia
Via Ardeatina
Sepulcrum Scipionum


FORUM AND CAPITOL
In the Republican Period
SCALE OF METERS
0
50
100
200
300
400
SCALE OF YARDS
0
50
100
200
300
400
T. Iunonis Monetae
Arx
Mons Capitolinus
Asylum
Tabularium
Bas. Porcia
Bas. Opimia
Carcer
Curia Hostilia
Comitium
Cloaca max.
Argiletum
T. Concordiae
Rostra
Macellum
Templ. Jovis
Capitolium
T. Saturni
Tabernae veteres
Basilica Aemilia
Tabernae novae
Fornix Fabianus
Bas. Sempronia
Vicus Tuscus
T. Vestae
Regia
T. Castoris
Vicus Iugarius
Velabrum
Nova Via
Sacra Via
Velia
Templ. Jovis Statoris
Palatinus M.

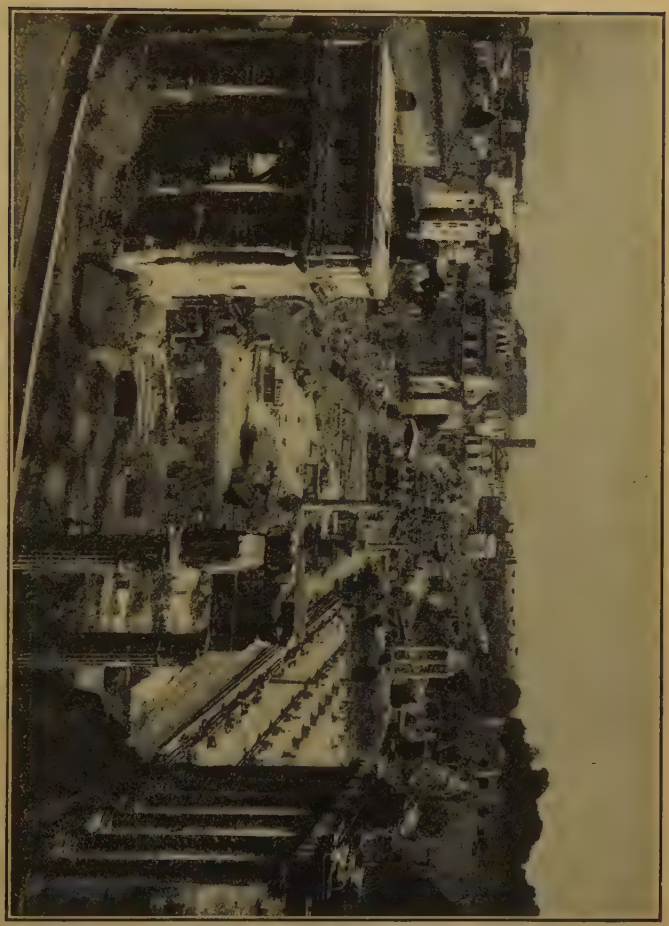


FIG. 4. The Roman Forum in 1906.

THE ROMAN FORUM

The word *forum* first signified an open space before any building, especially a sepulcher. The peculiar features of a Roman forum were that it was a leveled space of ground of an oblong form, and surrounded by buildings, houses, temples, basilicas, or porticoes. It was originally used as a place where justice was administered, and where goods were exhibited for sale; hence one must distinguish between the fora, which were mere market-places, and those which were places of meeting for the popular assembly and for the courts of justice, sometimes called *fora iudicialia*.

Among the latter kind the most important was the *Forum Romanum*, which was simply called the *Forum*, as long as it was the only one of its kind which existed in Rome. Toward the later part of the republic the term *Magnum* was sometimes applied to it. In its original form it occupied the lowlands between the Palatine, Capitoline, and Quirinal hills, and served as political and commercial common ground for the separate tribes inhabiting these different hills, as well as those on the Caelian and Esquiline, before the closer union when Rome became one city. Then it took a more regular and dignified shape, and as the valley was originally swampy, being the natural basin for the drainage of the surrounding hills, the beginning of a systematic attempt to drain the swampy ground was made. This was effected by constructing sewers, and especially the *Cloaca Maxima*, which at this early time was made by simply walling up the banks of a brook which formed the principal water course, thus regulating its flow. Previously it had been impracticable to construct any permanent buildings in the center of the Forum, but temporary booths, *tabernae*, had been erected on both sides of the *Sacra Via*, which were occupied by butchers and fish dealers. The size of the Forum was a little over five hundred feet in length and about one hundred and fifty in width.

During the first three centuries of the republic it became more and more an important part of the city. Temples were erected, the central part was paved, and gladiatorial games and shows of all sorts were celebrated here. In 210 B.C. the shops on the north side of the *Sacra Via* burned down, and after being rebuilt were called *tabernae novae*, while those on the south side were known as *tabernae veteres*. At the beginning of the second century B.C., the *Macellum*, or market house, was built north of the Forum, and this caused the butchers and fish

dealers to be moved, and in their places came bankers and money changers, particularly to the shops on the north side, which were therefore often called *tabernae argentariae*. Various *basilicae* were built, in which the citizens could transact the constantly enlarging business, particularly legal, of the capital. On the whole the appearance of the Forum in the middle of the first century B.C. must have been irregular and ugly. As this is the time when we wish to know it best in the study of these orations, we will note some of its more important buildings and other features. The plan on page 38 is intended to show only those buildings which were standing in the Ciceronian period, except that the *Basilica Sempronia* and the *tabernae veteres* were removed, towards the end of his life, to make room for the *Basilica Iulia* (see below). The picture on page 39 is from a photograph taken in 1906, and it includes the remains of many buildings of periods later than the Ciceronian.

Streets. Until the time of Augustus, the *Sacra Via* passed along the north side of the Regia, and then, bending to the left, continued along the south side of the Forum to the Temple of Saturn, where the *clivus Capitolinus* began winding up the Capitoline Hill to the capitol. By this victorious generals rode in triumph to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Besides this road, several other ways led to the Forum: such as the *vicus Iugarius*, between the Temple of Saturn and the Basilica Iulia; the *vicus Tuscus*, between the Basilica Iulia and the Temple of Castor; the Argiletum, between the Basilica Aemilia and the Curia; and the street between the Curia and the Temple of Concord, which was called the *Lautumiae* (stone-quarry-alley). This latter was the only means of communication between the Forum and the Campus Martius.

Tabularium. In the declivity between the Arx and the Capitolium was a large two-storied hall, built by Q. Lutatius Catulus, the victor over the Cimbri, to contain the archives of state. This was called the *Tabularium*, and large remains of it still exist. It was not in the Forum proper, but faced down upon it.

The Temple of Concord. This stood at the northwest corner of the Forum, the first temple of this name having been built in 367 B.C. to commemorate the passage of the Licinian laws and the end of the long struggle between the orders. It was built at least three times, but only a few fragments now remain. It was a splendid building, and one of Rome's finest monuments. The senate met here sometimes, for instance, when the fourth Catilinarian oration was delivered.

The Temple of Saturn. At the southwest corner of the Forum there was a very old altar of Saturn, whose place was taken by a temple built in 497 B.C. It was rebuilt in 42 B.C. It was Ionic. Eight columns now remain, but all date from a restoration probably of the fourth century after Christ. It contained the *Aerarium*, or state treasury, where money and tablets were kept.

The Temple of Castor. This was built, according to tradition, close to the spring of Juturna, to commemorate the appearance of Castor and Pollux there after the battle of Lake Regillus, as messengers of victory. It was restored several times, but with greatest magnificence by Tiberius. The temple was Corinthian, with eleven columns on a side. Three columns on the east side are standing, which are regarded as perhaps the finest architectural remains in Rome. They belong probably to a restoration of the time of Trajan or Hadrian. In this temple were kept the standard weights and measures, and it was often used for meetings of the senate.

The Sanctuary of Ianus Geminus. This is said to have been built by Numa. It was a small rectangular structure, with two side walls and double doors at each end, and was made of bronze. Its gates were opened in time of war and closed in time of peace. It was on the north side of the Forum, near the Curia. No remains of it are known.

The Basilica Iulia. The Forum was made more regular in appearance by the basilicas which were on the north and south sides. In 170 B.C. Sempronius Gracchus erected the *Basilica Sempronia* behind the older tabernae, but nothing more is known of this building, and it and the tabernae must have been removed to make room for the *Basilica Iulia*. This was begun by Julius Caesar in 54 B.C., and completed by Augustus. It was later restored and changed. Its fine marble was used by people of the Middle Ages. It was bounded on all sides by streets and had a central court, surrounded on all sides by two aisles, over which were galleries of a second story. Extensive remains are still to be seen.

The Basilica Aemilia. In 179 B.C. the censors M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior erected a basilica which was called either the *Fulvia* or *Aemilia et Fulvia*. It was restored in 54 B.C. by L. Aemilius Lepidus, and from that time on was called the Basilica Aemilia. It was splendidly rebuilt by Augustus. It occupied the whole space between the Temple of Faustina and the Argiletum. Its remains have recently come to light.

The Temple of Vesta. This was said to have been built by Numa. It was perhaps the most sacred spot in Rome, round in shape, and contained the sacred fire, the Palladium, and other sacred articles. It was to the west of the Regia, and near the foot of the Palatine. It suffered by fire several times.

The Atrium Vestae. This adjoined the Temple of Vesta to the south, and was under the brow of the Palatine. It was the home of the Vestal virgins. What the building was like under the republic is not known; the ruins belong to the imperial period. They consist of an open peristyle, surrounded on all sides by rooms of various kinds, in two and perhaps three stories, and the remains give a fair idea of the original structure.

The Regia. This is said to have been built and dwelt in by Numa, and was also the office of the pontifex maximus. It contained the *sacrarium Martis*, where were kept the sacred spears and shields, and the *sacrarium Opis Consivae*, the archives of the priests, and a place of assembly for various sacred colleges. It was burned several times. It was at the eastern end of the Forum, but was outside its area, on the Sacra Via.

The Lacus Iuturnae. This famous spring was close to the Temple of Castor. This part of the Forum has recently been excavated, and the triangular space between the Temple of Castor and the Atrium Vestae may be called the precinct of Juturna.

The Rostra. This was the famous platform from which the people were addressed by the orators. This name was applied to it after 338 B.C., when C. Maenius built a platform and decorated it with the rostra of the ships captured at Antium. It stood on the south side of the Comitium, and from it a speaker could address the people assembled either on the Comitium or in the Forum. It was consecrated as a *templum*, and on it were the statues of famous men. Caesar planned to move the Rostra to the Forum, and the plan was carried out by Augustus. It then became a long platform extending across the west end of the Forum, and was about ten feet high, seventy-eight feet long, and thirty-three feet wide. Its remains are considerable.

The Comitium. This word means the place of assembly, and until the middle of the second century B.C. it was the political center of Rome. It was a *templum* or spot set aside by augural rites, and was bounded by the Carcer, the Curia, and the Rostra.

The Curia Hostilia. Tullus Hostilius built the first senate house, and

it was called the *Curia Hostilia*. It was rebuilt in 80 B.C. by Sulla, and in 52 B.C. by Faustus Sulla. It stood on the farther side of the Comitium. But Julius Caesar planned and Augustus completed in 29 B.C. a new *curia*, standing in the Comitium itself, of which considerable remains still exist.

The Basilica Porcia. On the west side of the Comitium stood this building, the first structure of the sort of which there is any record. It was built by Cato the Censor in 185 B.C., and stood next to the Curia.

The Graecostasis. West of the Rostra was the Graecostasis, which was a raised platform, without a roof, on which ambassadors from foreign states awaited their reception in the senate, and whence they could see the assemblies of the people.

The Basilica Opimia. This was built in 121 B.C. by the Consul L. Opimius, and existed down into the time of Caesar.

The Carcer. This ancient prison of Rome, which is as old as any structure in the city, stood between the Temple of Concord and the Curia, at the foot of the Capitoline. Above it a church (S. Pietro in Carcere) was built in the Middle Ages. The Carcer as it exists to-day has two parts. The lower and older part is an underground stone chamber, nearly circular, with a stone roof. Access was had to it by a round hole in the roof. In the floor was a well which is fed by a spring. The upper room is shaped like a trapezoid and has a vaulted roof. The lower room was called *Tullianum*, and *Carcer* was applied either to the whole prison or to the upper room (the only one now to be seen on this level, though in antiquity there were several rooms here) in which evil-doers were imprisoned until sentence was passed upon

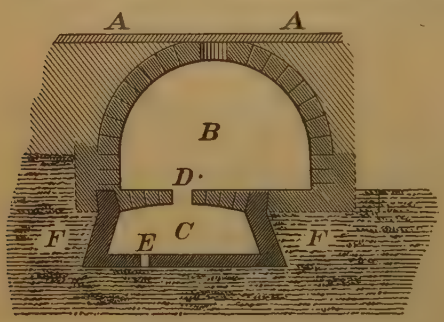


FIG. 5. Cross Section of the Carcer in Antiquity.

AA. Lower floor of modern church.
B. Upper room of prison.
C. Lower room of prison (*Tullianum*).
D. Round hole giving access to *Tullianum*.
E. Spring of water.
FF. Solid tufa rock.

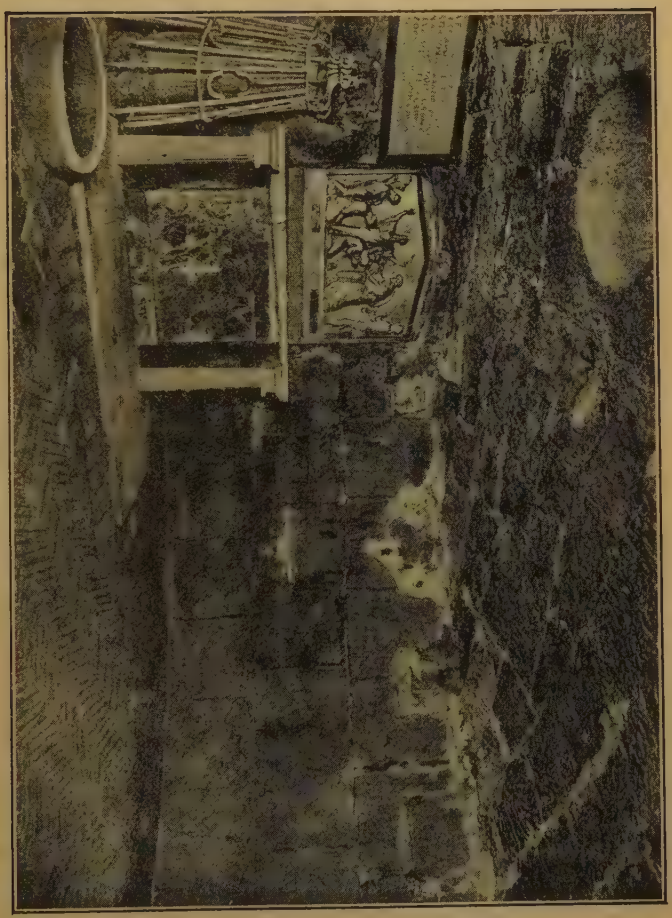


FIG. 6. The Tullianum in 1906.

them. Such executions as did not take place in public occurred in the *Tullianum*. In it Jugurtha, Vercingetorix, and other conquered enemies of Rome met their end after they had been exhibited in triumph. On December 5, 63 B.C., at Cicero's command, the associates of Catiline were executed here. Near the Carcer were the *scalae Gemoniae*, or "steps of wailing," which led up to the citadel. On this staircase the bodies of those who had been executed were exposed before being thrown into the Tiber.

The *Tullianum* is treated in Christian legend as the prison of St. Peter, and he is said to have been chained to the stone post (now covered with iron rods) seen in the illustration, which also shows the Christian altar and a relief representing the saint baptizing his jailers.

THE ORATION IN THE TIME OF CICERO

While we have lost much in that we can only read the orations of Cicero instead of listening to him, yet it is possible that the loss is not as great as it seems. Some of his best speeches, as the defense of Milo, were written in the study, and never delivered at all; and most of the others were reshaped and polished for publication. Nor is it at all probable that his somewhat florid style would always have found favor with our colder taste. He represents a mean between the Greek or Attic simplicity of Demosthenes and the so-called Asiatic floridity of his rival Hortensius. Ancient rhetoricians classified him as belonging to the Rhodian school of eloquence. He looked upon gesture and action as essential elements of the orator's power and had studied them carefully from the artists of the theater. He would have the action and bearing of the speaker to be such that even the distant spectator, too far off to hear, should "know that there was Roscius on the stage." As some one has said, "he had all the gifts of nature and training which go to make the perfect orator—an impressionable nature, a vivid imagination, and a mastery of language such as has never been surpassed."[1] Although he seems to have attached but little value to a knowledge of the technicalities of law, in other

[1] The requisite qualifications of a Roman orator, according to the rhetoricians, were (1) *inventio* (ability to collect material); (2) *dispositio* (arrangement of the same); (3) *elocutio* (choice of words and phrases); (4) *memoria* (power to memorize); (5) *actio* (interpretation, including proper emphasis, clear enunciation, and gesticulation).

phases his preparation for his work was of the most careful sort. He did not think it improper to use the "tricks of the trade," if he thought they would aid him in influencing his jury or audience. He would have his client stand by his side dressed in mourning, with hair dishevelled, and in tears; or a family group would be arranged, the wife and children, the mother and sisters, being led in at the proper moment. He also seems to have had tears at his command, for at the close of the oration for Milo — which was never delivered — he says, "I cannot proceed for tears." However, it is but fair to say that such things were held to be the legitimate aids of Roman oratory. In his *History of Oratory*, Sears, speaking of Cicero's method of oratory, says: "It is also clear that such abilities did not spurn the so-called trammels of rule and order, for the reason that such an order has its origin in the immutability of human nature. Accordingly, he was careful about his introduction, containing the ethical proof; the body of the speech with its statement of facts; and finally the peroration addressing itself to the moral sense of the judges. And it is no disparagement that he sometimes resorts to commonplaces to conciliate the favor of the audience, or attempts to set the plane of their criticism as low as possible rather than to allow them to expect too much of him at the start, and then be disappointed with his effort at the close of it." Further on in his characterization of Cicero's art, the same author says of Cicero that "his great art lies, where it always lies with the true artist, in the application of materials at hand to the production of amazing results." Cicero's laudatory orations are among his most successful efforts. Nowhere can anything be found to excel the beauty and taste of the oration for the Manilian law, for Marcellus, for Ligarius, or for Archias. But his talents are best shown in orations of the judicial class, of which the Murena is a type. "To both kinds his urbane and pleasant cast of mind imparts inexpressible grace and delicacy; historical allusions, philosophical sentiments, descriptions full of life and nature, and polite raillery succeed each other in the most agreeable manner, without appearance of artifice or effort. Of this nature is his picture of the Catilinarian conspirators on detection (*In Cat.* III, 3). Among the many excellences possessed by Cicero's oratorical diction, the greatest is its suitability to the genius of the Latin language." Cicero made the Latin tongue, scanty and ill-adapted to oratory and philosophy, over into a new language almost; "yet not so much by the invention as by the combination of words, by convert-

ing the very disadvantages of the language into beauties, by enriching it with circumlocutions and metaphors, by pruning it of harsh and uncouth expressions, and by systematizing the structure of a sentence." "The perfect harmony of his periods, the exquisite choice of his words, the delicate balance of his cadences, whose sounds keep up an ever running accompaniment to sense, and the majestic roll of his wonderful perorations are absolutely without counterpart in Greek or English, or any other language whatsoever, and they make reasonable and true the judgment of Quintilian, that 'Cicero is now less the name of a man than of eloquence itself.'"

The Greeks had developed the art of oratory to a high degree of perfection and the Roman orators adopted Greek methods. The oration of the kind delivered by Cicero had certain set divisions, one or more of which could be omitted if the theme demanded. The complete oration of this class would contain:

1. The *Exordium*, composed of preliminary matter leading up to the main topic.

2. The *Narratio*, or story giving the facts of the case.

3. The *Propositio*, or formal statement of the case, which might be divided (*Partitio*).

4. The *Argumentatio*, composed of the *Confirmatio*, or argument for the orator's contention, and the *Refutatio* (also *Confutatio*) or refutation of his opponent's contention.

5. The *Peroratio*, an appeal to the court or to the audience.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the form of the oration, that the delivery of the Roman oration was emotional in the extreme, the gestures being frequent and violent. Great effect also was produced by the rhythmic succession of long and short syllables. The reader will easily detect the care with which many sentences are brought to a close with a favorite rhythm, such as, for instance, *esse munitam* (∠ ∪ — | ∠ ∪); or *castra desiderant* (∠ ∪ — | ∠ ∪ | —); or *consules perferemus* (∠ ∪ — | ∠ ∪ | ∠ ∪). In each of these, a cretic foot (∠ ∪ —) is followed by a trochee (∠ ∪), a trochee and a half, or two trochees. Sometimes a molossus (∠ — —) is used instead of the cretic, in the second or third of these three rhythms: as, *hi de te sentiant* (∠ — — | ∠ ∪ | —); *ad portas prosequantur* ∠ — — | ∠ ∪ | ∠ ∪). These examples are all taken from the first oration against Catiline. More than sixty per cent of all the sentences in Cicero's orations end in some one of these rhythms.

For the arrangement of words in a Latin sentence so as to emphasize one or more, the Latin Grammar or some book on Prose Composition should be consulted. In no other particular is the supreme art of the Latin oration better exhibited.

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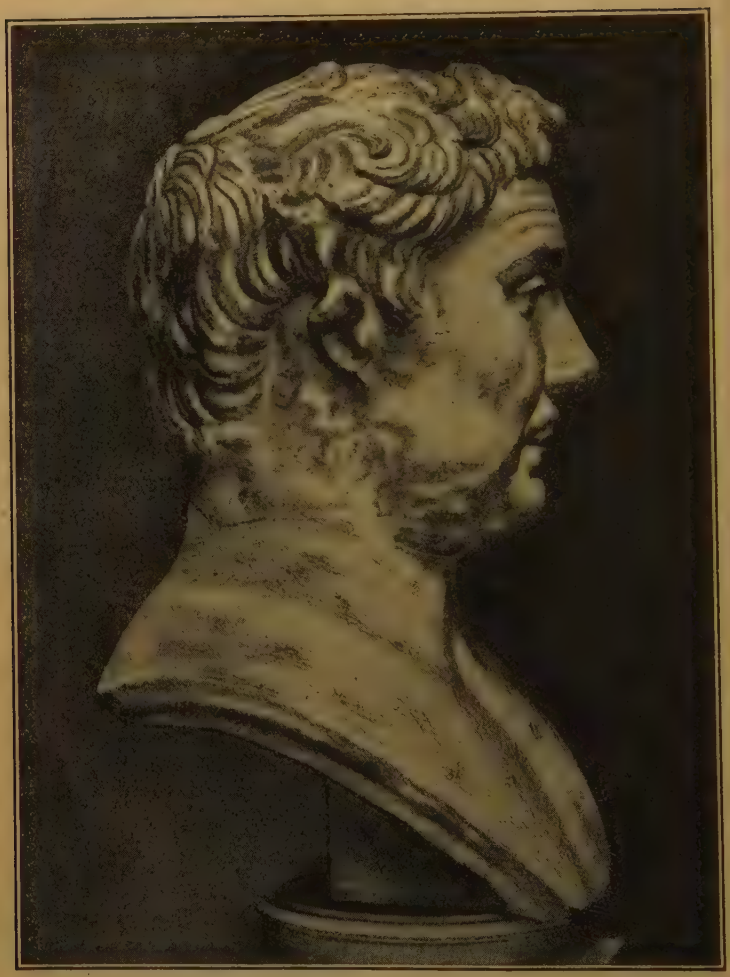


FIG. 7. Pompey, Copenhagen.

DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI AD QVIRITES

ON POMPEY'S MILITARY COMMAND

(66 B.C.)

Introduction

Open war between the Romans and Mithridates, king of Pontus, broke out in 88. For a long time his growing influence and power had aroused their jealousy and they were now ready to fight with him concerning the mastery of western Asia. The First Mithridatic War began in 88 and lasted till 84. Sulla was the able commander of the Romans, who made peace with Mithridates on condition that he remain in his own kingdom of Pontus, surrender eighty ships, and pay 3000 talents. Sulla returned to Rome in 83, and Lucius Murena had charge of Asia. He soon renewed hostilities with Mithridates, and fought until 81, when Sulla ordered Murena to stop fighting. This is called the Second Mithridatic War. Meanwhile Mithridates made ready for war, and in 74 invaded Bithynia, a Roman province, and brought on the Third Mithridatic War. This lasted a long time, with each side experiencing victory and defeat. Lucullus, who was in charge of the Roman forces, was able and successful, but did not capture Mithridates himself. Tigranes helped his father-in-law to prolong the war. Lucullus's forces mutinied, and his place was taken by M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul for 67, who was wholly unfit, and remained inactive in his province Bithynia. Then the tribune C. Manilius proposed a bill to appoint Pompey in command of the Roman forces in the East. Pompey, born in 106, had been with his father in the Social War, with Sulla in the Civil War, and

in Spain against Sertorius. He had had two triumphs before he had held any office — a very unusual happening. In 67 he had taken charge of the war against the pirates, and in three months had put an end to their maraudings. The bill of Manilius was strongly opposed by the aristocratic party, represented by Catulus and Hortensius. Cicero, who now sided with the democracy, supported the measure in this speech, which is one of his best efforts. The bill was passed, Pompey took charge of the war, and completely defeated Mithridates.

Exordium

The first occasion of Cicero's speaking from the rostra. Before this he had served as advocate, but now has been chosen praetor. Pompey's qualities make the present task an easy one. (1–3.)

1. 1. QVAMQVAM mihi semper frequēns cōnspectus vester multō iūcundissimus, hīc autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dīcendum ōrnātissimus est vīsus, Quirītēs, tamen hōc aditū laudis quī semper optimō cuique maximē patuit nōn mea mē voluntās adhūc sed vītae meae ratiōnēs ab ineunte aetāte susceptae prohibuērunt. Nam cum anteā nōndum huius auctōritātem locī attingere audērem statueremque nihil hūc nisi perfectum ingeniō, ēlabōrātum industriā adferrī oportēre, omne meum tempus amīcōrum temporibus trānsmittendum putāvī. 2. Ita neque hīc locus vacuus fuit umquam ab eīs quī vestram causam dēfenderent et meus labor in prīvātōrum perīculīs castē integrēque versātus ex vestrō iūdiciō frūctum est amplissimum cōnsecūtus. Nam cum propter dīlātiōnem comitiōrum ter praetor prīmus centuriīs cūnctīs renūntiātus sum, facile intellēxī, Quirītēs, et quid dē mē iūdicārētis et quid aliīs praescrīberētis. Nunc cum et auctōritātis in mē tantum sit quantum vōs honōribus mandandīs esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultātis tantum quantum hominī vigilantī ex

forēnsī ūsū prope cotīdiāna dīcendī exercitātiō potuit adferre, certē et, sī quid auctōritātis in mē est, apud eōs ūtar quī eam mihi dedērunt et, sī quid in dīcendō cōnsequī possum, eīs ostendam potissimum quī eī quoque reī frūctum suō iūdiciō tribuendum esse dūxērunt. 3. Atque illud in prīmīs mihi laetandum iūre esse videō quod in hāc īnsolitā mihi ex hōc locō ratiōne dīcendī causa tālis oblāta est in quā ōrātiō deesse nēminī possit. Dīcendum est enim dē Cn. Pompēī singulārī eximiāque virtūte; huius autem ōrātiōnis difficilius est exitum quam prīncipium invenīre. Ita mihi nōn tam cōpia quam modus in dīcendō quaerendus est.

Narratio

All demand Pompey for the conduct of the dangerous war being waged in Asia. (4–5.)

2. 4. Atque ut inde ōrātiō mea proficīscātur unde haec omnis causa dūcitur, bellum grave et perīculōsum vestrīs vectīgālibus atque sociīs ā duōbus potentissimīs adfertur rēgibus, Mithridāte et Tigrāne, quōrum alter relictus, alter lacessītus occāsiōnem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblātam esse arbitrātur. Equitibus Rōmānīs, honestissimīs virīs, adferuntur ex Asiā cotīdiē litterae, quōrum magnae rēs aguntur in vestrīs vectīgālibus exercendīs occupātae; quī ad mē prō necessitūdine quae mihi est cum illō ōrdine causam reī pūblicae perīculaque rērum suārum dētulērunt, 5. Bīthȳniae, quae nunc vestra prōvincia est, vīcōs exūstōs esse complūrīs, rēgnum Ariobarzānis, quod fīnitimum est, vestrīs vectīgālibus tōtum esse in hostium potestāte; L. Lūcullum magnīs rēbus gestīs ab eō bellō discēdere; huic quī successerit nōn satis esse parātum ad tantum bellum administrandum; ūnum ab omnibus sociīs et cīvibus ad id bellum imperātōrem dēposcī atque expetī, eundem hunc ūnum ab hostibus metuī, praetereā nēminem.

Partitio

6. Causa quae sit vidētis; nunc quid agendum sit ipsī cōnsīderāte. Prīmum mihi vidētur dē genere bellī, deinde dē magnitūdine, tum dē imperātōre dēligendō esse dīcendum.

Argumentatio: Confirmatio

The first duty is to point out the character of the war and of the interests involved. Mithridates is still unpunished. Sulla and Murena were prevented from finishing the war. Mithridates planned to act in alliance with Sertorius. Pompey crushed Sertorius. Lucullus was successful at first against Mithridates, but later met with misfortune. (6–13.)

Genus est eius bellī quod maximē vestrōs animōs excitāre atque īnflammāre ad persequendī studium dēbeat. In quō agitur populī Rōmānī glōria quae vōbīs ā maiōribus cum magna in omnibus rēbus tum summa in rē mīlitārī trādita est; agitur salūs sociōrum atque amīcōrum prō quā multa maiōrēs vestrī magna et gravia bella gessērunt; aguntur certissima populī Rōmānī vectīgālia et maxima, quibus āmissīs et pācis ōrnāmenta et subsidia bellī requīrētis; aguntur bona multōrum cīvium quibus est ā vōbīs ipsōrum causā et reī pūblicae cōnsulendum.

3. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentēs glōriae praeter cēterās gentīs atque avidī laudis fuistis, dēlenda vōbīs est illa macula Mithridāticō bellō superiōre concepta quae penitus iam īnsēdit ac nimis inveterāvit in populī Rōmānī nōmine, quod is quī ūnō diē tōtā in Asiā tot in cīvitātibus ūnō nūntiō atque ūnā sīgnificātiōne omnīs cīvīs Rōmānōs necandōs trucīdandōsque cūrāvit nōn modo adhūc poenam nūllam suō dignam scelere suscēpit sed ab illō tempore annum iam tertium et vīcēsimum rēgnat, et ita rēgnat ut sē nōn Pontī neque Cappadociae latebrīs occultāre velit

sed ēmergere ex patriō rēgnō atque in vestrīs vectīgālibus, hoc est in Asiae lūce, versārī. 8. Etenim adhūc ita nostrī cum illō rēge contendērunt imperātōrēs ut ab illō īnsīgnia victōriae, nōn victōriam reportārent. Triumphāvit L. Sulla, triumphāvit L. Mūrēna dē Mithridāte, duo fortissimī virī et summī imperātōrēs, sed ita triumphārunt ut ille pulsus superātusque rēgnāret. Vērum tamen illīs imperātōribus laus est tribuenda quod ēgērunt, venia danda quod relīquērunt, propterea quod ab eō bellō Sullam in Italiam rēs pūblica, Mūrēnam Sulla revocāvit.

4. 9. Mithridātēs autem omne reliquum tempus nōn ad oblīviōnem veteris bellī sed ad comparātiōnem novī contulit. Quī posteā, cum maximās aedificāsset ōrnāssetque classīs exercitūsque permagnōs quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset comparāsset et sē Bosphorānīs, fīnitimīs suīs, bellum īnferre simulāret, usque in Hispāniam lēgātōs ac litterās mīsit ad eōs ducēs quibuscum tum bellum gerēbāmus, ut, cum duōbus in locīs disiūnctissimīs maximēque dīversīs ūnō cōnsiliō ā bīnīs hostium cōpiīs bellum terrā marīque gererētur, vōs ancipitī contentiōne districtī dē imperiō dīmicārētis. 10. Sed tamen alterius partis perīculum, Sertōriānae atque Hispāniēnsis, quae multō plūs fīrmāmentī ac rōboris habēbat, Cn. Pompēī dīvīnō cōnsiliō ac singulārī virtūte dēpulsum est; in alterā parte ita rēs ab L. Lūcullō, summō vīrō, est administrāta ut initia illa rērum gestārum magna atque praeclāra nōn fēlīcitātī eius sed virtūtī, haec autem extrēma quae nūper accidērunt nōn culpae sed fortūnae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed dē Lūcullō dīcam aliō locō, et ita dīcam, Quirītēs, ut neque vēra laus eī dētrācta ōrātiōne meā neque falsa adfīcta esse videātur; 11. dē vestrī imperī dignitāte atque glōriā, quoniam is est exōrsus ōrātiōnis meae, vidēte quem vōbīs animum suscipiendum putētis.

5. Maiōrēs nostrī saepe prō mercātōribus aut nāviculāriīs nostrīs iniūriōsius trāctātīs bella gessērunt; vōs tot mīlibus cīvium Rōmānōrum ūnō nūntiō atque ūnō tempore necātīs quō tandem animō esse dēbētis? Lēgātī quod erant appellātī superbius, Corinthum patrēs vestrī tōtīus Graeciae lūmen exstīnctum esse voluērunt; vōs eum rēgem inultum esse patiēminī quī lēgātum populī Rōmānī cōnsulārem vinculīs ac verberibus atque omnī suppliciō excruciātum necāvit? Illī lībertātem imminūtam cīvium Rōmānōrum nōn tulērunt; vōs ēreptam vītam neglegētis? Iūs lēgātiōnis verbō violātum illī persecūtī sunt; vōs lēgātum omnī suppliciō interfectum relinquētis? 12. Vidēte nē, ut illīs pulcherrimum fuit tantam vōbīs imperī glōriam trādere, sic vōbīs turpissimum sit id quod accēpistis tuērī et cōnservāre nōn posse.

Quid? quod salūs sociōrum summum in perīculum ac discrīmen vocātur, quō id tandem animō ferre dēbētis? Rēgnō est expulsus Ariobarzānēs rēx, socius populī Rōmānī atque amīcus; imminent duo rēgēs tōtī Asiae nōn sōlum vōbīs inimīcissimī sed etiam vestrīs sociīs atque amīcīs; cīvitātēs autem omnēs cūnctā Asiā atque Graeciā vestrum auxilium exspectāre propter perīculī magnitūdinem cōguntur; imperātōrem ā vōbīs certum dēposcere, cum praesertim vōs alium mīseritis, neque audent neque id sē facere sine summō perīculō posse arbitrantur. 13. Vident enim et sentiunt hoc idem quod vōs, ūnum virum esse in quō summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quō etiam carent aegrius; cuius adventū ipsō atque nōmine, tametsī ille ad maritimum bellum vēnerit, tamen impetūs hostium repressōs esse intellegunt ac retardātōs. Hī vōs, quoniam līberē loquī nōn licet, tacitī rogant ut sē quoque dignōs exīstimētis quōrum salūtem tālī virō commendētis, atque hoc etiam magis quod cēterās in prōvinciās eius

modī hominēs cum imperiō mittimus ut, etiam sī ab hoste dēfendant, tamen ipsōrum adventūs in urbīs sociōrum nōn multum ab hostīlī expugnātiōne differant, hunc audiēbant anteā, nunc praesentem vident tantā temperantiā, tantā mānsuētūdine, tantā hūmānitāte ut eī beātissimī esse videantur apud quōs ille diūtissimē commorētur.

In former times war has been waged upon smaller provocation than now exists. The safety of the allies is at stake. They call for Pompey. Asia is valuable on account of its wealth. Panic, caused by present conditions, destroys revenue. Taxgatherers and taxfarmers must be guarded from fear of disaster. From this source come the means of supporting war. Many other Roman citizens have investments in Asia. Experience proves that credit in Rome is injuriously affected by the financial condition of Asia. The war is not to be feared nor yet to be despised, although Lucullus was victorious. Mithridates is still at large; Tigranes and many powerful tribes assist him. Our soldiers have completed their term of service and, for this and other reasons, are eager to return home. Mithridates, a king in distress, draws sympathy. Temporary defeat has been suffered, and Lucullus has been recalled. The importance of the war is obvious. (14–26.)

6. 14. Quā rē sī propter sociōs nūllā ipsī iniūriā lacessītī maiōrēs nostrī cum Antiochō, cum Philippō, cum Aetōlīs, cum Poenīs bella gessērunt, quantō vōs studiōsius convenit iniūriīs prōvocātōs sociōrum salūtem ūnā cum imperī vestrī dignitāte dēfendere, praesertim cum dē maximīs vestrīs vectīgālibus agātur? Nam cēterārum prōvinciārum vectīgālia, Quirītēs, tanta sunt ut eīs ad ipsās prōvinciās tuendās vix contentī esse possīmus, Asia vērō tam opīma est ac fertilis ut et ūbertāte agrōrum et varietāte frūctuum et magnitūdine pāstiōnis et multitūdine eārum rērum quae exportentur facile omnibus terrīs antecellat. Itaque haec vōbīs prōvincia, Quirītēs, sī et bellī ūtilitātem et pācis dignitātem retinēre voltis, nōn modo ā calamitāte sed etiam ā metū calamitātis est dēfendenda.

15. Nam in cēterīs rēbus cum vēnit calamitās, tum dētrīmentum accipitur; at in vectīgālibus nōn sōlum adventus malī sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitātem. Nam cum hostium cōpiae nōn longē absunt, etiam sī inruptiō nūlla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agrī cultūra dēseritur, mercātōrum nāvigātiō conquiēscit. Ita neque ex portū neque ex decumīs neque ex scrīptūrā vectīgal cōnservārī potest; quā rē saepe tōtius annī frūctus ūnō rūmōre perīculī atque ūnō bellī terrōre āmittitur. 16. Quō tandem igitur animō esse exīstimātis aut eōs quī vectīgālia nōbīs pēnsitant, aut eōs quī exercent atque exigunt, cum duo rēgēs cum maximīs cōpiīs propter adsint, cum ūna excursiō equitātūs perbrevī tempore tōtius annī vectīgal auferre possit, cum pūblicānī familiās maximās quās in salīnīs habent, quās in agrīs, quās in portibus atque in cūstōdiīs magnō perīculō sē habēre arbitrentur? Putātisne vōs illīs rēbus fruī posse, nisi eōs quī vōbīs frūctuī sunt cōnservāveritis nōn sōlum, ut ante dīxī, calamitāte sed etiam calamitātis formīdine līberātōs?

7. 17. Ac nē illud quidem vōbīs neglegendum est quod mihi ego extrēmum prōposueram, cum essem dē bellī genere dictūrus, quod ad multōrum bona cīvium Rōmānōrum pertinet; quōrum vōbīs prō vestrā sapientiā, Quirītēs, habenda est ratiō dīligenter. Nam et pūblicānī, hominēs honestissimī atque ōrnātissimī, suās ratiōnēs et cōpiās in illam prōvinciam contulērunt, quōrum ipsōrum per sē rēs et fortūnae vōbīs cūrae esse dēbent. Etenim, sī vectīgālia nervōs esse reī pūblicae semper dūximus, eum certē ōrdinem quī exercet illa fīrmāmentum cēterōrum ōrdinum rēctē esse dīcēmus. 18. Deinde ex cēterīs ōrdinibus hominēs gnāvī atque industriī partim ipsī in Asiā negōtiantur, quibus vōs absentibus cōnsulere dēbētis, partim eōrum in eā prōvinciā pecūniās magnās conlocātās habent. Est igitur

hūmānitātis vestrae magnum numerum cīvium calamitāte prohibēre, sapientiae vidēre multōrum cīvium calamitātem ā rē pūblicā sēiūnctam esse nōn posse. Etenim illud prīmum parvī rēfert, vōs pūblicānīs āmissa vectīgālia posteā victōriā reciperāre; neque enim īsdem redimendī facultās erit propter calamitātem neque aliīs voluntās propter timōrem. 19. Deinde quod nōs eadem Asia atque īdem iste Mithridātēs initiō bellī Asiāticī docuit, id quidem certē calamitāte doctī memoriā retinēre dēbēmus. Nam tum, cum in Asiā magnās permultī rēs āmīsērunt, scīmus Rōmae solūtiōne impedītā fidem concidisse. Nōn enim possunt ūnā in cīvitāte multī rem ac fortūnās āmittere ut nōn plūrīs sēcum in eandem trahant calamitātem: ā quō perīculō prohibēte rem pūblicam. Etenim — mihi crēdite id quod ipsī vidētis — haec fidēs atque haec ratiō pecūniārum quae Rōmae, quae in forō versātur, implicāta est cum illīs pecūniīs Asiāticīs et cohaeret; ruere illa nōn possunt ut haec nōn eōdem labefacta mōtū concidant. Quā rē vidēte num dubitandum vōbīs sit omnī studiō ad id bellum incumbere in quō glōria nōminis vestrī, salūs sociōrum, vectīgālia maxima, fortūnae plūrimōrum cīvium coniūnctae cum rē pūblicā dēfendantur.

8. 20. Quoniam dē genere bellī dīxī, nunc dē magnitūdine pauca dīcam. Potest enim hoc dīcī, bellī genus esse ita necessārium ut sit gerendum, nōn esse ita magnum ut sit pertimēscendum. In quō maximē labōrandum est nē forte ea vōbīs quae dīligentissimē prōvidenda sunt contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnēs intellegant mē L. Lūcullō tantum impertīre laudis quantum fortī virō et sapientī hominī et magnō imperātōrī dēbeātur, dīcō eius adventū maximās Mithridātī cōpiās omnibus rēbus ōrnātās atque īnstrūctās fuisse, urbemque Asiae clārissimam nōbīsque amīcissimam Cyzicēnōrum oppressam esse ab ipsō rēge maximā multitū-

dine et oppugnātam vehementissimē; quam L. Lūcullus virtūte, adsiduitāte, cōnsiliō summīs obsidiōnis perīculīs līberāvit. 21. Ab eōdem imperātōre classem magnam et ōrnātam quae ducibus Sertōriānīs ad Ītaliam studiō atque odiō īnflammāta raperētur superātam esse atque dēpressam; magnās hostium praetereā cōpiās multīs proeliīs esse dēlētās patefactumque nostrīs legiōnibus esse Pontum quī anteā populō Rōmānō ex omnī aditū clausus fuisset; Sinōpēn atque Amīsum, quibus in oppidīs erant domicilia rēgis omnibus rēbus ōrnāta ac referta, cēterāsque urbīs Pontī et Cappadociae permultās ūnō aditū adventūque esse captās; rēgem spoliātum rēgnō patriō atque avītō ad aliōs sē rēgēs atque ad aliās gentīs supplicem contulisse; atque haec omnia salvīs populī Rōmānī sociis atque integrīs vectīgālibus esse gesta. Satis opīnor hoc esse laudis atque ita, Quirītēs, ut hoc vōs intellegātis, ā nūllō istōrum quī huic obtrectant lēgī atque causae L. Lūcullum similiter ex hōc locō esse laudātum.

9. 22. Requīrētur fortasse nunc quem ad modum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cōgnōscite, Quirītes; nōn enim hoc sine causā quaerī vidētur. Prīmum ex suō rēgnō sīc Mithridātēs profūgit ut ex eōdem Pontō Mēdēa illa quondam fūgisse dīcitur, quam praedicant in fugā frātris suī membra in eīs locīs quā sē parēns perse querētur dissipāvisse, ut eōrum conlēctiō dispersa maerorque patrius celeritātem cōnsequendī retardāret. Sīc Mithridātēs fugiēns maximam vim aurī atque argentī pulcherrimārumque rērum omnium quās et ā maiōribus accēperat et ipse bellō superiōre ex tōtā Asiā dīreptās in suum rēgnum congesserat in Pontō omnem relīquit. Haec dum nostrī conligunt omnia dīligentius, rēx ipse ē manibus effūgit. Ita illum in persequendī studiō maeror, hōs laetitia tardāvit. 23. Hunc in illō timōre et fugā Tigrānēs, rēx Armenius,

THRACE
Byzantium
Propontis
MACEDONIA
THASOS
Cyzicus
Olympus
Mons Thermaicus
LEMNOS
Hellespontus
Ilium
TENEDOS
Sigeum
PHRYGIA
EPIRUS
MYSIA
Pharsalus
LESBOS
Mytilene
Pergamum
MARE AEGAEUM
LEUCAS
AETOLIA
Thespiae
CHIOS
Smyrna
LYDIA
CEPHALLENIA
Sinus Corinthiacus
Colophon
Ephesus
Athenae
Piraeus
SAMOS
Magnesia
ZACYNTHUS
ACHAIA
Corinthus
SALAMIS
CARIA
DELOS
MARE IONIUM
COS
Cnidus
MELOS
THERA
RHODUS
CYTHERA
AEGEAN SEA
AND
ADJACENT COUNTRIES
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
MARE INTERNUM

excēpit diffīdentemque rēbus suīs cōnfīrmāvit et adflictum ērēxit perditumque recreāvit. Cuius in rēgnum posteā quam L. Lucullus cum exercitū vēnit, plūrēs etiam gentēs contrā imperātōrem nostrum concitātae sunt. Erat enim metus iniectus eīs nātiōnibus quās numquam populus Rōmānus neque lacessendās bellō neque temptandās putāvit; erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemēns opīniō quae per animōs gentium barbarārum pervāserat, fānī locuplētissimī et religiōsissimī dīripiendī causā in eās ōrās nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nātiōnēs multae atque magnae novō quōdam terrōre ac metū concitābantur. Noster autem exercitus, tametsī urbem ex Tigrānis rēgnō cēperat et proeliīs ūsus erat secundīs, tamen nimiā longinquitāte locōrum ac dēsīderiō suōrum commovēbātur. 24. Hīc iam plūra nōn dīcam; fuit enim illud extrēmum ut ex eīs locīs ā mīlitibus nostrīs reditus magis mātūrus quam prōgressiō longior quaererētur. Mithridātēs autem sē et suam manum iam cōnfīrmārat eōrum operā quī ad eum ex ipsīus rēgnō concesserant et magnīs adventīciīs auxiliīs multōrum rēgum et nātiōnum iuvābātur. Iam hoc ferē sīc fierī solēre accēpimus ut rēgum adflictae fortūnae facile multōrum opēs adliciant ad misericordiam, maximēque eōrum quī aut rēgēs sunt aut vīvunt in rēgnō, ut eīs nōmen rēgāle magnum et sānctum esse videātur. 25. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optāre. Nam cum sē in rēgnum suum recēpisset, nōn fuit eō contentus quod eī praeter spem acciderat, ut illam posteā quam pulsus erat terram umquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clārum atque victōrem impetum fēcit. Sinite hōc locō, Quirītēs, sīcut poētae solent quī rēs Rōmānās scrībunt, praeterīre mē nostram calamitātem, quae tanta fuit ut eam ad aurīs imperātōris nōn ex proeliō nūntius sed ex sermōne rūmor adferret. 26. Hīc in illō ipsō malō gravissimāque

bellī offēnsiōne L. Lūcullus, quī tamen aliquā ex parte eīs incommodīs medērī fortasse potuisset, vestrō iussū coāctus quī imperī diūturnitātī modum statuendum vetere exemplō putāvistis, partim mīlitum quī iam stīpendiīs cōnfectīs erant dīmīsit, partim M'. Glabriōnī trādidit. Multa praetereō cōnsultō; sed ea vōs coniectūrā perspicite quantum illud bellum factum putētis quod coniungant rēgēs potentissimī, renovent agitātae nātiōnēs, suscipiant integrae gentēs, novus imperātor noster accipiat vetere exercitū pulsō.

There is no general like Pompey, with his skill in war and his experience. Italy, Sicily, Africa, Gaul, and Spain are witnesses to his military qualities. The world knows his deeds. The pirates carried their depredations even into Italy. Pompey protected Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia. He quelled the pirates in less than six months. (27–35.)

10. 27. Satis multa mihi verba fēcisse videor quā rē esset hoc bellum genere ipsō necessārium, magnitūdine perīculōsum. Restat ut dē imperātōre ad id bellum dēligendō ac tantīs rēbus praeficiendō dīcendum esse videātur. Vtinam, Quirītēs, virōrum fortium atque innocentium cōpiam tantam habērētis ut haec vōbīs dēlīberātiō difficilis esset quemnam potissimum tantīs rēbus ac tantō bellō praeficiendum putārētis! Nunc vērō cum sit ūnus Cn. Pompēius quī nōn modo eōrum hominum quī nunc sunt glōriam sed etiam antīquitātis memoriam virtūte superārit, quae rēs est quae cuiusquam animum in hāc causā dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sīc exīstimō, in summō imperātōre quattuor hās rēs inesse oportēre, scientiam reī mīlitāris, virtūtem, auctōritātem, fēlīcitātem. Quis igitur hōc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse dēbuit? quī ē lūdō atque ē pueritiae disciplīnīs bellō maximō atque ācerrimīs hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in mīlitiae disciplīnam profectus est, quī extrēmā pueritiā mīles in exercitū summī

fuit imperātōris, ineunte adulēscentiā maximī ipse exercitūs imperātor, quī saepius cum hoste cōnflīxit quam quisquam cum inimīcō concertāvit, plūra bella gessit quam cēterī lēgērunt, plūrīs prōvinciās cōnfēcit quam aliī concupīvērunt, cuius adulēscentia ad scientiam reī mīlitāris nōn aliēnīs praeceptīs sed suīs imperiīs, nōn offēnsiōnibus bellī sed victōriīs, nōn stīpendiīs sed triumphīs est ērudīta. Quod dēnique genus esse bellī potest in quō illum nōn exercuerit fortūna reī pūblicae? Cīvīle, Āfricānum, Trānsalpīnum, Hispāniēnse mixtum ex cīvibus atque ex bellicōsissimīs nātiōnibus, servīle, nāvāle bellum, varia et dīversa genera et bellōrum et hostium nōn sōlum gesta ab hōc ūnō sed etiam cōnfecta nūllam rem esse dēclārant in ūsū positam mīlitārī quae huius virī scientiam fugere possit.

11. 29. Iam vērō virtūtī Cn. Pompēī quae potest ōrātiō pār invenīrī? Quid est quod quisquam aut illō dignum aut vōbīs novum aut cuiquam inaudītum possit adferre? Neque enim sōlae sunt virtūtēs imperātōriae quae volgō exīstimantur, labor in negōtiīs, fortitūdō in perīculīs, industria in agendō, celeritās in cōnficiendō, cōnsilium in prōvidendō, quae tanta sunt in hōc ūnō quanta in omnibus reliquīs imperātōribus quōs aut vīdimus aut audīvimus nōn fuērunt. 30. Testis est Ītalia quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla huius virtūte et subsidiō cōnfessus est līberātam; testis Sicilia quam multīs undique cīnctam perīculīs nōn terrōre bellī sed cōnsilī celeritāte explicāvit; testis Āfrica quae magnīs oppressa hostium cōpiīs eōrum ipsōrum sanguine redundāvit; testis Gallia per quam legiōnibus nostrīs iter in Hispāniam Gallōrum interneciōne patefactum est; testis Hispānia quae saepissimē plūrimōs hostīs ab hōc superātōs prōstrātōsque cōnspēxit; testis iterum et saepius Ītalia quae, cum servīlī bellō taetrō perīculōsōque premerētur, ab hōc auxilium absente expetīvit, quod bellum exspectātiōne eius

attenuātum atque imminūtum est, adventū sublātum ac sepultum. 31. Testēs nunc vērō iam omnēs ōrae atque omnēs terrae gentēs nātiōnēs, maria denique omnia cum ūniversa tum in singulīs ōrīs omnēs sinūs atque portūs. Quis enim tōtō marī locus per hōs annōs aut tam fīrmum habuit praesidium ut tūtus esset, aut tam fuit abditus ut latēret? Quis nāvigāvit quī nōn sē aut mortis aut servitūtis perīculō committeret, cum aut hieme aut refertō praedōnum marī nāvigāret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam lātē dīvīsum atque dīspersum quis umquam arbitrārētur aut ab omnibus imperātōribus ūnō annō aut omnibus annīs ab ūnō imperātōre cōnficī posse? 32. Quam prōvinciam tenuistis ā praedōnibus līberam per hōsce annōs? quod vectīgal vōbīs tūtum fuit? quem socium dēfendistis? cui praesidiō classibus vestrīs fuistis? quam multās exīstimātis īnsulās esse dēsertās, quam multās aut metū relictās aut ā praedōnibus captās urbīs esse sociōrum?

FIG. 8. Merchant Ship.

12. Sed quid ego longinqua commemorō? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populī Rōmānī longē ā domō bellāre et prōpugnāculīs imperī sociōrum fortūnās, nōn sua tēcta dēfendere. Sociīs ego vestrīs mare per hōsce annōs clausum fuisse dīcam, cum exercitūs vestrī numquam Brundisiō nisi hieme summā trānsmīserint? Quī ad vōs ab exterīs nātiōnibus venīrent, captōs querar, cum lēgātī pop-

ulī Rōmānī redēmptī sint? Mercātōribus mare tūtum nōn fuisse dīcam, cum duodecim secūrēs in praedōnum potestātem pervēnerint? 33. Cnidum aut Colophōnem aut Samum, nōbilissimās urbīs, innumerābilīsque aliās captās esse commemorem, cum vestrōs portūs atque eōs portūs quibus vītam ac spīritum dūcitis in praedōnum fuisse potestāte sciātis? An vērō īgnōrātis portum Cāiētae celeberrimum et plēnissimum nāvium īnspectante praetōre ā praedōnibus esse dīreptum, ex Mīsēnō autem eius ipsīus līberōs quī cum praedōnibus anteā bellum gesserat ā praedōnibus esse sublātos? Nam quid ego Ōstiēnse incommodum atque illam lābem atque īgnōminiam reī pūblicae querar, cum prope īnspectantibus vōbīs classis ea cui cōnsul populī Rōmānī praepositus esset ā praedōnibus capta atque depressa est? Prō dī immortālēs! tantamne ūnīus hominis incrēdibilis ac dīvīna virtūs tam brevī tempore lūcem adferre reī pūblicae potuit ut vōs, quī modo ante ōstium Tiberīnum classem hostium vidēbātis, eī nunc nūllam intrā Ōceanī ōstium praedōnum nāvem esse audiātis? 34. Atque haec quā celeritāte gesta sint, quamquam vidētis, tamen ā mē in dīcendō praetereunda nōn sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundī negōtī aut cōnsequendī quaestūs studiō tam brevī tempore tot loca adīre, tantōs cursūs cōnficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompēiō duce tantī bellī impetus nāvigāvit? quī nōndum tempestīvō ad nāvigandum marī Siciliam adiit, Āfricam explōrāvit, inde Sardiniam cum classe vēnit atque haec tria frūmentāria subsidia reī pūblicae fīrmissimīs praesidiīs classibusque mūnīvit. 35. Inde cum sē in Ītaliam recēpisset, duābus Hispāniīs et Galliā Trānsalpīnā praesidiīs ac nāvibus cōnfīrmātā, missīs item in ōram Illyricī maris et in Achāiam omnemque Graeciam nāvibus Ītaliae duo maria maximīs classibus fīrmissimīsque praesidiīs adōrnāvit, ipse autem ut Brundisiō profectus est, ūndēquīnquā-

gēsimō diē tōtam ad imperium populī Rōmānī Ciliciam adiūnxit; omnēs quī ubīque praedōnēs fuērunt partim captī interfectīque sunt, partim ūnīus huius sē imperiō ac potestātī dēdidērunt. Īdem Crētēnsibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphȳliam lēgātōs dēprecātōrēsque mīsissent, spem dēditiōnis nōn adēmit obsidēsque imperāvit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diūturnum, tam longē lātēque dispersum, quō bellō omnēs gentēs ac nātiōnēs premēbantur, Cn. Pompēius extrēmā hieme apparāvit, ineunte vēre suscēpit, mediā aestāte cōnfēcit.

Reference is made to the integrity, self-control, good faith, and kindliness of Pompey. Other generals, known to the audience, have been corrupt. Armies led by such generals are dreaded more by the allies than by the enemy. Pompey restrains his army, and controls himself. Men, through him, again believe in the ancient Roman character. His great qualities make him the fittest man to command in this war. (36–42.)

13. 36. Est haec dīvīna atque incrēdibilis virtūs imperātōris. Quid? cēterae quās paulō ante commemorāre coeperam quantae atque quam multae sunt! Nōn enim bellandī virtūs sōlum in summō ac perfectō imperātōre quaerenda est sed multae sunt artēs eximiae huius administrae comitēsque virtūtis. Ac prīmum quantā innocentiā debent esse imperātōrēs, quantā deinde in omnibus rēbus temperantiā, quantā fidē, quantā facilitāte, quantō ingeniō, quantā hūmānitāte! quae breviter quālia sint in Cn. Pompēiō cōnsīderēmus. Summa enim sunt omnia, Quirītēs, sed ea magis ex aliōrum contentiōne quam ipsa per sēsē cōgnōscī atque intellegī possunt. 37. Quem enim possumus imperātōrem ūllō in numerō putāre cuius in exercitū centuriātūs vēneant atque vēnierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum dē rē pūblicā cōgitāre quī pecūniam ex aerāriō dēprōmptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupidi-

tātem prōvinciae magistrātibus dīvīserit aut propter avāritiam Rōmae in quaestū relīquerit? Vestra admurmurātiō facit, Quirītēs, ut āgnōscere videāminī quī haec fēcerint; ego autem nōminō nēminem; quā rē īrāscī mihi nēmō poterit nisi quī ante dē sē voluerit cōnfitērī. Itaque propter hanc avāritiam imperātōrum quantās calamitātēs, quōcumque ventum sit, nostrī exercitūs adferant quis īgnōrat? 38. Itinera quae per hōsce annōs in Ītaliā per agrōs atque oppida cīvium Rōmānōrum nostrī imperātōrēs fēcerint recordāminī; tum facilius statuētis quid apud exterās nātiōnēs fierī exīstimētis. Vtrum plūrīs arbitrāminī per hōsce annōs mīlitum vestrōrum armīs hostium urbīs an hībernīs sociōrum cīvitātēs esse dēlētās? Neque enim potest exercitum is continēre imperātor quī sē ipse nōn continet, neque sevērus esse in iūdicandō quī aliōs in sē sevērōs esse iūdicēs nōn volt. 39. Hīc mīrāmur hunc hominem tantum excellere cēterīs, cuius legiōnēs sīc in Asiam pervēnerint ut nōn modo manus tantī exercitūs sed nē vēstīgium quidem cuiquam pācātō nocuisse dīcātur? Iam vērō quem ad modum mīlitēs hībernent cotīdiē sermōnēs ac litterae perferuntur; nōn modo ut sūmptum faciat in mīlitem nēminī vīs adfertur sed nē cupientī quidem quicquam permittitur. Hiemis enim nōn avāritiae perfugium maiōrēs nostrī in sociōrum atque amīcōrum tēctīs esse voluērunt.

14. 40. Age vērō, cēterīs in rēbus quae sit temperantia cōnsīderāte. Vnde illam tantam celeritātem et tam incrēdibilem cursum inventum putātis? Nōn enim illum eximia vīs rēmigum aut ars inaudīta quaedam gubernandī aut ventī aliquī novī tam celeriter in ultimās terrās pertulērunt, sed eae rēs quae cēterōs remorārī solent nōn retardārunt. Nōn avāritia ab īnstitūtō cursū ad praedam aliquam dēvōcāvit, nōn libīdō ad voluptātem, nōn amoenitās ad dēlectātiōnem, nōn nōbilitās urbis ad cōgnitiōnem, nōn dēnique labor ipse ad

quiētem; postrēmō sīgna et tabulās cēteraque ōrnāmenta Graecōrum oppidōrum quae cēterī tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille nē vīsenda quidem exīstimāvit. 41. Itaque omnēs nunc in eīs locīs Cn. Pompēium sīcut aliquem nōn ex hāc urbe missum sed dē caelō dēlāpsum intuentur; nunc dēnique incipiunt crēdere fuisse hominēs Rōmānōs hāc quondam continentiā, quod iam nātiōnibus exterīs incrēdibile ac falsō memoriae prōditum vidēbātur; nunc imperī vestrī splendor illīs gentibus lūcem adferre coepit; nunc intellegunt nōn sine causā maiōrēs suōs tum cum eā temperantiā magistrātūs habēbāmus servīre populō Rōmānō quam imperāre aliīs māluisse. Iam vērō ita facilēs aditūs ad eum prīvātōrum, ita līberae querimōniae dē aliōrum iniūriīs esse dīcuntur, ut is quī dignitāte prīncipibus excellit facilitāte īnfimīs pār esse videātur. 42. Iam quantum cōnsiliō, quantum dīcendī gravitāte et cōpiā valeat, in quō ipsō inest quaedam dignitās imperātōria, vōs, Quirītēs, hōc ipsō ex locō saepe cōgnōstis. Fidem vērō eius quantam inter sociōs exīstimārī putātis quam hostēs omnēs omnium generum sānctissimam iūdicārint? Hūmānitāte iam tantā est ut difficile dictū sit utrum hostēs magis virtūtem eius pugnantēs timuerint an mānsuētūdinem victī dīlēxerint. Et quisquam dubitābit quīn huic hoc tantum bellum permittendum sit quī ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella cōnficienda dīvīnō quōdam cōnsiliō nātus esse videātur?

The prestige of Pompey's name is of the greatest importance. The world knows how he is honored at home. Mithridates and his ally were checked by the knowledge that Pompey was at hand. Pompey's good fortune is remarkable, although it is best not to boast of good fortune. It would be wrong to hesitate about giving Pompey the command. Moreover, he is near the scene of conflict. (43–50.)

15. 43. Et quoniam auctōritās quoque in bellīs administrandīs multum atque in imperiō mīlitārī valet, certē nēminī

dubium est quīn eā rē īdem ille imperātor plūrimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinēre ad bella administranda quid hostēs, quid sociī dē imperātōribus nostrīs exīstiment quis īgnōrat, cum sciāmus hominēs in tantīs rēbus ut aut metuant aut contemnant aut ōderint aut ament opīniōne nōn minus et fāmā quam aliquā ratiōne certā commovērī? Quod igitur nōmen umquam in orbe terrārum clārius fuit, cuius rēs gestae parēs? dē quō homine vōs, id quod maximē facit auctōritātem, tanta et tam praeclāra iūdicia fēcistis? 44. An vērō ūllam usquam esse ōram tam dēsertam putātis quō nōn illīus diēī fāma pervāserit, cum ūniversus populus Rōmānus refertō forō complētīsque omnibus templīs ex quibus hīc locus cōnspicī potest ūnum sibi ad commūne omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompēium imperātōrem dēpoposcit? Itaque ut plūra nōn dīcam neque aliōrum exemplīs cōnfīrmem quantum auctōritās valeat in bellō, ab eōdem Cn. Pompēiō omnium rērum ēgregiārum exempla sūmantur. Quī quō diē ā vōbīs maritimō bellō praepositus est imperātor, tanta repente vīlitās ex summā inopiā et cāritāte reī frūmentāriae cōnsecūta est ūnīus hominis spē ac nōmine quantam vix in summā ūbertāte agrōrum diūturna pāx efficere potuisset. 45. Iam acceptā in Pontō calamitāte ex eō proeliō dē quō vōs paulō ante invītus admonuī, cum sociī pertimuissent, hostium opēs animīque crēvissent, satis fīrmum praesidium prōvincia nōn habēret, āmīsissētis Asiam, Quirītēs, nisi ad ipsum discrīmen eius temporis dīvīnitus Cn. Pompēium ad eās regiōnēs Fortūna populī Rōmānī attulisset. Huius adventus et Mithridātem īnsolitā inflātum victōriā continuit et Tigrānen magnīs cōpiīs minitantem Asiae retardāvit. Et quisquam dubitābit quid virtūte perfectūrus sit quī tantum auctōritāte perfēcerit, aut quam facile imperiō atque exercitū sociōs et vectīgālia cōnservātūrus sit quī ipsō nōmine ac rūmōre dēfenderit?

16. 46. Age vērō illa rēs quantam dēclārat eiusdem hominis apud hostīs populī Rōmānī auctōritātem, quod ex locīs tam longinquīs tamque dīversīs tam brevī tempore omnēs huic sē ūnī dēdidērunt! quod a commūni Crētēnsium lēgātī, cum in eōrum īnsulā noster imperātor exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompēium in ultimās prope terrās vēnērunt eīque sē omnīs Crētēnsium cīvitātēs dēdere velle dīxērunt! Quid? īdem iste Mithridātēs nōnne ad eundem Cn. Pompēium lēgātum usque in Hispāniam mīsit? eum quem Pompēius lēgātum semper iūdicāvit, eī quibus erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum speculātōrem quam lēgātum iūdicārī māluērunt. Potestis igitur iam cōnstituere, Quirītēs, hanc auctōritātem multīs posteā rēbus gestīs magnīsque vestrīs iūdiciīs amplificātam quantum apud illōs rēgēs, quantum apud exterās nātiōnēs valitūram esse exīstimētis.

47. Reliquum est ut dē fēlīcitāte quam praestāre dē sē ipsō nēmō potest, meminisse et commemorāre dē alterō possumus, sīcut aequum est hominēs dē potestāte deōrum, timidē et pauca dīcāmus. Ego enim sīc exīstimō, Maximō, Mārcellō, Scīpiōnī, Mariō cēterīsque magnīs imperātōribus nōn sōlum propter virtūtem sed etiam propter fortūnam saepius imperia mandāta atque exercitūs esse commissōs. Fuit enim profectō quibusdam summīs virīs quaedam ad amplitūdinem et ad glōriam et ad rēs magnās bene gerendās dīvīnitus adiūncta fortūna. Dē huius autem hominis fēlīcitāte quō dē nunc agimus hāc ūtar moderātiōne dīcendī, nōn ut in illīus potestāte fortūnam positam esse dīcam sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua spērāre videāmur, nē aut invīsa dīs immortālibus ōrātiō nostra aut ingrāta esse videātur.

48. Itaque nōn sum praedicātūrus quantās ille rēs domī mīlitiae, terrā marīque quantāque fēlīcitāte gesserit, ut eius semper voluntātibus nōn modo cīvēs adsēnserint, socii

obtemperārint, hostēs oboedierint, sed etiam ventī tempestātēsque obsecundārint; hoc brevissimē dīcam, nēminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse quī ab dīs immortālibus tot et tantās rēs tacitus audēret optāre quot et quantās dī immortālēs ad Cn. Pompēium dētulērunt. Quod ut illī proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirītēs, cum commūnis salūtis atque imperī tum ipsīus hominis causā, sīcutī facitis, et velle et optāre dēbētis.

49. Quā rē cum et bellum sit ita necessārium ut neglegī nōn possit, ita magnum ut accūrātissimē sit administrandum, et cum eī imperātōrem praeficere possītis in quō sit eximia bellī scientia, singulāris virtūs, clārissima auctōritās, ēgregia fortūna, dubitātis, Quirītēs, quīn hoc tantum bonī quod vōbīs ab dīs immortālibus oblātum et datum est in rem pūblicam cōnservandam atque amplificandam cōnferātis?

17. 50. Quod sī Rōmae Cn. Pompēius prīvātus esset hōc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat dēligendus atque mittendus; nunc cum ad cēterās summās ūtilitātēs haec quoque opportūnitās adiungātur ut in eīs ipsīs locīs adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab eīs quī habent accipere statim possit, quid exspectāmus? aut cūr nōn ducibus dīs immortālibus eīdem cui cētera summā cum salūte reī pūblicae commissa sunt hoc quoque bellum rēgium commendāmus?

Refutatio

But Catulus and Hortensius oppose the proposed law. Hortensius thinks that supreme power should not be placed in the hands of one man. This argument is out of date. Hortensius said the same concerning the Gabinian law. If he had been listened to then, the pirates would not have been suppressed. Rome had become too weak to protect her coasts. The Roman people passed the Gabinian law, contrary to the advice of Hortensius, and now the glory of the Empire has been restored. Gabinius ought, therefore, to have been eligible as lieutenant. Others have been chosen lieutenants immediately after their

tribuneship; the matter is to be brought before the Senate. Catulus's chief argument is that something might happen to Pompey and that there would be no one to take his place. The reply has been, "There is Catulus himself." Catulus urges lack of precedent, but has himself approved of the new legislation in the case of Pompey. The whole history of Pompey is contrary to precedent. In giving Pompey sole command against the pirates, the Senate has given judgment against Hortensius and Catulus. Results prove that the decision was correct. Moreover, other virtues besides those of a general are called for in the East. The avarice of former commanders has made us hated there. No one should be sent except a man of recognized self-control. Pompey is such a man, and therefore is desired by our allies. Many men of high character support the law. (51–68.)

51. At enim vir clārissimus, amantissimus rei pūblicae, vestrīs beneficiīs amplissimīs adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summīs ōrnāmentīs honōris, fortūnae, virtūtis, ingenī praeditus, Q. Hortēnsius, ab hāc ratiōne dissentiunt. Quōrum ego auctōritātem apud vōs multīs locīs plūrimum valuisse et valēre oportēre cōnfiteor; sed in hāc causā, tametsī cōgnōstis auctōritātēs contrāriās virōrum fortissimōrum et clārissimōrum, tamen omissīs auctōritātibus ipsā rē ac ratiōne exquīrere possumus vēritātem, atque hōc facilius quod ea omnia quae ā mē adhūc dicta sunt īdem istī vēra esse concēdunt, et necessārium bellum esse et magnum et in ūnō Cn. Pompēiō summa esse omnia. 52. Quid igitur ait Hortēnsius? Sī ūnī omnia tribuenda sint, dignissimum esse Pompēium, sed ad ūnum tamen omnia dēferrī nōn oportēre. Obsolēvit iam ista ōrātiō rē multō magis quam verbīs refūtāta. Nam tū īdem, Q. Hortēnsī, multa prō tuā summā cōpiā ac singulārī facultāte dīcendī et in senātū contrā virum fortem, A. Gabīnium, graviter ōrnātēque dīxistī, cum is dē ūnō imperātōre contrā praedōnēs cōnstituendō lēgem prōmulgāsset, et ex hōc ipsō locō permulta item contrā eam lēgem verba fēcistī. 53. Quid? tum, per

deōs immortālīs! sī plūs apud populum Rōmānum auctōritās tua quam ipsīus populī Rōmānī salūs et vēra causa valuisset, hodiē hanc glōriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium tenērēmus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse vidēbātur cum populī Rōmānī lēgātī quaestōrēs praetōrēsque capiēbantur, cum ex omnibus prōvinciīs commeātū et prīvātō et pūblicō prohibēbāmur, cum ita clausa nōbīs erant maria omnia ut neque prīvātam rem trānsmarīnam neque pūblicam iam obīre possēmus?

18. 54. Quae cīvitās umquam fuit anteā, nōn dīcō Athēniēnsium quae satis lātē quondam mare tenuisse dīcitur, nōn Carthāginiēnsium quī permultum classe ac maritimīs rēbus valuērunt, nōn Rhodiōrum quōrum usque ad nostram memoriam dīsciplīna nāvālis et glōria permānsit, quae cīvitās, inquam, anteā tam tenuis aut tam parvola fuit quae nōn portūs suōs et agrōs et aliquam partem regiōnis atque ōrae maritimae per sē ipsa dēfenderet? At hercules aliquot annōs continuōs ante lēgem Gabīniam ille populus Rōmānus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nōmen invictum in nāvālibus pugnīs permānserit, magnā āc multō maximā parte nōn modo ūtilitātis sed etiam dignitātis atque imperī caruit. 55. Nōs quōrum maiōrēs Antiochum rēgem classe Persēnque superārunt omnibusque nāvālibus pugnīs Carthāginiēnsīs, hominēs in maritimīs rēbus exercitātissimōs parātissimōsque, vīcērunt, eī nūllō in locō iam praedōnibus parēs esse poterāmus. Nōs quī anteā nōn modo Ītaliam tūtam habēbāmus sed omnīs sociōs in ultimīs ōrīs auctōritāte nostrī imperī salvōs praestāre poterāmus, tum cum īnsula Dēlus tam procul ā nōbīs in Aegaeō marī posita, quō omnēs undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeābant, referta dīvitiīs, parva, sine mūrō nihil timēbat, īdem nōn modo prōvinciīs atque ōrīs Ītaliae maritimīs ac portibus nostrīs sed etiam Appiā iam viā carēbāmus. Et eīs temporibus

nōnne pudēbat magistrātūs populī Rōmānī in hunc ipsum locum ēscendere, cum eum nōbīs maiōrēs nostrī exuviīs nauticīs et classium spoliīs ōrnātum relīquissent!

19. 56. Bonō tē animō tum, Q. Hortēnsī, populus Rōmānus et cēterōs quī erant in eādem sententiā dīcere exīstimāvit et ea quae sentiēbātis; sed tamen in salūte commūnī idem populus Rōmānus dolōrī suō māluit quam auctōritātī vestrae obtemperāre. Itaque ūna lēx, ūnus vir, ūnus annus nōn modo vōs illā miseriā ac turpitūdine līberāvit sed etiam effēcit ut aliquandō vērē vidērēminī omnibus gentibus ac nātiōnibus terrā marīque imperāre. 57. Quō mihi etiam indignius vidētur obtrectātum esse adhūc, Gabīniō dīcam anne Pompēiō an utrīque, id quod est vērius, nē lēgārētur A. Gabīnius Cn. Pompēiō expetentī ac postulantī. Vtrum ille quī postulat ad tantum bellum lēgātum quem velit idōneus nōn est quī impetret, cum cēterī ad expīlandōs sociōs dīripiendāsque prōvinciās quōs voluērunt lēgātōs ēdūxerint, an ipse cuius lēge salūs ac dignitās populō Rōmānō atque omnibus gentibus cōnstitūta est expers esse dēbet eius imperātōris atque eius exercitūs quī cōnsiliō ac perīculō illīus est cōnstitūtus? 58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latīniēnsis, Cn. Lentulus, quōs omnīs honōris causā nōminō, cum tribūnī plēbī fuissent, annō proximō lēgātī esse potuērunt; in ūnō Gabīniō sunt tam dīligentēs quī in hōc bellō quod lēge Gabīniā geritur, in hōc imperātōre atque exercitū quem per vōs ipse cōnstituit, etiam praecipuō iūre esse dēbēbat? Dē quō lēgandō cōnsulēs spērō ad senātum relātūrōs. Quī sī dubitābunt aut gravābuntur, ego mē profiteor relātūrum; neque mē impediet cuiusquam inīquitās quō minus vōbīs frētūs vestrum iūs beneficiumque dēfendam, neque praeter intercessiōnem quicquam audiam, dē quā, ut ego arbitror, istī ipsī quī minitantur etiam atque etiam quid liceat cōnsīderābunt,

Meā quidem sententiā, Quirītēs, ūnus A. Gabīnius belli maritimī rērumque gestārum Cn. Pompēiō socius ascrībitur, propterea quod alter ūnī illud bellum suscipiendum vestrīs suffrāgiīs dētulit, alter dēlātum susceptumque cōnfēcit.

20. 59. Reliquum est ut dē Q. Catulī auctōritāte et sententiā dīcendum esse videātur. Quī cum ex vōbīs quaereret, sī in ūnō Cn. Pompēiō omnia pōnerētis, sī quid eō factum esset, in quō spem essētis habitūrī, cēpit magnum suae virtūtis frūctum ac dignitātis, cum omnēs ūnā prope vōce in eō ipsō vōs spem habitūrōs esse dīxistis. Etenim tālis est vir ut nūlla rēs tanta sit ac tam difficilis quam ille nōn et cōnsiliō regere et integritāte tuērī et virtūte cōnficere possit. Sed in hōc ipsō ab eō vehementissimē dissentiō, quod quō minus certa est hominum ac minus diūturna vīta, hōc magis rēs pūblica, dum per deōs inmortālīs licet, fruī dēbet summī virī vītā atque virtūte. 60. At enim nē quid novī fīat contrā exempla atque īnstitūta maiōrum. Nōn dīcam hōc locō maiōrēs nostrōs semper in pāce cōnsuētūdinī, in bellō ūtilitātī pāruisse, semper ad novōs cāsūs temporum novōrum cōnsiliōrum ratiōnēs accommodāsse, nōn dīcam duō bella maxima, Pūnicum atque Hispāniēnse, ab ūnō imperātōre esse cōnfecta duāsque urbīs potentissimās quae huic imperiō maximē minitābantur, Carthāginem atque Numantiam, ab eōdem Scīpiōne esse dēlētās, nōn commemorābō nūper ita vōbīs patribusque vestrīs esse vīsum ut in ūnō C. Mariō spēs imperī pōnerētur, ut īdem cum Iugurthā, īdem cum Cimbrīs, īdem cum Teutonīs bellum administrāret; in ipsō Cn. Pompēiō in quō novī cōnstituī nihil volt Q. Catulus quam multa sint nova summā Q. Catulī voluntāte cōnstitūta recordāminī.

21. 61. Quid tam novum quam adulēscentulum prīvātum exercitum difficilī reī pūblicae tempore cōnficere? Cōnfēcit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optimē ductū suō

gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter cōnsuētūdinem quam hominī peradulēscentī cuius aetās ā senātōriō gradū longē abesset imperium atque exercitum darī, Siciliam permittī atque Āfricam bellumque in eā prōvinciā administrandum? Fuit in hīs prōvinciīs singulārī innocentiā, gravitāte, virtūte, bellum in Āfricā maximum cōnfēcit, victōrem exercitum dēportāvit. Quid vērō tam inaudītum quam equitem Rōmānum triumphāre? At eam quoque rem populus Rōmānus nōn modo vīdit sed omnium etiam studiō vīsendam et concelebrandam putāvit. 62. Quid tam inūsitātum quam ut, cum duo cōnsulēs clārissimī fortissimīque essent, eques Rōmānus ad bellum maximum formīdolōsissimumque prō cōnsule mitterētur? Missus est. Quō quidem tempore cum esset nōn nēmō in senātū quī dīceret 'nōn oportēre mittī hominem prīvātum prō cōnsule,' L. Philippus dīxisse dīcitur 'nōn sē illum suā sententiā prō cōnsule sed prō cōnsulibus mittere.' Tanta in eō reī pūblicae bene gerendae spēs cōnstituēbātur ut duōrum cōnsulum mūnus ūnīus adulēscentis virtūtī committerētur. Quid tam singulāre quam ut ex senātūs consultō lēgibus solūtus cōnsul ante fieret quam ūllum alium magistrātum per lēgēs capere licuisset? quid tam incrēdibile quam ut iterum eques Rōmānus ex senātūs consultō triumphāret? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam cōnstitūta sunt, ea tam multa nōn sunt quam haec quae in hōc ūnō homine vīdimus. 63. Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eōdem homine ā Q. Catulī atque ā cēterōrum ēiusdem dignitātis amplissimōrum hominum auctōritāte.

22. Quā rē videant nē sit perinīquum et nōn ferendum illōrum auctōritātem dē Cn. Pompēī dignitāte ā vōbīs comprobātam semper esse, vestrum ab illīs dē eōdem homine iūdicium populīque Rōmānī auctōritātem improbārī, prae-

sertim cum iam suō iūre populus Rōmānus in hōc homine suam auctōritātem vel contrā omnīs quī dissentiunt possit dēfendere, propterea quod īsdem istīs reclāmantibus vōs ūnum illum ex omnibus dēlēgistis quem bellō praedōnum praepōnerētis. 64. Hoc sī vōs temerē fēcistis et reī pūblicae parum cōnsuluistis, rēctē istī studia vestra suīs cōnsiliīs regere cōnantur. Sīn autem vōs plūs tum in rē pūblicā vīdistis, vōs eīs repugnantibus per vōsmet ipsōs dignitātem huic imperiō, salūtem orbī terrārum attulistis, aliquandō istī prīncipēs et sibi et cēterīs populī Rōmānī ūniversī auctōritātī pārendum esse fateantur. Atque in hōc bellō Asiāticō et rēgiō, Quirītēs, nōn sōlum mīlitāris illa virtūs quae est in Cn. Pompēiō singulāris sed aliae quoque animī virtūtēs magnae et multae requīruntur. Difficile est in Asiā, Ciliciā, Syriā rēgnīsque interiōrum nātiōnum ita versārī nostrum imperātōrem ut nihil aliud nisi dē hoste ac dē laude cōgitet. Deinde, etiam sī quī sunt pudōre ac temperantiā moderātiōrēs, tamen eōs esse tālīs propter multitūdinem cupidōrum hominum nēmō arbitrātur. 65. Difficile est dictū, Quirītēs, quantō in odiō sīmus apud exterās nātiōnēs propter eōrum quōs ad eās per hōs annōs cum imperiō mīsimus libīdinēs et iniūriās. Quod enim fānum putātis in illīs terrīs nostrīs magistrātibus religiōsum, quam cīvitātem sānctam, quam domum satis clausam ac mūnītam fuisse? Vrbēs iam locuplētēs et cōpiōsae requīruntur quibus causa bellī propter dīripiendī facultātem īnferātur. 66. Libentur haec cōram cum Q. Catulō et Q. Hortēnsiō, summīs et clārissimīs virīs, disputārem; nōrunt enim sociōrum volnera, vident eōrum calamitātēs, querimōniās audiunt. Prō sociīs vōs contrā hostīs exercitūs mittere putātis an hostium simulātiōne contrā sociōs atque amīcōs? Quae cīvitās est in Asiā quae nōn modo imperātōris aut lēgātī sed ūnius tribūnī mīlitum animōs ac spīritūs capere possit?

23. Quā rē, etiam sī quem habētis quī conlātīs sīgnīs exercitūs rēgiōs superāre posse videātur, tamen, nisi erit īdem quī ā pecūniīs sociōrum, quī ab eōrum coniugibus ac līberīs, quī ab ōrnāmentīs fānōrum atque oppidōrum, quī ab aurō gazāque rēgiā manūs, oculōs, animum cohibēre possit, nōn erit idōneus quī ad bellum Asiāticum rēgiumque mittātur. 67. Ecquam putātis cīvitātem pācātam fuisse quae locuplēs sit, ecquam esse locuplētem quae istīs pācāta esse

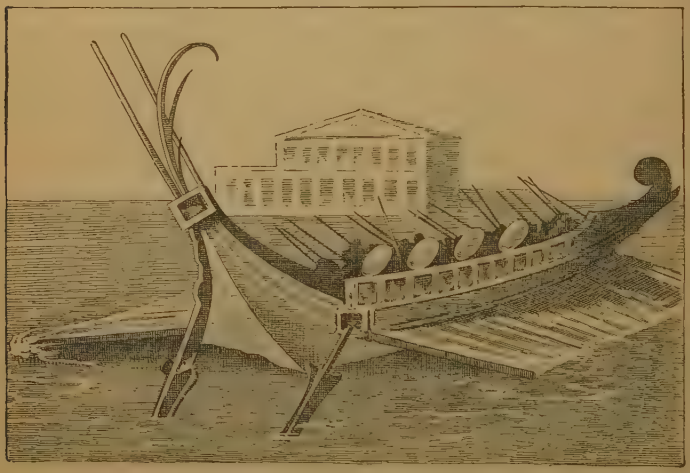


FIG. 9. Ship of War.

videātur? Ōra maritima, Quirītēs, Cn. Pompēium nōn sōlum propter reī mīlitāris glōriam sed etiam propter animī continentiam requīsīvit. Vidēbat enim praetōrēs locuplētārī quotannīs pecūniā pūblicā praeter paucōs, neque nōs quicquam aliud adsequī classium nōmine nisi ut dētrīmentīs accipiendīs maiōre adficī turpitūdine vidērēmur. Nunc quā cupiditāte hominēs in prōvinciās, quibus iactūrīs quibusque condiciōnibus proficīscantur īgnōrant vidēlicet istī quī ad ūnum dēferenda omnia esse nōn arbitrantur. Quasi

vērō Cn. Pompēium nōn cum suīs virtūtibus tum etiam aliēnīs vitiīs magnum esse videāmus. 68. Quā rē nōlīte dubitāre quīn huic ūnī crēdātis omnia quī inter tot annōs ūnus inventus est quem sociī in urbīs suās cum exercitū vēnisse gaudērent.

Quod sī auctōritātibus hanc causam, Quirītēs, cōnfīrmandam putātis, est vōbīs auctor vir bellōrum omnium maximārumque rērum perītissimus, P. Servīlius, cuius tantae rēs gestae terrā marīque exstitērunt ut, cum dē bellō dēliberētis, auctor vōbīs gravior esse nēmō dēbeat; est C. Cūriō, summīs vestrīs beneficiīs maximīsque rēbus gestīs, summō ingeniō et prūdentiā praeditus, est Cn. Lentulus in quō omnēs prō amplissimīs vestrīs honōribus summum cōnsilium, summam gravitātem esse cōgnōstis, est C. Cassius, integritāte, vēritāte, cōnstantiā singulārī. Quā rē vidēte ut hōrum auctōritātibus illōrum ōrātiōnī quī dissentiunt respondēre posse videāmur.

Peroratio

Manilius, I approve your proposed law, and beg you not to be deterred from bringing it to an issue. I shall support you to the extent of my power. I have no personal end in view. On the contrary, I may incur enmity, but my duty calls me to neglect my own interests that I may further those of the republic. (69–71.)

24. 69. Quae cum ita sint, C. Mānīlī, prīmum istam tuam et lēgem et voluntātem et sententiam laudō vehementissimēque comprobō; deinde tē hortor ut auctōre populō Rōmānō maneās in sententiā nēve cuiusquam vim aut minās pertimēscās. Prīmum in tē satis esse animī persevērantiaeque arbitror; deinde, cum tantam multitūdinem tantō cum studiō adesse videāmus quantam iterum nunc in eōdem homine praeficiendō vidēmus, quid est quod aut dē rē aut dē perficiendī facultāte dubitēmus? Ego autem,

quicquid est in mē studī, cōnsilī, labōris, ingenī, quicquid hōc beneficiō populī Rōmānī atque hāc potestāte praetōriā, quicquid auctōritāte, fidē, cōnstantiā possum, id omne ad hanc rem cōnficiendam tibi et populō Rōmānō polliceor ac dēferō (70) testorque omnīs deōs, et eōs maximē quī huic locō templōque praesident, quī omnium mentīs eōrum quī ad rem pūblicam adeunt maximē perspiciunt, mē hoc neque rogātū facere cuiusquam, neque quō Cn. Pompēī grātiam mihi per hanc causam conciliārī putem, neque quō mihi ex cuiusquam amplitūdine aut praesidia perīculīs aut adiūmenta honōribus quaeram, propterea quod perīcula facile, ut hominem praestāre oportet, innocentiā tēctī repellēmus, honōrem autem neque ab ūnō neque ex hōc locō sed eādem illā nostrā labōriōsissimā ratiōne vītae, sī vestra voluntās feret, cōnsequēmur. 71. Quam ob rem, sī quid in hāc causā mihi susceptum est, Quirītēs, id ego omne mē reī pūblicae causā suscēpisse cōnfīrmō, tantumque abest ut aliquam mihi bonam grātiam quaesīsse videar, ut multās mē etiam simultātēs partim obscūrās, partim apertās intellegam mihi nōn necessāriās, vōbīs nōn inūtilīs suscēpisse. Sed ego mē hōc honōre praeditum, tantīs vestrīs beneficiīs adfectum statuī, Quirītēs, vestram voluntātem et reī pūblicae dignitātem et salūtem prōvinciārum atque sociōrum meīs omnibus commodīs et ratiōnibus praeferre oportēre.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY

(Traditional Account)

L. Sergius Catiline belonged to one of the oldest patrician families of Rome. A mind of great power and a body strong enough to defy exhaustion gave him great influence among the young men of his time. His corrupt life made this influence harmful to the morals of the city and also, when coupled with political intrigue, dangerous to the state.

Catiline was born about 108 B.C. During the dictatorship of Sulla he served that monster of cruelty as a willing tool, and thus had a share in the booty of the conscription and confiscation of 82–79. Later he attached himself to the popular party, perhaps because a man of so notoriously bad character would not be openly tolerated by Cicero and other such men who ruled the senatorial party.

In 67, having been praetor in Rome the previous year, he governed Africa as propraetor. This did not satisfy his political ambition, and in July, 66, he stood for the consulship, so that, if he had been successful, he would have entered upon this office January 1, 65. The Roman law provided that no one under indictment should be eligible for any magistracy. An indictment for extortion brought against him upon his return from Africa prevented Catiline's candidacy in 66, but fortune seemed to favor Catiline's ambition. Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, elected in 66, were convicted of bribery and their election declared void. Paetus immediately allied himself with Sulla, and between them they hatched a plot to destroy Cotta and Torquatus, the newly elected consuls. The details of this plot are not known, but since Cicero

refers to it, we may believe that the plot actually took shape, but met with some abrupt and complete check. In 65 Catiline was acquitted of the charge of extortion, but too late to admit his standing for office in that year. With dogged persistence he announced himself as a candidate in the following year, when his chief competitors were M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius Hybrida. Cicero was a deadly foe, but Antonius rather inclined toward him.

By offering inducements to debtors, under a promise of release from debt, and to impecunious spendthrifts by promising confiscation of property for their benefit, Catiline gathered a large following. The nobles, frightened by the prospect of Catiline's growing strength, used their influence in favor of Cicero, although Cicero, a *novus homo*, none of whose ancestors had held a curule office, would not under ordinary circumstances enlist their sympathy. The knights, the wealthiest class in Rome, supported Cicero unanimously. Cicero was triumphantly elected, and Antonius was chosen as his colleague.

Catiline now turned from political struggle to treason. Sulla's veterans, who remembered him as a friend of Sulla, were at the time, many of them, in a state of unrest. They had squandered the generous provision made for them in land and money, and were eager for an opportunity to obtain fresh spoils. From these and other discontented countrymen, Catiline began to levy an army. Manlius, once a centurion of Sulla, was chosen as leader and was sent from Rome to take command until Catiline should arrive. The schools of gladiators were also searched for men willing to cast their lot with the conspirators. In 63 Catiline again offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. Cicero, then consul, seemed to be the only man of prominence willing to take the lead against Catiline. Perhaps the others felt that Pompey's return from the East with his victorious army would easily quell disorder, even if Catiline should attempt a revolution. Through Fulvia, mistress of Q. Curius, one of Catiline's friends, Cicero learned the details of Catiline's plot. On the day before the consular *comitia* should have been held, he revealed what he knew to

the senate and persuaded the senate to postpone the election. Beyond this the senate would not act. The election was held, Cicero appearing with a cuirass under his toga and surrounded by a throng of friends. Catiline was once more defeated.

The senate, soon after the election of 63, heard the news of a threatened outbreak in Etruria under Catiline's instigation. It now decreed the 'ultimum decretum,' *videant consules ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat.* By this decree the consuls were invested with extraordinary powers. The city was patrolled, and Q. Pomponius Rufus and Q. Metellus Celer were sent from the city to collect troops. Antonius had been won over through an exchange of provinces, so that Cicero was now master of the situation, if he could induce the senate to support him.

Catiline knew that Manlius was now ready with his motley army, but was not himself ready to take the field. Being indicted for inciting riot, he offered to place himself in the custody of a citizen of known integrity. This would enable him to remain in the city in safety until he was prepared to join his army. Cicero evidently believed that Catiline was delaying until he should have accomplished the assassination of his chief opponents.

On the night of November 6 Catiline and his fellow-conspirators assembled at the house of M. Laeca. At this meeting Catiline outlined his plans and declared the necessity of destroying Cicero. C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, two of the conspirators, offered to assassinate the consul. To this end they visited Cicero's house early the next morning, or perhaps a day later, pretending that they had come to salute him. Informed by his spies, Cicero refused admittance to Cornelius and Vargunteius. He at once summoned the senate in extraordinary session in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline had the effrontery to attend. The first Catilinarian Oration is Cicero's greeting to the conspirator as he took his seat. Catiline, seeing that the tide was against him, suddenly left the temple and later in the day departed from the city by the Via Aurelia, in order to give the impression that he was going as an exile to Massilia.

P. Cornelius Lentulus now assumed charge of the conspiracy in the city, and Cicero knew that Catiline's departure from the city by no means meant the abandoning of his schemes. On the next day he addressed the people in the Forum, recounting what had happened in the senate and defending his own action.

When it was found that Catiline had joined Manlius, both were declared public enemies. Amnesty was offered to all adherents who should lay down their arms before a certain date. Antonius took charge of military operations against Catiline, and Cicero took upon himself the prosecution of the conspirators within the city. Cicero's task was to obtain evidence.

Delegates had, about this time, come to Rome from the Allobroges, a tribe of Transalpine Gaul. Lentulus tampered with these men with the hope of securing military aid from their tribe. The whole transaction was revealed to Cicero, who persuaded the delegates of the Allobroges to go on with the intrigue. They therefore pretended to enter into the scheme of Lentulus and received from him letters to their nation and also a letter to Catiline, whom they were to visit on their way home. On December 2 they started, Volturcius, a friend of Lentulus, accompanying them. At the Mulvian Bridge, two miles from Rome, they were captured by a force sent to that point by Cicero.

When the party captured at the Mulvian Bridge, consisting of Volturcius and the delegates of the Allobroges, was brought to Cicero, he at once summoned the chief conspirators. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius came; Caeparius escaped, but was afterwards captured. In the presence of the senate, assembled in the Temple of Concord, Cicero confronted the conspirators with Volturcius, who had turned state's evidence, and with the Allobroges. Their letters were shown them and were acknowledged to be genuine. Lentulus was forced to abdicate his office of praetor, and all the conspirators under arrest were placed in the custody of citizens. A *supplicatio* or thanksgiving was voted in honor of Cicero. In the Third Catilinarian Oration Cicero gave to the people an account of what had taken place.

On December 5 the senate again met, and Cicero questioned them as to the disposition to be made of the convicted conspirators. Silanus, one of the consuls-elect, proposed that the conspirators be put to death. Caesar, who had just been chosen praetor, proposed that their property be confiscated and that they be imprisoned for life in the municipal towns. Cicero delivered at this point an address which he published in a developed form as the Fourth Catilinarian Oration. This was not a formal *sententia*, since the consul had no vote, but was a presentation of the opinions of Silanus and Caesar. Sentiment was veering toward Caesar's view, when Cato, tribune-elect, in a speech violently attacked the conspirators and turned the scale in favor of the death penalty. The senate could not legally order the execution of citizens, but Cicero did not hesitate. He had Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius strangled in the prison on the slope of the Capitol, in the lower chamber, called the Tullianum.

Early in the following year (62) Catiline was defeated at Pistoria in Etruria and was slain in the battle.

ORATIO
QVA L. CATILINAM EMISIT
IN SENATV HABITA

THE FIRST SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE

Delivered in the senate November 8, 63 B.C.

Summary

The first twenty-seven sections of this speech contain an address to Catiline which seeks to bring to him a consciousness of his guilt, to prove to him that his plans are known, and to urge him to leave the city. The remainder of the speech is an address to the senate, in which Cicero justifies himself for not having acted earlier and more forcibly.

Propositio

Exordium ex abrupto, *a sudden burst of invective against Catiline's insolence.* (1.)

1. 1. Qvō usque tandem abūtēre, Catilīna, patientiā nostrā? quam diū etiam furor iste tuus nōs ēlūdet? quem ad fīnem sēsē effrēnāta iactābit audācia? Nihilne tē nocturnum praesidium Palātī, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populī, nihil concursus bonōrum omnium, nihil hīc mūnītissimus habendī senātūs locus, nihil hōrum ōra voltūsque mōvērunt? Patēre tua cōnsilia nōn sentīs, cōnstrictam iam hōrum omnium scientiā tenērī coniūrātiōnem tuam nōn vidēs? Quid proximā, quid superiōre nocte ēgeris, ubi fueris, quōs convocāveris, quid cōnsilī cēperis quem nostrūm īgnōrāre arbitrāris?

Cicero accuses himself and the powers in general of not having done their duty. (2–5.)

2. Ō tempora, ō mōrēs! Senātus haec intellegit, cōnsul videt; hīc tamen vīvit. Vīvit? immō vērō etiam in senātum venit, fit pūblicī cōnsilī particeps, notat et dēsignat oculīs ad caedem ūnum quemque nostrum. Nōs autem fortēs virī satis facere reī pūblicae vidēmur, sī istīus furōrem ac tēla vītāmus. Ad mortem tē, Catilīna, dūcī iussū cōnsulis iam prīdem oportēbat, in tē cōnferrī pestem quam tū in nōs omnīs iam diū māchināris. 3. An vērō vir amplissimus, P. Scīpiō, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum reī pūblicae prīvātus interfēcit: Catilīnam orbem terrae caede atque incendiīs vāstāre cupientem nōs cōnsulēs perferēmus? Nam illa nimis antīqua praetereō, quod C. Servīlius Ahāla Sp. Maelium novīs rēbus studentem manū suā occīdit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hāc rē pūblicā virtūs ut virī fortēs ācriōribus suppliciīs cīvem perniciōsum quam acerbissimum hostem coercērent. Habēmus senātūs cōnsultum in tē, Catilīna, vehemēns et grave, nōn deest reī pūblicae cōnsilium neque auctōritās huius ōrdinis: nōs, nōs, dīcō apertē, cōnsulēs dēsumus.

2. 4. Dēcrēvit quondam senātus uti L. Opimius cōnsul vidēret nē quid rēs pūblica dētrīmentī caperet: nox nūlla intercessit: interfectus est propter quāsdam sēditiōnum suspīciōnes C. Gracchus, clārissimō patre, avō, maiōribus, occīsus est cum līberīs M. Fulvius cōnsulāris. Similī senātūs cōnsultō C. Mariō et L. Valeriō cōnsulibus est permissa rēs pūblica: num ūnum diem posteā L. Sāturnīnum tribūnum plēbis et C. Servīlium praetōrem mors ac reī pūblicae poena remorāta est? At vērō nōs vīcēsimum iam diem patimur hebēscere āciem hōrum auctōritātis. Habēmus enim eius modī senātūs cōnsultum, vērum inclū-

sum in tabulīs, tamquam in vāgīna reconditum, quō ex senātūs cōnsultō cōnfestim tē interfectum esse, Catilīna, convēnit. Vīvis, et vīvis nōn ad dēpōnendam, sed ad cōnfīrmandam audāciam. Cupiō, patrēs cōnscrīptī, mē esse clēmentem, cupiō in tantīs reī pūblicae perīculīs nōn dissolūtum vidērī, sed iam mē ipse inertiae nēquitiaeque condemnō. 5. Castra sunt in Ītaliā contrā populum Rōmānum in Etrūriae faucibus conlocāta, crēscit in diēs singulōs hostium numerus; eōrum autem castrōrum imperātōrem ducemque hostium intrā moenia atque adeō in senātū vidētis intestīnam aliquam cotīdiē perniciem reī pūblicae mōlientem. Sī tē iam, Catilīna, comprehendī, sī interficī iusserō, crēdō, erit verendum mihi nē nōn hoc potius omnēs bonī sērius ā mē quam quisquam crūdēlius factum esse dīcat. Vērum ego hoc quod iam prīdem factum esse oportuit certā dē causā nōndum addūcor ut faciam. Tum dēnique interficiēre, cum iam nēmō tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tuī similis invenīrī poterit quī id nōn iūre factum esse fateātur.

Reasons for this delay

6. Quam diū quisquam erit quī tē dēfendere audeat, vīvēs, et vīvēs ita ut nunc vīvis, multīs meīs et fīrmīs praesidiīs obsessus nē commovēre tē contrā rem pūblicam possīs. Multōrum tē etiam oculī et aurēs nōn sentientem, sīcut adhūc fēcērunt, speculābuntur atque cūstōdient.

Proofs of Catiline's guilt, with the demand that he leave the city. First reason for his doing so. (6–9.)

3. Etenim quid est, Catilīna, quod iam amplius exspectēs, sī neque nox tenebrīs obscūrāre coetūs nefāriōs nec prīvāta domus parietibus continēre vōcēs coniūrātiōnis tuae potest, sī inlūstrantur, sī ērumpunt omnia? Mūtā iam istam

mentem, mihi crēde, oblīviscere caedis atque incendiōrum. Tenēris undique; lūce sunt clāriōra nōbīs tua cōnsilia omnia, quae iam mēcum licet recōgnōscās. 7. Meminīstīne mē ante diem XII Kalendās Novembrīs dīcere in senātū fore in armīs certō diē, quī diēs futūrus esset ante diem VI Kal. Novembrīs, C. Mānlium, audāciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num mē fefellit, Catilīna, nōn modo rēs tanta tam atrōx tamque incrēdibilis, vērum, id quod multō magis est admīrandum, diēs? Dīxī ego īdem in senātū caedem tē optimātium contulisse in ante diem V Kalendās Novembrīs, tum cum multī prīncipēs cīvitātis Rōmā nōn tam suī cōnservandī quam tuōrum cōnsiliōrum reprimendōrum causā profūgērunt. Num īnfitiārī potes tē illō ipsō diē meīs praesidiīs, meā dīligentiā circumclūsum commovēre tē contrā rem pūblicam nōn potuisse, cum tū discessū cēterōrum nostrā tamen quī remānsissēmus caede contentum tē esse dīcēbās? 8. Quid? cum tē Praeneste Kalendīs ipsīs Novembribus occupātūrum nocturnō impetū esse cōnfīderēs, sēnsistīn illam colōniam meō iussū meīs praesidiīs, cūstōdiīs, vigiliīs esse mūnītam? Nihil agis, nihil mōlīris, nihil cōgitās quod nōn ego nōn modo audiam sed etiam videam plānēque sentiam.

4. Recōgnōsce mēcum tandem noctem illam superiōrem; iam intellegēs multō mē vigilāre ācrius ad salūtem quam tē ad perniciem reī pūblicae. Dīcō tē priōre nocte vēnisse inter falcāriōs — nōn agam obscūrē — in M. Laecae domum, convēnisse eōdem complūrīs eiusdem āmentiae scelerisque sociōs. Num negāre audēs? quid tacēs? Convincam, sī negās. Videō enim esse hīc in senātū quōsdam quī tēcum ūnā fuērunt. 9. Ō dī immortālēs! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem pūblicam habēmus? in quā urbe vīvimus? Hīc, hīc sunt in nostrō numerō, patrēs cōnscrīptī, in hōc orbis terrae sānctissimō gravissimōque cōnsiliō, quī dē nostrō

omnium interitū, quī dē huius urbis atque adeō dē orbis terrārum exitiō cōgitent. Hōs ego videō cōnsul et dē rē pūblicā sententiam rogō, et quōs ferrō trucīdārī oportēbat, eōs nōndum vōce volnerō! Fuistī igitur apud Laecam illā nocte, Catilīna, distribuistī partīs Ītaliae, statuistī quō quemque proficīscī placēret, dēlēgistī quōs Rōmae relinquerēs, quōs tēcum ēdūcerēs, discripsistī urbis partīs ad incendia, cōnfīrmāstī tē ipsum iam esse exitūrum, dīxistī paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego vīverem. Repertī sunt duo equitēs Rōmānī quī tē istā cūrā līberārent et sē illā ipsā nocte paulō ante lūcem mē in meō lectō interfectūrōs esse pollicērentur.

Second reason: his departure will be beneficial to the state, which Cicero can no longer protect by measures taken upon his private authority. (10–12.)

10. Haec ego omnia vixdum etiam coetū vestrō dīmissō comperī; domum meam maiōribus praesidiīs mūnīvī atque fīrmāvī, exclūsī eōs quōs tū ad mē salūtātum māne mīserās, cum illī ipsī vēnissent quōs ego iam multīs ac summīs virīs ad mē id temporis ventūrōs esse praedīxeram.

Hortatio

5. Quae cum ita sint, Catilīna, perge quō coepistī: ēgredere aliquandō ex urbe; patent portae; proficīscere. Nimium diū tē imperātōrem tua illa Mānliāna castra dēsīderant. Ēdūc tēcum etiam omnīs tuōs, sī minus, quam plūrimōs; pūrgā urbem. Magnō mē metū līberāveris, modo inter mē atque tē mūrus intersit. Nōbīscum versārī iam diūtius nōn potes; nōn feram, nōn patiar, nōn sinam.

11. Magna dīs immortālibus habenda est atque huic ipsī Iovī Statōrī, antīquissimō cūstōdī huius urbis, grātia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque īnfēstam reī

pūblicae pestem totiēns iam effūgimus. Nōn est saepius in ūnō homine summa salūs periclitanda reī pūblicae. Quam diū mihi cōnsulī dēsīgnātō, Catilīna, īnsidiātus es, nōn pūblicō mē praesidiō, sed prīvātā dīligentiā dēfendī. Cum proximīs comitiīs cōnsulāribus mē cōnsulem in campō et competītōrēs tuōs interficere voluistī, compressī cōnātūs tuōs nefāriōs amīcōrum praesidiō et cōpiīs nūllō tumultū pūblicē concitātō; dēnique, quotiēnscumque mē petīstī, per mē tibi obstitī, quamquam vidēbam perniciem meam cum magnā calamitāte reī pūblicae esse coniūnctam.

12. Nunc iam apertē rem pūblicam ūniversam petis, templa deōrum immortālium, tēcta urbis, vītam omnium cīvium, Ītaliam tōtam ad exitium et vāstitātem vocās. Quā rē, quoniam id quod est prīmum, et quod huius imperī disciplīnaeque maiōrum proprium est, facere nōndum audeō, faciam id quod est ad sevēritātem lēnius, ad commūnem salūtem ūtilius. Nam sī tē interficī iusserō, residēbit in rē pūblicā reliqua coniūrātōrum manus; sīn tū, quod tē iam dūdum hortor, exieris, exhauriētur ex urbe tuōrum comitum magna et perniciōsa sentīna reī pūblicae.

Catiline should perceive, by recalling his record, that his presence in Rome is no longer possible. (13–18.)

13. Quid est, Catilīna? num dubitās id mē imperante facere quod iam tuā sponte faciēbās? Exīre ex urbe iubet cōnsul hostem. Interrogās mē, num in exsilium? Nōn iubeō, sed, sī mē cōnsulis, suādeō.

6. Quid est enim, Catilīna, quod tē iam in hāc urbe dēlectāre possit? in quā nēmō est extrā istam coniūrātiōnem perditōrum hominum quī tē nōn metuat, nēmō quī nōn ōderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitūdinis nōn inūsta vītae tuae est? quod prīvātārum rērum dēdecus nōn haeret in fāmā? quae libīdō ab oculīs, quod facinus

ā manibus umquam tuīs, quod flāgitium ā tōtō corpore āfuit? cui tū adulēscentulō quem corruptēlārum inlecebrīs inrētīssēs nōn aut ad audāciam ferrum aut ad libīdinem facem praetulistī? 14. Quid vērō? nūper cum morte superiōris uxōris novīs nūptiīs locum vacuēfēcissēs, nōnne etiam aliō incrēdibilī scelere hoc scelus cumulāvistī? quod ego praetermittō et facile patior silērī, nē in hāc cīvitāte tantī facinoris immānitās aut exstitisse aut nōn vindicāta esse videātur. Praetermittō ruīnās fortūnārum tuārum quās omnīs proximīs Īdibus tibi impendēre sentiēs: ad illa veniō quae nōn ad prīvātam īgnōminiam vitiōrum tuōrum, nōn ad domesticam tuam difficultātem ac turpitūdinem, sed ad summam rem pūblicam atque ad omnium nostrum vītam salūtemque pertinent. 15. Potestne tibi haec lūx, Catilīna, aut huius caelī spīritus esse iūcundus, cum sciās esse hōrum nēminem quī nesciat tē prīdiē Kalendās Iānuāriās Lepidō et Tullō cōnsulibus stetisse in comitiō cum tēlō, manum cōnsulum et prīncipum cīvitātis interficiendōrum causā parāvisse, scelerī ac furōrī tuō nōn mentem aliquam aut timōrem tuum sed Fortūnam pōpulī Rōmānī obstitisse? Ac iam illa omittō — neque enim sunt aut obscūra aut nōn multa commissa posteā — quotiēns tū mē dēsignātum, quotiēns vērō cōnsulem interficere cōnātus es! quot ego tuās petītiōnēs ita coniectās ut vītārī posse nōn vidērentur parvā quādam dēclīnātiōne et, ut aiunt, corpore effūgī! Nihil agis, nihil adsequeris, neque tamen cōnārī ac velle dēsistis. 16. Quotiēns iam tibi extorta est ista sīca dē manibus, quotiēns excidit cāsū aliquō et ēlāpsa est! Quae quidem quibus abs tē initiāta sacrīs ac dēvōta sit nesciō, quod eam necesse putās esse in cōnsulis corpore dēfīgere.

17. Nunc vērō quae tua est ista vīta? Sīc enim iam tēcum loquar, nōn ut odiō permōtus esse videar, quō dēbeō,

sed ut misericordiā, quae tibi nūlla dēbētur. Vēnistī paulō ante in senātum. Quis tē ex hāc tantā frequentiā, tot ex tuīs amīcīs ac necessāriīs salūtāvit? Sī hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nēminī, vōcis exspectās contumēliam, cum sīs gravissimō iūdiciō taciturnitātis oppressus? Quid, quod adventū tuō ista subsellia vacuēfacta sunt, quod omnēs cōnsulārēs quī tibi persaepe ad caedem cōnstitūtī fuērunt, simul atque adsēdisti, partem istam subselliōrum nūdam atque inānem relīquērunt, quō tandem animō tibi ferendum putās? 17. Servī meherculē meī sī mē istō pactō metuerent ut tē metuunt omnēs cīvēs tuī, domum meam relinquendam putārem: tū tibī urbem nōn arbitrāris? et sī mē meīs cīvibus iniūriā suspectum tam graviter atque offēnsum vidērem, carēre mē aspectū cīvium quam īnfēstīs omnium oculīs cōnspicī māllem: tū, cum cōnscientiā scelerum tuōrum āgnōscās odium omnium iūstum et iam diū tibi dēbitum, dubitās quōrum mentīs sēnsūsque volnerās, eōrum aspectum praesentiamque vītāre? Sī tē parentēs timērent atque ōdissent tuī neque eōs ratiōne ūllā plācāre possēs, ut opīnor, ab eōrum oculīs aliquō concēderēs. Nunc tē patria, quae commūnis est parēns omnium nostrum, ōdit ac metuit et iam diū nihil tē iūdicat nisi dē parricīdiō suō cōgitāre: huius tū neque auctōritātem verēbere nec iūdicium sequēre nec vim pertimēscēs? 18. Quae tēcum, Catilīna, sīc agit et quōdam modō tacita loquitur: 'Nūllum iam aliquot annīs facinus exstitit nisi per tē, nūllum flāgitium sine tē; tibi ūnī multōrum cīvium necēs, tibi vexātiō dīreptiōque sociōrum impūnīta fuit ac lībera; tū nōn sōlum ad neglegendās lēgēs et quaestiōnēs vērum etiam ad ēvertendās perfringendāsque valuistī. Superiōra illa, quamquam ferenda nōn fuērunt, tamen ut potuī tulī; nunc vērō mē tōtam esse in metū propter ūnum tē, quicquid increpuerit, Catilīnam timērī, nūllum vidērī contrā mē cōn-

silium inīrī posse quod ā tuō scelere abhorreat nōn est ferendum. Quam ob rem discēde atque hunc mihi tīmōrem ēripe; sī est vērus, nē opprimar, sīn falsus, ut tandem aliquandō timēre dēsinam.'

Catiline has admitted his guilt. (19.)

8. 19. Haec sī tēcum, ut dīxī, patria loquātur, nōnne impetrāre dēbeat, etiam sī vim adhibēre nōn possit? Quid, quod tū tē in cūstōdiam dedistī, quod vītandae suspīciōnis causā ad M'. Lepidum tē habitāre velle dīxistī? Ā quō nōn receptus etiam ad mē venīre ausus es, atque ut domī meae tē adservārem rogāstī. Cum ā mē quoque id respōnsum tulissēs, mē nūllō modō posse īsdem parietibus tūtō esse tēcum, quia magnō in perīculō essem quod īsdem moenibus continērēmur, ad Q. Metellum praetōrem vēnistī. Ā quō repudiātus ad sodālem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum dēmigrāstī, quem tū vidēlicet et ad cūstōdiendum tē dīligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagācissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putāstī. Sed quam longē vidētur ā carcere atque ā vinculīs abesse dēbēre quī sē ipse iam dignum cūstōdiā iūdicārit?

The senate declares him guilty. (20–21.)

20. Quae cum ita sint, Catilīna, dubitās, sī ēmorī aequō animō nōn potes, abīre in aliquās terrās et vītam istam multīs suppliciīs iūstīs dēbitīsque ēreptam fugae sōlitūdinīque mandāre?

'Refer' inquis 'ad senātum'; id enim postulās et, sī hīc ōrdō placēre sibi dēcrēverit tē īre in exsilium, obtemperātūrum tē esse dīcis. Nōn referam, id quod abhorret ā meīs mōribus, et tamen faciam ut intellegās quid hī dē tē sentiant. Ēgredere ex urbe, Catilīna, līberā rem publicam metū, in exsilium, sī hanc vōcem exspectās, proficīscere.

Quid est? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis hōrum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectās auctōritātem loquentium, quōrum voluntātem tacitōrum perspicis? 21. At sī hoc idem huic adulēscentī optimō P. Sēstiō, sī fortissimō virō M. Mārcellō dīxissem, iam mihi cōnsulī hōc ipsō in templō senātus iūre optimō vim et manūs intulisset. Dē tē autem, Catilīna, cum quiēscunt, probant, cum patiuntur, dēcernunt, cum tacent, clāmant, neque hī sōlum quōrum tibi auctōritās est vidēlicet cāra, vīta vīlissima, sed etiam illī equitēs Rōmānī, honestissimī atque optimī virī, cēterīque fortissimī cīvēs quī circumstant senātum, quōrum tū et frequentiam vidēre et studia perspicere et vōcēs paulō ante exaudīre potuistī. Quōrum ego vix abs tē iam diū manūs ac tēla contineō, eōsdem facile addūcam ut tē haec quae vāstāre iam prīdem studēs relinquentem usque ad portās prōsequantur.

He will prove his own guilt by rejoining Manlius. (22–27.)

22. Quamquam quid loquor? tē ut ūlla rēs frangat, tū ut umquam tē corrigās, tū ut ūllam fugam meditēre, tū ut ūllum exsilium cōgitēs? Vtinam tibi istam mentem dī immortālēs duint! tametsī videō, sī meā vōce perterritus īre in exsilium animum indūxeris, quanta tempestās invidiae nōbīs, sī minus in praesēns tempus recentī memoriā scelerum tuōrum, at in posteritātem impendeat. Sed est tantī, dum modo tua ista sit prīvāta calamitās et ā reī pūblicae perīculīs sēiungātur. Sed tū ut vitiīs tuīs commoveāre, ut lēgum poenās pertimēscās, ut temporibus reī pūblicae cēdās nōn est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilīna, ut tē aut pudor ā turpitūdine aut metus ā perīculō aut ratiō ā furōre revocārit. 23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dīxī, proficīscere ac, sī mihi inimīco, ut praedicās, tuō cōnflāre vīs invidiam, rēctā perge in exsilium; vix feram sermōnēs hominum,

sī id fēceris, vix mōlem istīus invidiae, sī in exsilium iussū cōnsulis īeris, sustinēbō. Sīn autem servīre meae laudī et glōriae māvīs, ēgredere cum importūnā scelerātōrum manū, cōnfer tē ad Mānlium, concitā perditōs cīvīs, sēcerne tē ā bonīs, īnfer patriae bellum, exsultā impiō latrōciniō, ut ā mē nōn ēiectus ad aliēnōs, sed invītātus ad tuōs īsse videāris.

FIG. 10. Silver Denarius, struck, 38–36 B.C., enlarged to twice the Original Size. Obverse: Head of Caesar. Reverse: *Signum, Aquila, Aratrum, Sceptrum.*

24. Quamquam quid ego tē invītem, ā quō iam sciam esse praemissōs quī tibi ad forum Aurēlium praestōlārentur armātī, cui sciam pactam et cōnstitūtam cum Mānliō diem, ā quō etiam aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi ac tuīs omnibus cōnfīdō perniciōsam ac fūnestam futūram, cui domī tuae sacrārium scelerātum cōnstitūtum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illā carēre diūtius possīs quam venerārī ad caedem proficīscēns solēbās, ā cuius altāribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem cīvium trānstulistī?

10. 25. Ībis tandem aliquandō quō tē iam prīdem tua ista cupiditās effrēnāta ac furiōsa rapiēbat; neque enim tibi haec rēs adfert dolōrem, sed quandam incrēdibilem voluptātem. Ad hanc tē āmentiam nātūra peperit, voluntās exercuit, fortūna servāvit. Numquam tū nōn modo ōtium sed nē bellum quidem nisi nefārium concupīstī.

Nactus es ex perditīs atque ab omnī nōn modo fortūnā vērum etiam spē dērelictīs cōnflātam improbōrum manum. 26. Hīc tū quā laetitiā perfruēre, quibus gaudiīs exsultābis, quantā in voluptāte bacchābere, cum in tantō numerō tuōrum neque audiēs virum bonum quemquam neque vidēbis! Ad huius vītae studium meditātī illī sunt quī feruntur labōrēs tuī, iacēre humī nōn sōlum ad obsidendum stuprum vērum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilāre nōn sōlum īnsidiantem somnō marītōrum vērum etiam bonīs ōtiōsōrum. Habēs ubi ostentēs tuam illam praeclāram patientiam famis, frīgoris, inopiae rērum omnium quibus tē brevī tempore cōnfectum esse sentiēs. 27. Tantum prōfēcī, cum tē ā cōnsulātū reppulī, ut exsul potius temptāre quam cōnsul vexāre rem pūblicam possēs, atque ut id quod esset ā tē scelerātē susceptum latrōcinium potius quam bellum nōminārētur.

Peroratio

Cicero now turns to the senate. Prosopopoeia *or personification of his country, which accuses Cicero of not ridding it of a wretch who plots its ruin.* (27–29.)

11. Nunc, ut ā mē, patrēs cōnscrīptī, quandam prope iūstam patriae querimōniam dētester ac dēprecer, percipite, quaesō, dīligenter quae dīcam, et ea penitus animīs vestrīs mentibusque mandāte. Etenim sī mēcum patria, quae mihi vītā meā multō est cārior, sī cūncta Ītalia, sī omnis rēs pūblica loquātur: 'M. Tullī, quid agis? Tūne eum quem esse hostem comperistī, quem ducem bellī futūrum vidēs, quem exspectārī imperātōrem in castrīs hostium sentīs, auctōrem sceleris, prīncipem coniūrātiōnis, ēvocātōrem servōrum et cīvium perditōrum, exīre patiēre, ut abs tē nōn ēmissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videātur? Nōnne hunc in vincla dūcī, nōn ad mortem rapī, nōn summō suppliciō mactārī imperābis? Quid tandem tē impedit? mōsne

maiōrum? 28. At persaepe etiam prīvātī in hāc rē pūblicā perniciōsōs cīvīs morte multārunt. An lēgēs quae dē cīvium Rōmānōrum suppliciō rogātae sunt? At numquam in hāc urbe quī ā rē pūblicā dēfēcērunt cīvium iūra tenuērunt. An invidiam posteritātis timēs? Praeclāram vērō populō Rōmānō refers grātiam quī tē, hominem per tē cōgnitum, nūllā commendātiōne maiōrum tam mātūrē ad summum imperium per omnīs honōrum gradūs extulit, sī propter invidiam aut alicuius perīculī metum salūtem cīvium tuōrum neglegis. 29. Sed sī quis est invidiae metus, nōn est vehementius sevēritātis ac fortitūdinis invidia quam inertiae ac nēquitiae pertimēscenda. An, cum bellō vāstābitur Ītalia, vexābuntur urbēs, tēcta ārdēbunt, tum tē nōn exīstimās invidiae incendiō cōnflagrātūrum?'

12. Hīs ego sānctissimīs reī pūblicae vōcibus et eōrum hominum quī hoc idem sentiunt mentibus pauca respondēbō. Ego, sī hoc optimum factū iūdicārem, patrēs cōnscrīptī, Catilīnam morte multārī, ūnīus ūsūram hōrae gladiātōrī istī ad vīvendum nōn dedissem. Etenim sī summī virī et clārissimī cīvēs Sāturnīnī et Gracchōrum et Flaccī et superiōrum complūrium sanguine nōn modo sē nōn contāminārunt sed etiam honestārunt, certē verendum mihi nōn erat nē quid hōc parricīdā cīvium interfectō invidiae mihi in posteritātem redundāret. Quod sī ea mihi maximē impenderet, tamen hōc animō fuī semper ut invidiam virtūte partam glōriam, nōn invidiam putārem.

Answer of Cicero, justifying his conduct:

a. *He has wished that circumstances should be ripe and that the incredulous should recognize the evidence.* (30.)

b. *The evil can still be cured if Catiline departs and takes with him his accomplices. May the wicked citizens separate themselves from the good.* (30–32.)

30. Quamquam nōn nūllī sunt in hōc ōrdine quī aut ea quae imminent nōn videant aut ea quae vident dissimulent;

quī spem Catilīnae mollibus sententiīs aluērunt coniūrātiōnemque nāscentem nōn crēdendō conrōborāvērunt; quōrum auctōritāte multī nōn sōlum improbī vērum etiam imperītī, sī in hunc animadvertissem, crūdēliter et rēgiē factum esse dīcerent. Nunc intellegō, sī iste, quō intendit, in Mānliāna castra pervēnerit, nēminem tam stultum fore quī nōn videat coniūrātiōnem esse factam, nēminem tam improbum quī nōn fateātur. Hōc autem ūnō interfectō intellegō hanc reī pūblicae pestem paulisper reprimī, nōn in perpetuum comprimī posse. Quod sī sēsē ēiēcerit sēcumque suōs ēdūxerit et eōdem cēterōs undique conlēctōs naufragōs adgregārit, exstinguētur atque dēlēbitur nōn modo haec tam adulta reī pūblicae pestis vērum etiam stirps ac sēmen malōrum omnium.

13. 31. Etenim iam diū, patrēs cōnscrīptī, in hīs perīculīs coniūrātiōnis īnsidiīsque versāmur, sed nesciō quō pactō omnium scelerum ac veteris furōris et audāciae mātūritās in nostrī cōnsulātūs tempus ērūpit. Nunc sī ex tantō latrōciniō iste ūnus tollētur, vidēbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cūrā et metū esse relevātī, perīculum autem residēbit et erit inclūsum penitus in vēnīs atque in vīsceribus reī pūblicae. Vt saepe hominēs aegrī morbō gravī, cum aestū febrīque iactantur, sī aquam gelidam bibērunt, prīmō relevārī vidēntur, deinde multō gravius vehementiusque adflīctantur, sīc hīc morbus quī est in rē pūblicā relevātus istīus poenā vehementius reliquīs vīvīs ingravēscet. 32. Quā rē sēcēdant improbī, sēcernant sē ā bonīs, ūnum in locum congregentur, mūrō dēnique, quod saepe iam dīxī, sēcernantur ā nōbīs; dēsinant īnsidiārī domī suae cōnsulī, circumstāre tribūnal praetōris urbānī, obsidēre cum gladiīs cūriam, malleolōs et facēs ad inflammandam urbem comparāre; sit dēnique inscrīptum in fronte ūnīus cuiusque quid dē rē pūblicā sentiat. Polliceor hoc

vōbīs, patrēs cōnscrīptī, tantam in nōbīs cōnsulibus fore dīligentiam, tantam in vōbīs auctōritātem, tantam in equitibus Rōmānīs virtūtem, tantam in omnibus bonīs cōnsēnsiōnem ut Catilīnae profectiōne omnia patefacta, inlūstrāta, oppressa, vindicāta esse videātis.

Then, with the help of the gods, the state will be saved. (33.)

33. Hīsce ōminibus, Catilīna, cum summā reī pūblicae salūte, cum tuā peste ac perniciē cumque eōrum exitiō quī sē tēcum omnī scelere parricīdiōque iūnxērunt, proficīscere ad impium bellum ac nefārium. Tū, Iuppiter, quī īsdem quibus haec urbs auspiciīs ā Rōmulō es cōnstitūtus, quem Statōrem huius urbis atque imperī vērē nōminā mus, hunc et huius sociōs ā tuīs cēterīsque templīs, ā tēctīs urbis ac moenibus, ā vītā fortūnīsque cīvium omnium arcēbis et hominēs bonōrum inimīcōs, hostīs patriae, latrōnēs Ītaliae scelerum foedere inter sē ac nefāriā societāte coniūnctōs aeternīs suppliciīs vīvōs mortuōsque mactābis.

IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO SECVNDA HABITA AD POPVLVM

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE

Delivered in the Forum November 9, 63 B.C.

Exordium

Cicero's joy at the departure of Catiline, which saves the state. (1–2.)

1. 1. TANDEM aliquandō, Quirītēs, L. Catilīnam, furentem audāciā, scelus anhēlantem, pestem patriae nefāriē mōlientem, vōbīs atque huic urbī ferrō flammāque minitantem ex urbe vel ēiēcimus vel ēmīsimus vel ipsum ēgredientem verbīs prōsecūtī sumus. Abiit, excessit, ēvāsit, ērūpit. Nūlla iam perniciēs ā mōnstrō illō atque prōdigiō moenībus ipsīs intrā moenia comparābitur. Atque hunc quidem ūnum huius bellī domesticī ducem sine contrōversiā vīcimus. Nōn enim iam inter latera nostra sīca illa versābitur, nōn in campō, nōn in forō, nōn in cūriā, nōn dēnique intrā domesticōs parietēs pertimēscēmus. Locō ille mōtus est, cum est ex urbe dēpulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nūllō impediente bellum iūstum gerēmus. Sine dubiō perdidimus hominem magnificēque vīcimus, cum illum ex occultīs īnsidiīs in apertum latrōcinium coniēcimus. 2. Quod vērō nōn cruentum mūcrōnem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vīvīs nōbīs ēgressus est, quod eī ferrum ē manibus extorsimus, quod incolumīs cīvīs, quod stantem urbem relīquit, quantō tandem illum maerōre esse adflictum et prōflīgātum putātis? Iacet ille nunc prōstrātus, Quirītēs, et sē perculsum atque

abiectum esse sentit et retorquet oculōs profectō saepe ad hanc urbem quam ē suīs faucibus ēreptam esse lūget: quae quidem mihi laetārī vidētur, quod tantam pestem ēvomuerit forāsque prōiēcerit.

Argumentatio: Confirmatio

Cicero justifies himself for having, as was said, allowed Catiline to escape, instead of prosecuting him and putting him to death. He has acted thus to prevent Catiline's being considered the victim of arbitrary exercise of power and to facilitate the punishment of Catiline's accomplices. Unfortunately most of these have remained in Rome, but will have to be on their guard. (3–5.)

2. 3. Ac sī quis est tālis quālīs esse omnīs oportēbat, quī in hōc ipsō in quō exsultat et triumphat ōrātiō mea mē vehementer accūset, quod tam capitālem hostem nōn comprehenderim potius quam ēmīserim, nōn est ista mea culpa, Quirītēs, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilīnam et gravissimō suppliciō adfectum iam prīdem oportēbat, idque ā mē et mōs maiōrum et huius imperī sevēritās et rēs pūblica postulābat. Sed quam multōs fuisse putātis quī quae ego dēferrem nōn crēderent, quam multōs quī propter stultitiam nōn putārent, quam multōs quī etiam dēfenderent, quam multōs quī propter improbitātem favērent? Ac sī illō sublātō dēpellī ā vōbīs omne perīculum iūdicārem, iam prīdem egō L. Catilīnam nōn modo invidiae meae vērum etiam vītae perīculō sustulissem. 4. Sed cum vidērem, nē vōbīs quidem omnibus etiam tum rē probātā sī illum, ut erat meritus, morte multāssem, fore ut eius sociōs invidiā oppressus persequī nōn possem, rem hūc dēdūxī ut tum palam pugnāre possētis cum hostem apertē vidērētis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirītēs, quam vehementer forīs esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegātis, quod etiam illud molestē ferō quod ex urbe parum comitātus exierit. Vtinam ille omnīs sēcum suās cōpiās ēdūxisset! Tongilium

mihi ēdūxit quem amāre in praetextā coeperat, Pūblicium et Minucium quōrum aes aliēnum contrāctum in popīnā nūllum reī pūblicae mōtum adferre poterat: relīquit quōs virōs, quantō aere aliēnō, quam valentīs, quam nōbilīs!

3. 5. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicānīs legiōnibus et hōc dilēctū quem in agrō Pīcēnō et Gallicō Q. Metellus habuit, et hīs cōpiīs quae ā nōbīs cotīdiē comparantur, magnō opere contemnō, conlēctum ex senibus dēspērātīs, ex agrestī lūxuriā, ex rūsticīs dēcoctōribus, ex eīs quī vadimōnia dēserere quam illum exercitum māluērunt; quibus ego nōn modo sī aciem exercitūs nostrī, vērum etiam sī ēdictum praetōris ostenderō, concident. Hōs quōs videō volitāre in forō, quōs stāre ad cūriam, quōs etiam in senātum venīre, quī nitent unguentīs, quī fulgent purpurā, māllem sēcum suōs mīlitēs ēdūxisset: quī sī hīc permanent, mementōte nōn tam exercitum illum esse nōbīs quam hōs quī exercitum dēseruērunt pertimēscendōs. Atque hōc etiam sunt timendī magis quod quid cōgitent mē scīre sentiunt neque tamen permovēntur.

Like Catiline these accomplices are criminals, or vicious persons, reckless to excess; but if they do not improve or remain quiescent, they will not escape condign punishment. (6–11.)

6. Videō cui sit Āpūlia attribūta, quis habeat Etrūriam, quis agrum Pīcēnum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi hās urbānās īnsidiās caedis atque incendiōrum dēpoposcerit. Omnia superiōris noctis cōnsilia ad mē perlāta esse sentiunt; patefēcī in senātū hesternō diē; Catilīna ipse pertimuit, profūgit: hī quid exspectant? Nē illī vehementer errant, sī illam meam prīstinam lēnitātem perpetuam spērant futūram.

4. Quod exspectāvī, iam sum adsecūtus ut vōs omnēs factam esse apertē coniūrātiōnem contrā rem publicam

vidērētis; nisi vērō sī quis est quī Catilīnae similīs cum Catilīnā sentīre nōn putet. Nōn est iam lēnitātī locus; sevēritātem rēs ipsa flāgitat. Vnum etiam nunc concēdam: exeant, proficīscantur, nē patiantur dēsīderiō suī Catilīnam miserum tābēscere. Dēmōnstrābō iter: Aurēliā viā profectus est; sī accelerāre volent, ad vesperam cōnsequentur. 7. Ō fortūnātam rem pūblicam, sī quidem hanc sentīnam urbis ēiēcerit! Vnō me hercule Catilīnā exhaustō levāta mihi et recreāta rēs pūblica vidētur. Quid enim malī aut sceleris fingī aut cōgitārī potest quod nōn ille concēperit? quis tōtā Ītaliā venēficus, quis gladiātor, quis latrō, quis sīcārius, quis parricīda, quis testāmentōrum subiector, quis circumscrīptor, quis gāneō, quis nepōs, quis adulter, quae mulier īnfāmis, quis corruptor iuventūtis, quis corruptus, quis perditus invenīrī potest quī sē cum Catilīnā nōn familiārissimē vīxisse fateātur? quae caedēs per hōsce annōs sine illō facta est, quod nefārium stuprum nōn per illum? 8. Iam vērō quae tanta umquam in ūllō iuventūtis inlecebra fuit quanta in illō? quī aliōs ipse amābat turpissimē, aliōrum amōrī flāgitiōsissimē serviēbat, aliīs frūctum libīdinum, aliīs mortem parentum nōn modo impellendō vērum etiam adiuvandō pollicēbātur. Nunc vērō quam subitō nōn sōlum ex urbe vērum etiam ex agrīs ingentem numerum perditōrum hominum conlēgerat! Nēmō nōn modo Rōmae sed nē ūllō quidem in angulō tōtīus Ītaliae oppressus aere aliēnō fuit quem nōn ad hoc incrēdibile sceleris foedus ascīverit.

5. 9. Atque ut eius dīversa studia in dissimilī ratiōne perspicere possītis, nēmō est in lūdō gladiātōriō paulō ad facinus audācior quī sē nōn intimum Catilīnae esse fateātur, nēmō in scaenā levior et nēquior quī sē nōn eiusdem prope sodālem fuisse commemoret. Atque īdem tamen stuprōrum et scelerum exercitātiōne adsuēfactus frīgore et famē

et sitī et vigiliīs perferendīs fortis ab istīs praedicābātur, cum industriae subsidia atque īnstrūmenta virtūtis in libīdine audāciāque cōnsūmeret. 10. Hunc vērō sī secūtī erunt suī comitēs, sī ex urbe exierint dēspērātōrum homi-num flāgitiōsī gregēs, ō nōs beātōs, ō rem pūblicam fortūnātam, ō praeclāram laudem cōnsulātūs meī! Nōn enim iam sunt mediocrēs hominum libīdinēs, nōn hūmānae et tolerandae audāciae; nihil cōgitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapīnās. Patrimōnia sua prōfūdērunt, fortūnās suās obligāvērunt; rēs eōs iam prīdem, fidēs nūper dēficere coepit: eadem tamen illa quae erat in abundantiā libīdō permanet. Quod sī in vīnō et āleā cōmissātiōnēs sōlum et scorta quaererent, essent illī quidem dēspērandī, sed tamen essent ferendī: hoc vērō quis ferre possit, inertīs hominēs fortissimīs virīs īnsidiārī, stultissimōs prudentissimīs, ēbriōs sōbriīs, dormientīs vigilantibus? quī mihi accubantēs in convīviīs, complexī mulierēs impudīcās, vīnō languidī, cōnfertī cibō, sertīs redimītī, unguentīs oblitī, dēbilitātī stuprīs ēructant sermōnibus suīs caedem bonōrum atque urbis incendia. 11. Quibus ego cōnfīdō impendēre fātum aliquod et poenam iam diū improbitātī, nēquitiae, selerī, libīdinī dēbitam aut īnstāre iam plānē aut certē appropinquāre. Quōs sī meus cōnsulātus, quoniam sānārе nōn potest, sustulerit, nōn breve nesciō quod tempus sed multa saecula prōpāgārit reī pūblicae. Nūlla enim est nātiō quam pertimēscāmus, nūllus rēx quī bellum populō Rōmānō facere possit. Omnia sunt externa ūnīus virtūte terrā marīque pācāta: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclūsum perīculum est, intus est hostis. Cum lūxuriā nōbīs, cum āmentiā, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego mē bellō ducem profiteor, Quirītēs; suscipiō inimīcitiās hominum perditōrum; quae sānārī poterunt quācumque ratiōne sānābō, quae resecanda erunt nōn

patiar ad perniciem cīvitātis manēre. Proinde aut exeant aut quiēscant aut, sī et in urbe et in eādem mente permanent, ea quae merentur exspectent.

Cicero's justification for having, as was alleged, abused his power in driving Catiline into exile. (12–16.)

6. 12. At etiam sunt quī dīcant, Quirītēs, ā mē ēiectum esse Catilīnam. Quod ego sī verbō adsequī possem, istōs ipsōs ēicerem quī haec loquuntur. Homō enim vidēlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vōcem cōnsulis ferre nōn potuit; simul atque īre in exsilium iussus est, pāruit. Quīn hesternō diē, cum domī meae paene interfectus essem, senātum in aedem Iovis Statōris convocāvī, rem omnem ad patrēs cōnscrīptōs dētulī. Quō cum Catilīna vēnisset, quis eum senātor appellāvit, quis salūtāvit, quis dēnique ita aspexit ut perditum cīvem ac nōn potius ut importūnissimum hostem? Quīn etiam prīncipēs eius ōrdinis partem illam subselliōrum ad quam ille accesserat nūdam atque inānem relīquērunt. 13. Hīc egō vehemēns ille cōnsul quī verbō cīvīs in exsilium ēiciō quaesīvī ā Catilīnā in nocturnō conventū ad M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille homō audācissimus cōnscientiā convictus prīmō reticuisset, patefēcī cētera: quid eā nocte ēgisset, ubi fuisset, quid in proximam cōnstituisset, quem ad modum esset eī ratiō tōtīus bellī dēscrīpta ēdocui. Cum haesitāret, cum tenērētur, quaesīvī quid dubitāret proficīscī eō quō iam prīdem parāret, cum

FIG. 11. Fasces with Secures.

arma, cum secūrīs, cum fascīs, cum tubās, cum sīgna mīlitāria, cum aquilam illam argenteam cui ille etiam sacrārium domī suae fēcerat scīrem esse praemissam. 14. In exsilium ēiciēbam quem iam ingressum esse in bellum vīderam? Etenim, crēdō, Mānlius iste centuriō quī in agrō Faesulānō castra posuit bellum populō Rōmānō suō nōmine indīxit, et illa castra nunc nōn Catilīnam ducem exspectant, et ille ēiectus in exsilium sē Massiliam, ut aiunt, nōn in haec castra cōnfert.

7. Ō condiciōnem miseram nōn modo administrandae verum etiam cōnservandae reī pūblicae! Nunc sī L. Catilīna cōnsiliīs, labōribus, perīculīs meīs circumclūsus ac dēbilitātus subitō pertimuerit, sententiam mūtāverit, dēseruerit suōs, cōnsilium bellī faciendī abiēcerit, et ex hōc cursū sceleris ac bellī iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, nōn ille ā mē spoliātus armīs audāciae, nōn obstupefactus ac perterritus meā dīligentiā, nōn dē spē cōnātūque dēpulsus, sed indemnātus innocēns in exsilium ēiectus ā cōnsule vī et minīs esse dīcētur: et erunt quī illum, sī hoc fēcerit, nōn improbum sed miserum, mē nōn dīligentissimum cōnsulem sed crūdēlissimum tyrannum exīstimārī velint! 15. Est mihi tantī, Quirītēs, huius invidiae falsae atque inīquae tempestātem subīre, dum modo ā vōbīs huius horribilis bellī ac nefāriī perīculum dēpellātur. Dīcātur sānē ēiectus esse ā mē, dum modo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi crēdite, nōn est itūrus. Numquam ego ab dīs immortālibus optābō, Quirītēs, invidiae meae relevandae causā ut L. Catilīnam dūcere exercitum hostium atque in armīs volitāre audiātis, sed trīduō tamen audiētis; multōque magis illud timeō nē mihi sit invidiōsum aliquandō quod illum ēmīserim potius quam quod ēiēcerim. Sed cum sint hominēs quī illum, cum profectus sit, ēiectum esse dīcant, īdem, sī interfectus esset, quid dīcerent? 16. Quamquam istī quī Catilīnam

Massiliam īre dictitant nōn tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nēmō est istōrum tam misericors quī illum nōn ad Mānlium quam ad Massiliēnsīs īre mālit. Ille autem, sī me hercule hoc quod agit numquam anteā cōgitāsset, tamen latrōcinantem sē interficī māllet quam exsulem vīvere. Nunc vērō, cum eī nihil adhūc praeter ipsīus voluntātem cōgitātiōnemque acciderit, nisi quod vīvīs nōbīs Rōmā profectus est, optēmus potius ut eat in exsilium quam querāmur.

Cicero divides the conspirators into six classes and points out for each the remedy needed by each. (17–23.)

8. 17. Sed cūr tam diū dē ūnō hoste loquimur et dē eō hoste quī iam fatētur sē esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper voluī, mūrus interest, nōn timeō: dē hīs quī dissimulant, quī Rōmae remanent, quī nōbīscum sunt nihil dīcimus? Quōs quidem ego, sī ūllō modō fierī possit, nōn tam ulcīscī studeō quam sānāre sibi ipsōs, plācāre reī pūblicae, neque id quā rē fierī nōn possit, sī iam mē audīre volent, intellegō. Expōnam enim vōbīs, Quirītēs, ex quibus generibus hominum istae cōpiae comparentur; deinde singulīs medicīnam cōnsilī atque ōrātiōnis meae, sī quam poterō, adferam. 18. Vnum genus est eōrum quī magnō in aere aliēnō maiōrēs etiam possessiōnēs habent quārum amōre adductī dissolvī nūllō modō possunt. Hōrum hominum speciēs est honestissima — sunt enim locuplētēs — voluntās vērō et causa impudentissima. Tū agrīs, tū aedificiīs, tū argentō, tū familiā, tū rēbus omnibus ōrnātus et cōpiōsus sīs, et dubitēs dē possessiōne dētrahere, adquīrere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectās? bellum? Quid ergō? in vāstātione omnium tuās possessiōnēs sacrōsānctās futūrās putēs? an tabulās novās? Errant quī istās ā Catilīnā exspectant: meō beneficiō tabulae novae prōferuntur, vē-

rum auctiōnāriae; neque enim istī quī possessiōnēs habent aliā ratiōne ūllā salvī esse possunt. Quod sī mātūrius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certāre cum ūsūrīs frūctibus praediōrum, et locuplētiōribus hīs et meliōribus cīvibus ūterēmur. Sed hōsce hominēs minimē putō pertimēscendōs, quod aut dēdūcī dē sententiā possunt aut, sī permanēbunt, magis mihi videntur vōta factūrī contrā rem pūblicam quam arma lātūrī.

9. 19. Alterum genus est eōrum quī, quamquam premuntur aere aliēnō, dominātiōnem tamen exspectant, rērum potīrī volunt, honōrēs quōs quiētā rē pūblicā dēspērant perturbātā sē cōnsequī posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipiendum vidētur, ūnum scīlicet et idem quod reliquīs omnibus, ut dēspērent id quod cōnantur sē cōnsequī posse: prīmum omnium mē ipsum vigilāre, adesse, prōvidēre reī pūblicae; deinde magnōs animōs esse in bonīs virīs, magnam concordiam ordinum, maximam multitudinem, magnās praetereā mīlitum cōpiās; deōs dēnique immortālīs huic invictō populō, clārissimō imperiō, pulcherrimae urbī contrā tantam vim sceleris praesentīs auxilium esse lātūrōs. Quod sī iam sint id quod summō furōre cupiunt adeptī, num illī in cinere urbis et in sanguine cīvium, quae mente cōnscelerātā ac nefāriā concupīvērunt, cōnsulēs sē aut dictātōrēs aut etiam rēgēs spērant futūrōs? Nōn vident id sē cupere quod, sī adeptī sint, fugitīvō alicui aut gladiātōrī concēdī sit necesse? 20. Tertium genus est aetāte iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitātiōne rōbustum; quō ex genere iste est Mānlius cui nunc Catilīna succēdit. Hī sunt hominēs ex eīs colōniīs quās Sulla cōnstituit; quās ego ūniversās cīvium esse optimōrum et fortissimōrum virōrum sentiō, sed tamen eī sunt colōnī quī sē in īnspērātīs ac repentīnīs pecūniīs sūmptuōsius īnsolentiusque iactārunt. Hī dum aedificant tamquam beātī, dum praediīs lēctīs, familiīs magnīs, convī-

viīs apparātīs dēlectantur, in tantum aes aliēnum incidērunt ut, sī salvī esse velint, Sulla sit eīs ab īnferīs excitandus: quī etiam nōn nūllōs agrestīs hominēs tenuīs atque egentīs in eandem illam spem rapīnārum veterum impulērunt. Quōs ego utrōsque in eōdem genere praedātōrum dīreptōrumque pōnō, sed eōs hoc moneō, dēsinant furere ac prōscrīptiōnēs et dictātūrās cōgitāre. Tantus enim illōrum temporum dolor inūstus est cīvitātī ut iam ista nōn modo hominēs sed nē pecudēs quidem mihi passūrae esse videantur.

10. 21. Quārtum genus est sānē varium et mixtum et turbulentum; quī iam prīdem premuntur, quī numquam ēmergunt, quī partim inertiā, partim male gerendō negōtiō, partim etiam sūmptibus in vetere aere aliēnō vacillant, quī vadimōniīs, iūdiciīs, prōscrīptiōne bonōrum dēfatīgātī permultī et ex urbe et ex agrīs sē in illa castra cōnferre dīcuntur. Hōsce ego nōn tam mīlitēs ācrīs quam īnfitiātōrēs lentōs esse arbitror. Quī hominēs quam prīmum, sī stāre nōn possunt, conruant, sed ita ut nōn modo cīvitās sed nē vīcīnī quidem proximī sentiant. Nam illud nōn intellegō quam ob rem, sī vīvere honestē nōn possunt, perīre turpiter velint, aut cūr minōre dolōre peritūrōs sē cum multīs quam sī sōlī pereant arbitrentur. 22. Quīntum genus est parricīdārum, sīcāriōrum, dēnique omnium facinorōsōrum. Quōs ego ā Catilīnā nōn revocō; nam neque ab eō dīvellī possunt et pereant sānē in latrōciniō, quoniam sunt ita multī ut eōs carcer capere nōn possit. Postrēmum autem genus est nōn sōlum numerō vērum etiam genere ipsō atque vītā quod proprium Catilīnae est, dē eius dīlēctū, immō vērō dē complexū eius ac sinū; quōs pexō capillō, nitidōs, aut imberbīs aut bene barbātōs vidētis, manicātīs et tālāribus tunicīs, vēlīs amictōs, nōn togīs; quōrum omnis industria vītae et vigilandī labor in antelūcānīs cēnīs exprō-

mitur. 23. In hīs gregibus omnēs āleātōrēs, omnēs adulterī, omnēs impūrī impudīcīque versantur. Hī puerī tam lepidī ac dēlicātī nōn solum amāre et amārī neque saltāre et cantāre sed etiam sīcās vibrāre et spargere venēna didicērunt. Quī nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam sī Catilīna perierit, scītōte hoc in rē pūblicā sēmināriūm Catilīnārum futūrum. Vērum tamen quid sibi istī miserī volunt? num suās sēcum mulierculās sunt in castra ductūrī? Quem ad modum autem illīs carēre poterunt, hīs praesertim iam noctibus? Quō autem pactō illī Appennīnum atque illās pruīnās ac nivīs perferent? nisi idcircō sē facilius hiemem tolerātūrōs putant, quod nūdī in convīviīs saltāre didicērunt.

He compares the resources and moral strength of the two parties and shows that Catiline and his crew are not to be dreaded in open warfare. (24–26.)

11. 24. Ō bellum magnō opere pertimēscendum, cum hanc sit habitūrus Catilīna scortōrum cohortem praetōriam! Īnstruite nunc, Quirītēs, contrā hās tam praeclārās Catilīnae copiās vestra praesidia vestrōsque exercitūs. Et prīmum gladiātōrī illī cōnfectō et saucīō cōnsulēs imperātōrēsque vestrōs oppōnite; deinde contrā illam naufragōrum ēiectam ac dēbilitātam manum flōrem tōtīus Ītaliae ac rōbur ēdūcite. Iam vērō urbēs colōniārum ac mūnicipiōrum respondēbunt Catilīnae tumulīs silvestribus. Neque ego cēterās cōpiās, ōrnāmenta, praesidia vestra cum illīus latrōnis inopiā atque egestāte cōnferre dēbeō. 25. Sed sī, omissīs hīs rēbus quibus nōs suppeditāmur, eget ille, senātū, equitibus Rōmānīs, urbe, aerāriō, vectīgālibus, cūnctā Italiā, prōvinciīs omnibus, exterīs nātiōnibus, sī hīs rēbus omissīs causās ipsās quae inter sē cōnflīgunt contendere velīmus, ex eō ipsō quam valdē illī iaceant intellegere possumus. Ex hāc enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petu-

lantia; hinc pudīcitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fidēs, illinc fraudātiō; hinc pietās, illinc scelus; hinc cōnstantia, illinc furor; hinc honestās, illinc turpitūdō; hinc continentia, illinc libīdō; hinc dēnique aequitās, temperantia, fortitūdō, prūdentia, virtūtēs omnēs certant cum inīquitāte, lūxuriā, ignāviā, temeritāte, cum vitiīs omnibus; postrēmō cōpia cum egestāte, bona ratiō cum perditā, mēns sāna cum āmentiā, bona dēnique spēs cum omnium rērum dēspērātiōne cōnflīgit. In eius modī certāmine ac proeliō nōnne, sī hominum studia dēficiant, dī ipsī immortālēs cōgant ab hīs praeclārissimīs virtūtibus tot et tanta vitia superārī?

Peroratio

12. 26. Quae cum ita sint, Quirītēs, vōs, quem ad modum iam anteā dīxī, vestra tēcta vigiliīs cūstōdiīsque dēfendite; mihi ut urbī sine vestrō metū ac sine üllō tumultū satis esset praesidī cōnsultum atque prōvīsum est. Colōnī omnēs mūnicipēsque vestrī certiōrēs ā mē factī dē hāc nocturnā excursiōne Catilīnae facile urbīs suās fīnīsque dēfendent; gladiātōrēs, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putāvit, quamquam animō meliōre sunt quam pars patriciōrum, potestāte tamen nostrā continēbuntur. Q. Metellus quem ego hoc prōspiciēns in agrum Gallicum Pīcēnumque praemīsī aut opprimet hominem aut eius omnīs mōtūs cōnātūsque prohibēbit. Reliquīs autem dē rēbus cōnstituendīs, mātūrandīs, agendīs iam ad senātum referēmus, quem vocārī vidētis.

He calls upon Catiline's supporters, for the last time, to leave the city or to remain in retirement, threatening them with punishment. (27.)

27. Nunc illōs quī in urbe remānsērunt atque adeō quī contrā urbis salūtem omniumque vestrum in urbe ā Catilīnā relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostēs, tamen, quia nātī sunt

cīvēs, monitōs etiam atque etiam volō. Mea lēnitās adhūc sī cui solūtior visa est, hoc exspectāvit ut id quod latēbat ērumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam nōn possum oblīviscī meam hanc esse patriam, mē hōrum esse cōnsulem, mihi aut cum hīs vīvendum aut prō hīs esse moriendum. Nūllus est portīs cūstōs, nūllus īnsidiātor viae: sī quī exīre volunt, cōnīvēre possum; quī vērō sē in urbe commōverit cuius ego nōn modo factum sed vel inceptum ūllum cōnātumve contrā patriam dēprehenderō, sentiet in hāc urbe esse cōnsulēs vigilantīs, esse ēgregiōs magistrātūs, esse fortem senātum, esse arma, esse carcerem quem vindicem nefāriōrum ac manifēstōrum scelerum maiōrēs nostrī esse voluērunt.

He hopes that there will be no necessity of proceeding to extremities, reassures loyal citizens, and urges them to pray to the gods along with him for the safety of the state. (28–29.)

13. 28. Atque haec omnia sīc agentur ut maximae rēs minimō mōtū, perīcula summa nūllō tumultū, bellum intestīnum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crūdēlissimum et maximum mē ūnō togātō duce et imperātōre sēdētur. Quod ego sīc administrābō, Quirītēs, ut, sī ūllō modō fierī poterit, nē improbus quidem quisquam in hāc urbe poenam suī sceleris sufferat. Sed sī vīs manifēstae audāciae, sī impendēns patriae perīculum mē necessāriō dē hāc animī lēnitāte dēdūxerit, illud profectō perficiam quod in tantō et tam īnsidiōsō bellō vix optandum vidētur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucōrumque poenā vōs omnēs salvī esse possītis. 29. Quae quidem ego neque meā prūdentiā neque hūmānīs cōnsiliīs frētus polliceor vōbīs, Quirītēs, sed multīs et nōn dubiīs deōrum immortālium sīgnificātiōnibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; quī iam nōn procul, ut

quondam solēbant, ab externō hoste atque longinquō, sed hīc praesentēs suō nūmine atque auxiliō sua templa atque urbis tēcta dēfendunt. Quōs vōs, Quirītēs, precārī, venerārī, implōrāre dēbētis ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam flōrentissimam potentissimamque esse voluērunt, hanc omnibus hostium cōpiīs terrā marīque superātīs ā perditissimōrum cīvium nefāriō scelere dēfendant.

IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO TERTIA HABITA AD POPVLVM

THE THIRD SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE

Delivered in the Forum, December 3, 63 B.C.

Exordium

Cicero's claim to the gratitude of the Roman people for having saved the state from a very great danger. (1–2.)

1. 1. REM pūblicam, Quirītēs, vītamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortūnās, coniugēs līberōsque vestrōs atque hoc domicilium clārissimī imperī, fortūnātissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodiernō diē deōrum immortālium summō ergā vōs amōre, labōribus, cōnsiliīs, perīculīs meīs ē flammā atque ferrō ac paene ex faucibus fātī ēreptam et vōbīs cōnservātam ac restitūtam vidētis. 2. Et sī nōn minus nōbīs iūcundī atque inlūstrēs sunt eī diēs quibus cōnservāmur quam illī quibus nāscimur, quod salūtis certa laetitia est, nāscendī incerta condiciō et quod sine sēnsū nāscimur, cum voluptāte servāmur, profectō, quoniam illum quī hanc urbem condidit ad deōs immortālīs benevolentiā fāmāque sustulimus, esse apud vōs posterōsque vestrōs in honōre dēbēbit is quī eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificātamque servāvit. Nam tōtī urbī, templīs, dēlūbrīs, tēctīs ac moenibus subiectōs prope iam īgnīs circumdatōsque restīnximus, īdemque gladiōs in rem pūblicam dēstrictōs rettudimus mūcrōnēsque eōrum ā iugulīs vestrīs dēiēcimus.

Narratio

The intrigues and plots of the conspirators at Rome; their arrest; their examination before the senate, and their confession. (3–15.)

3. Quae quoniam in senātū inlūstrāta, patefacta, comperta sunt per mē, vōbīs iam expōnam breviter ut et quanta et quam manifēsta et quā ratiōne invēstīgāta et comprehēnsa sint vōs quī et īgnōrātīs et exspectātis scīre possītis.

Prīncipiō, ut Catilīna paucīs ante diēbus ērūpit ex urbe, cum sceleris suī sociōs huiusce nefāriī bellī acerrimōs ducēs Rōmae relīquisset, semper vigilāvī et prōvīdī, Quirītēs, quem ad modum in tantīs et tam absconditīs īnsidiīs salvī esse possēmus.

2. Nam tum cum ex urbe Catilīnam ēiciēbam — nōn enim iam vereor huius verbī invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vīvus exierit —, sed tum cum illum exterminārī volēbam, aut reliquam coniūrātōrum manum simul exitūram aut eōs quī restitissent īnfīrmōs sine illō ac dēbilīs fore putābam. 4. Atque ego, ut vīdī, quōs maximō furōre et scelere esse īnflammātōs sciēbam, eōs nōbīscum esse et Rōmae remānsisse, in eō omnīs diēs noctēsque cōnsūmpsī ut quid agerent, quid mōlīrentur sentīrem ac vidērem, ut, quoniam auribus vestrīs propter incrēdibilem magnitūdinem sceleris minōrem fidem faceret ōrātiō mea, rem ita comprehenderem ut tum dēmum animīs salūtī vestrae prōvidērētis cum oculīs maleficium ipsum vidērētis. Itaque ut comperī lēgātōs Allobrogum bellī Trānsalpīnī et tumultūs Gallicī excitandī causā ā P. Lentulō esse sollicitātōs, eōsque in Galliam ad suōs cīvīs eōdemque itinere cum litterīs mandātīsque ad Catilīnam esse missōs, comitemque eīs adiūnctum esse T. Volturcium, atque hūic esse ad Catilīnam datās litterās, facultātem mihi oblātam putāvī ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optābam ab dīs immortālibus,

tōta rēs nōn solum ā mē sed etiam ā senātū et ā vōbīs manifestō dēprenderētur. 5. Itaque hesternō diē L. Flaccum et C. Pomptīnum praetōrēs, fortissimōs atque amantissimōs reī pūblicae virōs, ad me vocāvī, rem exposuī, quid fierī placēret ostendī. Illī autem, quī omnia dē rē pūblicā praeclāra atque ēgregia sentīrent, sine recūsātiōne ac sine ūllā morā negōtium suscēpērunt et, cum advesperāsceret, occultē ad pontem Mulvium pervēnērunt atque ibi in proximīs vīllīs ita bipertītō fuērunt ut Tiberis inter eōs et pōns interesset. Eōdem autem et ipsī sine cuiusquam suspīciōne multōs fortīs virōs ēdūxerant, et ego ex praefecturā Reātīnā complūrīs dēlēctōs adulēscentīs quōrum operā ūtor adsiduē in rēī pūblicae praesidiō cum gladiīs mīseram. 6. Interim tertiā ferē vigiliā exāctā, cum iam pontem Mulvium magnō comitātū lēgātī Allobrogēs ingredī inciperent ūnāque Volturcius, fit in eōs impetus; dūcuntur et ab illīs gladiī et ā nōstrīs. Rēs praetōribus erat nōta sōlīs īgnōrābātur ā cēterīs.

3. Tum interventū Pomptīnī atque Flaccī pugna quae erat commissa sēdātur. Litterae quaecumque erant in eō comitātū integrīs sīgnīs praetōribus trāduntur; ipsī comprehēnsī ad mē, cum iam dīlūcēsceret, dēdūcuntur. Atque hōrum omnium scelerum improbissimum māchinātōrem, Cimbrum Gabīnium, statim ad mē nihil dum suspīcantem vocāvī; deinde item arcessītus est L. Statilius et post eum Cethēgus; tardissimē autem Lentulus vēnit, crēdō quod in litterīs dandīs praeter cōnsuētūdinem proximā nocte vigilārat. 7. Cum summīs et clārissimīs huius civitātis virīs quī audītā rē frequentēs ad mē māne convēnerant litterās ā mē prius aperīrī quam ad senātum dēferrī placēret, nē, sī nihil esset inventum, temere ā mē tantus tumultus iniectus cīvitātī vidērētur, negāvī mē esse factūrum ut dē perīculō pūblicō nōn ad cōnsilium pūblicum rem

integram dēferrem. Etenim, Quirītēs, sī ea quae erant ad mē dēlāta reperta nōn essent, tamen ego nōn arbitrābar in tantīs reī pūblicae perīculīs esse mihi nimiam dīligentiam pertimēscendam. Senātum frequentem celeriter, ut vīdistis, coēgī. 8. Atque intereā statim admonitū Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetōrem, fortem virum, mīsī quī ex aedibus Cethēgī sī quid tēlōrum esset efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sīcārum numerum et gladiōrum extulit.

4. Introdūxī Volturcium sine Gallīs; fidem pūblicam iussū senātūs dedī; hortātus sum ut ea quae scīret sine

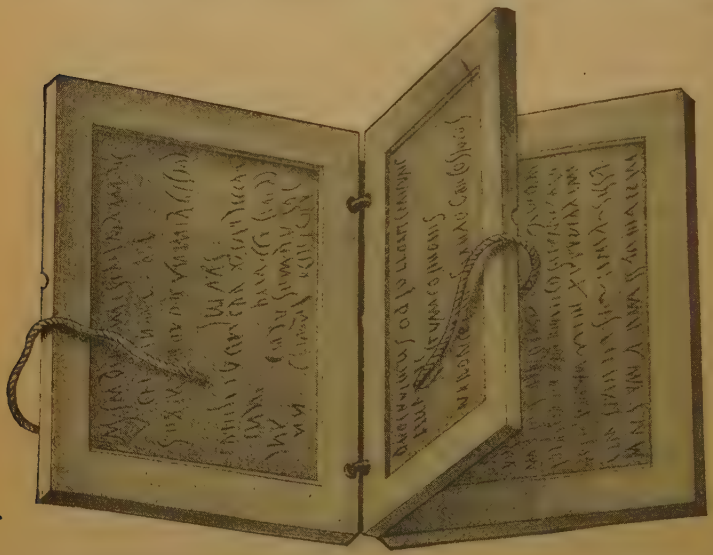


FIG. 12. Tabellae.

timōre indicāret. Tum ille dīxit, cum vix sē ex magnō timōre recreāsset, ā P. Lentulō sē habēre ad Catilīnam mandāta et litterās ut servōrum praesidiō ūterētur, ut ad urbem quam prīmum cum exercitū accēderet; id autem

cō cōnsiliō ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus quem ad modum dēscrīptum distribūtumque erat incendissent caedemque īnfīnītam cīvium fēcissent, praestō esset ille quī et fugientīs exciperet et sē cum hīs urbānīs ducibus coniungeret. 9. Intrōductī autem Gallī iūs iūrandum sibi et litterās ā P. Lentulō, Cethēgō, Statiliō ad suam gentem datās esse dīxērunt, atque ita sibi ab hīs et ā L. Cassiō esse praescrīptum ut equitātum in Ītaliam quam prīmum mitterent; pedestrīs sibi copiās nōn dēfutūrās. Lentulum autem sibi cōnfīrmāsse ex fātīs Sibyllīnīs haruspicumque respōnsīs sē esse tertium illum Cornēlium ad quem rēgnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenīre esset necesse: Cinnam ante sē et Sullam fuisse. Eundemque dīxisse fātālem hunc annum esse ad interitum huius urbis atque imperī quī esset annus decimus post virginum absolūtiōnem, post Capitōlī autem incēnsiōnem vīcēsimus. 10. Hanc autem Cethēgō cum cēterīs contrōversiam fuisse dīxērunt quod Lentulō et aliīs Sāturnālibus caedem fierī atque urbem incendī placēret, Cethēgō nimium id longum vidērētur.

5. Ac nē longum sit, Quirītēs, tabellās prōferrī iussimus quae ā quōque dīcēbantur datae. Prīmō ostendimus Cethēgō: sīgnum cōgnōvit. Nōs līnum incīdimus; lēgimus. Erat scrīptum ipsīus manū Allobrogum senātuī et populō sēsē quae eōrum lēgātīs cōnfīrmāsset factūrum esse; ōrāre ut item illī facerent quae sibi eōrum lēgātī recēpissent. Tum Cethēgus, quī paulō ante aliquid tamen dē gladiīs ac sīcīs quae apud ipsum erant dēprehēnsa respondisset dīxissetque sē semper bonōrum ferrāmentōrum studiōsum fuisse, recitātīs litterīs dēbilitātus atque abiectus cōnscientiā repente conticuit. Intrōductus Statilius cōgnōvit et sīgnum et manum suam. Recitātae sunt tabellae in eandem ferē sententiam; cōnfessus est. Tum ostendī tabellās Lentulō

et quaesīvī cōgnōsceretne sīgnum. Adnuit. 'Est vērō' inquam 'nōtum quidem sīgnum, imāgō avī tuī, clārissimī virī, quī amāvit ūnicē patriam et cīvīs suōs; quae quidem tē ā tantō scelere etiam mūta revocāre dēbuit.' VI. Legun-
5 tur eādem ratiōne ad senātum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Sī quid dē hīs rēbus dīcere vellet, fēcī potestātem. Atque ille primō quidem negāvit; post autem aliquantō, tōtō iam indiciō expositō atque ēditō, surrēxit, quaesīvit ā Gallīs quid sibi esset cum eīs, quam ob rem domum suam
10 vēnissent, itemque ā Volturciō. Quī cum illī breviter cōnstanterque respondissent per quem ad eum quotiēnsque vēnissent, quaesīssentque ab eō nihilne sēcum esset dē fātīs Sibyllīnīs locūtus, tum ille subitō scelere dēmēns quanta cōnscientiae vīs esset ostendit. Nam, cum id posset īnfiti-
15 ārī, repente praeter opīniōnem omnium cōnfessus est. Ita eum nōn modo ingenium illud et dīcendī exercitātiō quā semper valuit sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifēstī atque dēprehēnsi impudentia quā superābat omnīs improbitāsque dēfēcit. 12. Volturcius vērō subitō litterās prōferrī atque
20 aperīrī iubet quās sibi ā Lentulō ad Catilīnam datās esse dīcēbat. Atque ibi vehementissimē perturbātus Lentulus tamen et sīgnum et manum suam cōgnōvit. Erant autem sine nōmine, sed ita: 'Quis sim sciēs ex eō quem ad tē mīsī. Cūrā ut vir sīs et cōgitā quem in locum sīs prōgres-
25 sus. Vidē ecquid tibi iam sit necesse et cūrā ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungās, etiam īnfimōrum.' Gabīnius deinde introductus, cum prīmō impudenter respondēre coepisset, ad extrēmum nihil ex eīs quae Gallī īnsimulābant negāvit. 13. Ac mihi quidem, Quirītēs, cum illa certissima vīsa sunt
30 argūmenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, sīgna, manūs, dēnique ūnīus cuiusque cōnfessiō, tum multō certiōra illa, color, oculī, voltūs, taciturnitās. Sīc enim obstupuerant, sīc terram intuēbantur, sīc fūrtim nōn numquam inter sēsē

aspiciēbant ut nōn iam ab aliīs indicārī sed indicāre sē ipsī vidērentur.

6. Indiciīs expositīs atque ēditīs, Quirītēs, senātum cōnsuluī dē summā rē pūblicā quid fieri placēret. Dictae sunt ā prīncipibus ācerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quās senātus sine ūllā varietāte est secūtus. Et quoniam nōndum est perscrīptum senātūs cōnsultum, ex memoriā vōbīs, Quirītēs, quid senātus cēnsuerit expōnam. 14. Prīmum mihi grātiae verbīs amplissimīs aguntur, quod virtūte, cōnsiliō, prōvidentiā mea rēs pūblica maximīs perīculīs sit līberāta. Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptīnus praetōrēs, quod eōrum operā fortī fidēlīque ūsus essem, meritō ac iūre laudantur. Atque etiam virō fortī, conlēgae meō, laus impertītur, quod eōs quī huius coniūrātiōnis participēs fuissent ā suīs et ā reī pūblicae cōnsiliīs remōvisset. Atque ita cēnsuērunt ut P. Lentulus, cum sē praetūrā abdicāsset, in cūstōdiam trāderētur; itemque utī C. Cethēgus, L. Statilius, P. Gabīnius quī omnēs praesentēs erant in cūstōdiam trāderentur; atque idem hoc dēcrētum est in L. Cassium quī sibi prōcūrātiōnem incendendae urbis dēpoposcerat, in M. Cēpārium cui ad sollicitandōs pāstōrēs Āpūliam attribūtam esse erat indicātum, in P. Fūrium quī est ex eīs colōnīs quōs Faesulās L. Sulla dēdūxit, in Q. Annium Chīlōnem quī ūnā cum hōc Fūriō semper erat in hāc Allobrogum sollicitātiōne versātus, in P. Vmbrēnum, lībertīnum hominem, ā quō prīmum Gallōs ad Gabīnium perductōs esse cōnstābat. Atque eā lēnitāte senātus est ūsus, Quirītēs, ut ex tantā coniūrātiōne tantāque hāc multitūdine domesticōrum hostium novem hominum perditissimōrum poenā rē pūblicā cōnservātā relicuorum mentīs sānārī posse arbitrārētur. 15. Atque etiam supplicātiō dīs immortālibus prō singulārī eōrum meritō meō nōmine dēcrēta est, quod mihi prīmum post hanc urbem conditam togātō contigit, et hīs dēcrēta verbīs est: 'quod

urbem incendiīs, caede cīvīs, Ītaliam bellō līberāssem.' Quae supplicātiō sī cum cēterīs supplicātiōnibus cōnferātur, hoc interest, quod cēterae bene gestā, haec ūna cōnservātā rē pūblicā cōnstitūta est. Atque illud quod faciendum prīmum fuit factum atque trānsactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patēfactīs indiciīs, cōnfessiōnibus suīs, iūdiciō senātūs nōn modo praetōris iūs vērum etiam cīvis āmīserat, tamen magistrātū sē abdicāvit, ut quae religiō C. Mariō, clārissimō virō, nōn fuerat quō minus C. Glauciam dē quō nihil nōminātim erat dēcrētum praetōrem occīderet, eā nōs religiōne in privātō P. Lentulō pūniendō līberārēmur.

All peril has been removed and Catiline's hopes have been wrecked. (16–22.)

a. *This has been attained by Cicero's measures against Catiline. Cicero justifies his conduct.*

b. *The gods are evidently protecting the state.*

7. 16. Nunc quoniam, Quirītēs, cōnscelerātissimī perīculōsissimīque bellī nefāriōs ducēs captōs iam et comprehēnsōs tenētis, exīstimāre dēbētis omnīs Catilīnae copiās, omnīs spēs atque opēs hīs dēpulsīs urbis perīculīs concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellēbam, hoc prōvidēbam animō, Quirītēs, remōtō Catilīnā nōn mihi esse P. Lentulī somnum nec L. Cassī adipēs nec C. Cethēgī furiōsam temeritātem pertimēscendam. Ille erat ūnus timendus ex istīs omnibus, sed tam diū dum urbis moenibus continēbātur. Omnia nōrat, omnium aditūs tenēbat; appellāre, temptāre, sollicitāre poterat, audēbat. Erat eī cōnsilium ad facinus aptum, cōnsiliō autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. Iam ad certās rēs cōnficiendās certōs hominēs dēlēctōs ac dēscrīptōs habēbat. Neque vērō, cum aliquid mandārat, cōnfectum putābat: nihil erat quod nōn ipse obīret, occurreret, vigilāret, labōrāret; frīgus, sitim, famem ferre

poterat. 17. Hunc ego hominem tam ācrem, tam audācem, tam parātum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditīs rēbus dīligentem nisi ex domesticīs īnsidiīs in castrēnse latrōcinium compulissem — dīcam id quod sentiō, Quirītēs — nōn facile hanc tantam mōlem malī ā cervīcibus vestrīs dēpulissem. Nōn ille nōbīs Sāturnālia cōnstituisset, neque tantō ante exitī ac fātī diem reī pūblicae dēnūntiāvisset neque commīsisset ut sīgnum, ut litterae suae testēs manifēstī sceleris dēprehenderentur. Quae nunc illō absente sīc gesta sunt ut nūllum in prīvātā domō fūrtum umquam sit tam palam inventum quam haec in totā rē pūblicā coniūrātiō manifēstō comprehēnsa est. Quod sī Catilīna in urbe ad hanc diem remānsisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius cōnsiliīs occurrī atque obstitī, tamen, ut levissimē dīcam, dīmicandum nōbīs cum illō fuisset, neque nōs umquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantīs perīculīs rem pūblicam tantā pāce, tantō ōtiō, tantō silentiō līberāssēmus.

8. 18. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirītēs, ita sunt ā mē administrāta ut deōrum immortālium nūtū atque cōnsiliō et gesta et prōvīsa esse videantur. Idque cum coniectūrā cōnsequī possumus, quod vix vidētur hūmānī cōnsilī tantārum rērum gubernātiō esse potuisse, tum vērō ita praesentēs hīs temporibus opem et auxilium nōbīs tulērunt ut eōs paene oculīs vidēre possīmus. Nam ut illa omittam, vīsās nocturnō tempore ab occidente facēs ārdōremque caelī, ut fulminum iactūs, ut terrae mōtūs relinquam, ut omittam cētera quae tam multa nōbīs cōnsulibus facta sunt ut haec quae nunc fīunt canere dī immortālēs vidērentur, hoc certē, Quirītēs, quod sum dictūrus neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. 19. Nam profectō memoriā tenētis Cottā et Torquātō cōnsulibus complūrīs in Capitōliō rēs dē caelō esse percussās, cum et simulācra deōrum dēpulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum dēiectae

FIG. 13. The Wolf of the Capitol.

et lēgum aera liquefacta et tāctus etiam ille quī hanc urbem condidit Rōmulus, quem inaurātum in Capitōliō, parvum atque lactantem, ūberibus lupīnīs inhiantem fuisse meministis. Quō quidem tempore cum haruspicēs ex tōtā Etrūriā convēnissent, caedīs atque incendia et lēgum interitum et bellum cīvīle ac domesticum et tōtīus urbis atque imperī occāsum appropinquāre dīxērunt, nisi dī immortālēs omnī ratiōne plācātī suō nūmine prope fāta ipsa flexissent.

20. Itaque illōrum respōnsīs tum et lūdī per decem diēs factī sunt neque rēs ūlla quae ad plācandōs deōs pertinēret praetermissa est. Īdemque iussērunt simulācrum Iovis facere maius et in excelsō conlocāre et contrā atque anteā fuerat ad orientem convertere; ac sē spērāre dīxērunt, sī illud sīgnum quod vidētis sōlis ortum et forum cūriamque cōnspiceret, fore ut ea cōnsilia quae clam essent inita contrā salūtem urbis atque imperī inlūstrārentur ut ā senātū populōque Rōmānō perspicī possent. Atque illud sīgnum conlocandum cōnsulēs illī locāvērunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditās ut neque superiōribus cōnsulibus neque nōbīs ante hodiernum diem conlocārētur.

9. 21. Hīc quis potest esse tam āversus ā vērō, tam praeceps, tam mente captus quī neget haec omnia quae vidēmus praecipuēque hanc urbem deōrum immortālium nūtū ac potestāte administrārī? Etenim cum esset ita respōnsum, caedīs, incendia, interitum reī pūblicae comparārī, et ea per cīvīs, quae tum propter magnitūdinem scelerum nōn nūllīs incrēdibilia vidēbantur, ea nōn modo cōgitāta ā nefāriīs cīvibus vērum etiam suscepta esse sēnsistis. Illud vērō nōnne ita praesēns est ut nūtū Iovis Optimī Maximī factum esse videātur, ut, cum hodiernō diē māne per forum meō iussū et coniūrātī et eōrum indicēs in aedem Concordiae dūcerentur, eō ipsō tempore sīgnum statuerētur? Quō conlocātō atque ad vōs senātumque conversō omnia et senā-

tus et vōs quae erant contrā salūtem omnium cōgitāta inlūstrāta et patefacta vīdistis. 22. Quō etiam maiōre sunt istī odiō suppliciōque dignī quī nōn sōlum vestrīs domiciliīs atque tēctīs sed etiam deōrum templīs atque dēlūbrīs sunt fūnestōs ac nefāriōs ignīs īnferre cōnātī. Quibus ego sī mē restitisse dīcam, nimium mihi sūmam et nōn sim ferendus: ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille Capitōlium, ille haec templa, ille cūnctam urbem, ille vōs omnīs salvōs esse voluit. Dīs ego immortālibus ducibus hanc mentem voluntātemque suscēpī atque ad haec tanta indicia pervēnī. Iam vērō illa Allobrogum sollicitātiō, iam āb Lentulō cēterīsque domesticīs hostibus tam dēmenter tantae rēs crēditae et īgnōtīs et barbarīs commissaeque litterae numquam essent profectō, nisi ab dīs immortālibus huic tantae audāciae cōnsilium esset ēreptum. Quid vērō? ut hominēs Gallī ex cīvitāte male pācātā, quae gēns ūna restat quae bellum populō Rōmānō facere posse et nōn nōlle videātur, spem imperī ac rērum maximārum ultrō sibi ā patriciīs hominibus oblātam neglegerent vestramque salūtem suīs opibus antepōnerent, id nōn dīvīnitus esse factum putātis, praesertim quī nōs nōn pugnandō sed tacendō superāre potuērunt?

Peroratio

The people should first give thanks to the gods. (23–25.)

10. 23. Quam ob rem, Quirītēs, quoniam ad omnia pulvīnāria supplicātiō dēcrēta est, celebrātōte illōs diēs cum coniugibus ac līberīs vestrīs. Nam multī saepe honōrēs dīs immortālibus iūstī habitī sunt ac dēbitī, sed profectō iūstiōrēs numquam. Ēreptī enim estis ex crūdēlissimō ac miserrimō interitū, ēreptī sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitū, sine dīmicātiōne; togātī mē ūnō togātō duce et imperātōre vīcistis. 24. Etenim recordāminī, Quirītēs, omnīs cīvīlīs dissēnsiōnēs, nōn sōlum eās quās audīstis sed eās

quās vōsmet ipsī meministis atque vīdistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, cūstōdem huius urbis, multōsque fortīs virōs partim ēiēcit ex cīvitāte, partim interēmit. Cn. Octavius cōnsul armīs expulit ex urbe conlēgam: omnis hīc locus acervīs corporum et cīvium sanguine redundāvit. Superāvit posteā Cinna cum Mariō: tum vērō clārissimīs virīs interfectīs lūmina cīvitātis exstīncta sunt. Vltus est huius victōriae crūdēlitātem posteā Sulla: nē dīcī quidem opus est quantā dēminūtiōne cīvium et quantā calamitāte reī pūblicae. Dissēnsit M. Lepidus ā clārissimō et fortissimō virō Q. Catulō: attulit nōn tam ipsīus interitus reī pūblicae lūctum quam cēterōrum.

25. Dissēnsiōnes erant eius modī quae nōn ad dēlendam sed ad commūtandam rem pūblicam pertinērent. Nōn illī nūllam esse rem pūblicam sed in eā quae esset sē esse prīncipēs, neque hanc urbem cōnflagrāre sed sē in hāc urbe flōrēre voluērunt. Atque illae tamen omnēs dissēnsiōnēs, quārum nūlla exitium reī pūblicae quaesīvit, eius modī fuērunt ut nōn reconciliātiōne concordiae sed interniciōne cīvium dīiūdicātae sint. In hōc autem ūnō post hominum memoriam maximō crūdēlissimōque bellō, quāle bellum nūlla umquam barbaria cum suā gente gessit, quō in bellō lēx haec fuit ā Lentulō, Catilīnā, Cethēgō, Cassiō cōnstitūta ut omnēs quī salvā urbe salvī esse possent in hostium numerō dūcerentur, ita mē gessī, Quirītēs, ut salvī omnēs cōnservārēminī, et, eum hostēs vestrī tantum cīvium superfutūrum putāssent quantum īnfīnītae caedī restitisset, tantum autem urbis quantum flamma obīre nōn potuisset, et urbem et cīvīs integrōs incolumīsque servāvī.

Cicero also deserves gratitude; he asks grateful remembrance and protection against those whose enmity he has incurred. (26–29.)

II. 26. Quibus prō tantīs rēbus, Quirītēs, nūllum ego

ā vōbīs praemium virtūtis, nūllum īnsīgne honōris, nūllum monumentum laudis postulābō praeterquam huius diēī memoriam sempiternam. In animīs ego vestrīs omnīs triumphōs meōs, omnia ōrnāmenta honōris, monumenta glōriae, laudis īnsīgnia condī et conlocārī volō. Nihil mē mūtum potest dēlectāre, nihil tacitum, nihil dēnique eiús modī quod etiam minus dignī adsequī possint. Memoriā vestrā, Quirītēs, nostrae rēs alentur, sermōnibus crēscent, litterārum monumentīs inveterāscent et conrōborābuntur; eandemque diem intellegō, quam spērō aeternam fore, prōpāgātam esse et ad salūtem urbis et ad memoriam cōnsulātūs meī, ūnōque tempore in hāc rē pūblicā duōs cīvīs exstitisse quōrum alter fīnīs vestrī imperī nōn terrae sed caelī regiōnibus terminăret, alter huius imperī domicilium sēdīsque servāret.

12. 27. Sed quoniam eārum rērum quās ego gessī nōn eadem est fortūna atque condiciō quae illōrum quī externa bella gessērunt, quod mihi cum eīs vīvendum est quōs vīcī ac subēgī, illī hostīs aut interfectōs aut oppressōs relīquērunt, vestrum est, Quirītēs, sī cēterīs facta sua rēctē prōsunt, mihi mea nē quandō obsint prōvidēre. Mentēs enim hominum audācissimōrum scelerātae ac nefāriae nē vōbīs nocēre possent ego prōvīdī, nē mihi noceant vestrum est prōvidēre. Quamquam, Quirītēs, mihi quidem ipsī nihil ab istīs iam nocērī potest. Magnum enim est in bonīs praesidium quod mihi in perpetuum comparātum est, magna in rē pūblicā dignitās quae mē semper tacita dēfendet, magna vīs cōnscientiae quam quī neglegunt, cum mē violāre volent, sē indicābunt. 28. Est enim nōbīs is animus, Quirītēs, ut nōn modo nūllīus audāciae cēdāmus sed etiam omnīs improbōs ultrō semper lacessāmus. Quod sī omnis impetus domesticōrum hostium dēpulsus ā vōbīs sē in mē ūnum converterit, vōbīs erit videndum, Quirītēs, quā con-

diciōne posthāc eōs esse velītis quī sē prō salūte vestrā obtulerint invidiae perīculīsque omnibus: mihi quidem ipsī quid est quod iam ad vītae frūctum possit adquīrī, cum praesertim neque in honōre vestrō neque in glōriā virtūtis quicquam videam altius quō mihi libeat ascendere? 29. Illud perficiam profectō, Quirītēs, ut eā quae gessī in cōnsulātū prīvātus tuear atque ōrnem, ut, sī qua est invidia in cōnservandā rē pūblicā suscepta, laedat invidōs, mihi valeat ad glōriam. Dēnique ita mē in rē pūblicā trāctābō ut meminerīm semper quae gesserim, cūremque ut ea virtūte nōn cāsū gesta esse videantur. Vōs, Quirītēs, quoniam iam est nox, venerātī Iovem illum cūstōdem huius urbis ac vestrum in vestra tēcta discēdite et ea, quamquam iam est perīculum dēpulsum, tamen aequē ac priōre nocte cūstōdiīs vigiliīsque dēfendite. Id nē vōbīs diūtius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetuā pāce esse possītis prōvidēbō, Quirītēs.

IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO QVARTA HABITA IN SENATV

THE FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE

Delivered in the senate, December 5, 63 B.C.

Exordium

Cicero says that the senate must cease to consider his interests. (1–3.)

1. 1. Videō, patrēs cōnscrīptī, in mē omnium vestrum ōra atque oculōs esse conversōs, videō vōs nōn sōlum dē vestrō ac reī pūblicae vērum etiam, sī id dēpulsum sit, dē meō perīculō esse sollicitōs. Est mihi iūcunda in malīs et grāta in dolōre vestra ergā mē voluntās, sed eam per deōs immortālīs! dēpōnite atque oblītī salūtis meae dē vōbīs ac dē vestrīs līberīs cōgitāte. Mihi sī haec condiciō cōnsulātūs data est ut omnīs acerbitātēs, omnīs dolōrēs cruciātūsque perferrem, feram nōn sōlum fortiter vērum etiam libenter, dum modo meīs labōribus vōbīs populōque Rōmānō dignitās salūsque pariātur. 2. Ego sum ille cōnsul, patrēs cōnscrīptī, cui nōn forum in quō omnis aequitās continētur, nōn campus cōnsulāribus auspiciīs cōnsecrātus, nōn cūria, summum auxilium omnium gentium, nōn domus, commūne perfugium, nōn lectus ad quiētem datus, nōn dēnique haec sēdēs honōris umquam vacua mortis perīculō

FIG. 14. Sella Curulis, Coin of P. Furius Crassipes, Curule Aedile; from Cohen, Monnaies de la République, Pl. xix, 4.

atque īnsidiīs fuit. Ego multa tacuī, multa pertulī, multa concessī, multa meō quōdam dolōre in vestrō timōre sānāvī. Nunc sī hunc exitum cōnsulātūs meī dī immortālēs esse voluērunt ut vōs populumque Rōmānum ex caede miserrimā, coniugēs līberōsque vestrōs virginēsque Vestālīs ex acerbissimā vexātiōne, templa atque dēlūbra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissimā flammā, tōtam Ītaliam ex bellō et vāstitāte ēriperem, quaecumque mihi ūnī prōpōnētur fortūna subeātur. Etenim sī P. Lentulus suum nōmen inductus ā vātibus fātāle ad perniciem reī pūblicae fore putāvit, cur ego nōn laeter meum cōnsulātum ad salūtem populī Rōmānī prope fātālem exstitisse?

2. 3. Quā rē, patrēs cōnscrīptī, cōnsulite vōbīs, prōspicite patriae, cōnservāte vōs, coniugēs, līberōs fortūnāsque vestrās, populī Rōmānī nōmen salūtemque dēfendite; mihi parcere ac dē mē cōgitāre dēsinite. Nam prīmum dēbeō spērāre omnīs deōs quī huic urbī praesident prō eō mihi ac mereor relātūrōs esse grātiam; deinde, sī quid obtigerit, aequō animō parātōque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors fortī virō potest accidere neque immātūra cōnsulārī nec misera sapientī. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus quī frātris cārissimī atque amantissimī praesentis maerōre nōn movear hōrumque omnium lacrimīs ā quibus mē circumsessum vidētis. Neque meam mentem nōn domum saepe revocat exanimāta uxor et abiecta metū fīlia et parvolus fīlius, quem mihi vidētur amplectī rēs pūblica tamquam obsidem cōnsulātūs meī, neque ille quī exspectāns huius exitum diēī stat in cōnspectū meō gener. Moveor hīs rēbus omnibus, sed in eam partem utī salvī sint vōbīscum omnēs, etiam sī mē vīs aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illī et nōs ūnā reī pūblicae peste pereāmus.

Narratio

The senate must consider the situation carefully, and reach a decision at once. (4–6.)

4. Quā rē, patrēs cōnscrīptī, incumbite ad salūtem reī pūblicae, circumspicite omnīs procellās quae impendent nisi prōvidētis. Nōn Ti. Gracchus quod iterum tribūnus plēbis fierī voluit, nōn C. Gracchus quod agrāriōs concitāre cōnātus est, nōn L. Sāturnīnus quod C. Memmium occīdit, in discrīmen aliquod atque in vestrae sevēritātis iudicium addūcitur: tenentur eī quī ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilīnam accipiendum Rōmae restitērunt, tenentur litterae, sīgna, manūs, dēnique ūnīus cuiusque cōnfessiō: sollicitantur Allobrogēs, servitia excitantur, Catilīna arcessitur, id est initum cōnsilium ut interfectīs omnibus nēmō nē ad dēplōrandum quidem populī Rōmānī nōmen atque ad lāmentandam tantī imperī calamitātem relinquātur.

3. 5. Haec omnia indicēs dētulērunt, reī cōnfessī sunt, vōs multīs iam iūdiciīs iūdicāvistis, prīmum quod mihi grātiās ēgistis singulāribus verbīs et meā virtūte atque dīligentiā perditōrum hominum coniūrātiōnem patefactam esse dēcrēvistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum sē abdicāre praetūrā coēgistis; tum quod eum et cēterōs dē quibus iūdicāstis in cūstōdiam dandōs cēnsuistis, maximēque quod meō nōmine supplicātiōnem dēcrēvistis, quī honōs togātō habitus ante mē est nēminī; postrēmō hesternō diē praemia lēgātīs Allobrogum Titōque Volturciō dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia eius modī ut eī quī in cūstōdiam nōminātim datī sunt sine ūllā dubitātiōne ā vōbīs damnātī esse videantur.

6. Sed ego īnstituī referre ad vōs, patrēs cōnscrīptī, tamquam integrum, et dē factō quid iūdicētis et dē poenā quid

cēnseātis. Illa praedīcam quae sunt cōnsulis. Ego magnum in rē pūblicā versārī furōrem et nova quaedam miscērī et concitārī mala iam prīdem vidēbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiōsam habērī coniūrātiōnem ā cīvibus numquam putāvī. Nunc quicquid est, quōcumque vestrae mentēs inclīnant atque sententiae, statuendum vōbīs ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vōs dēlātum sit vidētis. Huic sī paucōs putātis adfīnīs esse, vehementer errātis. Lātius opīniōne dissēminātum est hoc malum; mānāvit nōn sōlum per Ītaliam vērum etiam trānscendit Alpīs et obscūrē serpēns multās iam prōvinciās occupāvit. Id opprimī sustentandō et prōlātandō nūllō pactō potest; quācumque ratiōne placet celeriter vōbīs vindicandum est.

He recalls the two opinions thus far set forth and discusses them:

a. *As to the severity of each.* (7–8.)

b. *As to the danger of each to himself.*

c. *As to their legality.* (9–10.)

He lays stress on the fact that previous votes imply the guilt of the conspirators.

4. 7. Videō duās adhūc esse sententiās, ūnam D. Sīlānī quī cēnset eōs quī haec dēlēre cōnātī sunt morte esse multandōs, alteram C. Caesaris quī mortis poenam removet, cēterōrum suppliciōrum omnīs acerbitātēs amplectitur. Vterque et prō suā dignitāte et prō rērum magnitūdine in summā sevēritāte versātur. Alter eōs quī nōs omnīs, quī populum Rōmānum vītā prīvāre cōnātī sunt, quī dēlēre imperium, quī populī Rōmānī nōmen exstinguere, pūnctum temporis fruī vītā et hōc commūnī spīritū nōn putat oportēre atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbōs cīvīs in hāc rē pūblicā esse ūsūrpātum recordātur. Alter intellegit mortem ā dīs immortālibus nōn esse supplicī causā cōnstitūtam, sed aut necessitātem nātūrae aut labōrum ac miseriārum quiētem. Itaque eam sapientēs numquam invītī, fortēs saepe etiam

libenter oppetīvērunt. Vincula vērō et ea sempiterna certē ad singulārem poenam nefāriī sceleris inventa sunt. Mūnicipiīs dispertīrī iubet. Habēre vidētur ista rēs inīquitātem, sī imperāre velīs, difficultātem, sī rogāre. Dēcernātur tamen, sī placet. 8. Ego enim suscipiam et, ut spērō, reperiam quī id quod salūtis omnium causā statueritis nōn putent esse suae dignitātis recūsāre. Adiungit gravem poenam mūnicipiīs, sī quis eōrum vincula rūperit; horribilīs cūstōdiās circumdat et dignās scelere hominum perditōrum; sancit nē quis eōrum poenam quōs condemnat aut per senātum aut per populum levāre possit; ēripit etiam spem quae sōla hominem in miseriīs cōnsōlārī solet. Bona praetereā pūblicārī iubet; vītam sōlam relinquit nefāriīs hominibus: quam sī ēripuisset, multās ūnō dolōre animī atque corporis miseriās et omnīs scelerum poenās adēmisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vītā formīdō improbīs esset proposita, apud īnferōs eius modī quaedam illī antīquī supplicia impiīs cōnstitūta esse voluērunt, quod vidēlicet intellegēbant hīs remōtīs nōn esse mortem ipsam pertimēscendam.

5. 9. Nunc, patrēs cōnscrīptī, ego meā videō quid interesit. Sī eritis secūtī sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in rē pūblicā viam quae populāris habētur secūtus est, fortasse minus erunt hōc auctōre et cōgnitōre huiusce sententiae mihi populārēs impetūs pertimēscendī; sīn illam alteram, nesciō an amplius mihi negōtī contrahātur. Sed tamen meōrum perīculōrum ratiōnēs ūtilitās reī pūblicae vincat. Habēmus enim ā Caesare, sīcut ipsīus dignitās et maiōrum eius amplitūdō postulābat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem pūblicam voluntātis. Intellēctum est quid interesset inter levitātem cōntiōnātōrum et animum vērē populārem salūtī populī cōnsulentem. 10. Videō dē istīs quī sē populārīs habērī volunt abesse nōn nēminem, nē dē capite vidēlicet cīvium Rōmānōrum sententiam ferat.

Is et nūdius tertius in cūstōdiam cīvīs Rōmānōs dedit et supplicātiōnem mihi dēcrēvit et indicēs hesternō diē maximīs praemiīs adfēcit. Iam hoc nēminī dubium est quī reō cūstōdiam, quaesītōrī grātulātiōnem, indicī praemium dēcrērit, quid dē tōtā rē et causā iūdicārit. At vērō C. Caesar intellegit lēgem Semprōniam esse dē cīvibus Rōmānīs cōnstitūtam; quī autem reī pūblicae sit hostis eum cīvem esse nūllō modō posse: dēnique ipsum lātōrem Semprōniae lēgis iussū populī poenās reī pūblicae dēpendisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largītōrem et prōdigum, nōn putat, cum dē perniciē populī Rōmānī, exitiō huius urbis tam acerbē, tam crūdēliter cōgitārit, etiam appellārī posse populārem. Itaque homō mītissimus atque lēnissimus nōn dubitat P. Lentulum aeternīs tenebrīs vinculīsque mandāre et sancit in posterum nē quis huius suppliciō levandō sē iactāre et in perniciē populī Rōmānī posthāc populāris esse possit. Adiungit etiam pūblicātiōnem bonōrum, ut omnīs animī cruciātūs et corporis etiam egestās ac mendīcitās cōnsequātur.

He argues that indulgence in the case of such a crime is inadmissible, and would be a crime against the state. (11–13.)

Confirmatio

6. 11. Quam ob rem, sīve hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad cōntiōnem populō cārum atque iūcundum, sīve Sīlānī sententiam sequī mālueritis, facile mē atque vōs crūdēlitātis vituperātiōne populus Rōmānus līberābit, atque obtinēbō eam multō lēniōrem fuisse. Quamquam, patrēs cōnscrīptī, quae potest esse in tantī sceleris immānitāte pūniendā crūdēlitās? Ego enim dē meō sēnsū iūdicō. Nam ita mihi salvā rē pūblicā vōbīscum perfruī liceat ut ego, quod in hāc causā vehementior sum, nōn atrōcitāte animī moveor — quis enim est mē mītior? — sed singulārī quādam hūmānitāte et misericordiā. Videor enim mihi vidēre hanc

urbem, lūcem orbis terrārum atque arcem omnium gentium, subitō ūnō incendiō concidentem. Cernō animō sepultā in patriā miserōs atque īnsepultōs acervōs cīvium, versātur mihi ante oculōs aspectus Cethēgī et furor in vestrā caede bacchantis. 12. Cum vērō mihi prōposuī rēgnantem Lentulum, sīcut ipse sē ex fātīs spērāsse cōnfessus est, purpurātum esse huic Gabīnium, cum exercitū vēnisse Catilīnam, tum lāmentātiōnem mātrum familiās, tum fugam virginum atque puerōrum ac vexātiōnem virginum Vestālium perhorrēscō, et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcircō in eōs quī ea perficere voluērunt mē sevērum vehementemque praebēbō. Etenim quaerō, sī quis pater familiās, līberīs suīs ā servō interfectīs, uxōre occīsā, incēnsā domō, supplicium dē servīs nōn quam acerbissimum sūmpserit, utrum is clēmēns ac misericors an inhūmānissimus et crūdēlissimus esse videātur? Mihi vērō importūnus ac ferreus quī nōn dolōre et cruciātū nocentis suum dolōrem cruciātumque lēnierit. Sīc nōs in hīs hominibus quī nōs, quī coniugēs, quī līberōs nostrōs trucīdāre voluērunt, quī singulās ūnīus cuiusque nostrum domōs et hoc ūniversum reī pūblicae domicilium dēlēre cōnātī sunt, quī id ēgērunt ut gentem Allobrogum in vēstīgiīs huius urbis atque in cinere dēflagrātī imperī conlocārent, sī vehementissimī fuerimus, misericordēs habēbimur; sīn remissiōrēs esse voluerimus, summae nōbīs crūdēlitātis in patriae cīviumque perniciē fāma subeunda est. 13. Nisi vērō cupiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus reī pūblicae, crūdēlior nūdius tertius vīsus est, cum sorōris suae, fēminae lēctissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vītā prīvandum esse dīxit, cum avum suum iussū cōnsulis interfectum, fīliumque eius impūberem lēgātum ā patre missum in carcere necātum esse dīxit. Quōrum quod simile factum, quod initum dēlendae reī pūblicae cōnsilium? Largītiōnis voluntās

tum in rē pūblicā versāta est et partium quaedam contentiō. Atque illō tempōre huius avus Lentulī, vir clārissimus, armātus Gracchum est persecūtus. Ille etiam grave tum volnus accēpit, nē quid dē summā reī pūblicae minuerētur; hīc ad ēvertenda fundāmenta reī pūblicae Gallōs arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilīnam vocat, attribuit nōs trucīdandōs Cethēgō et cēterōs cīvīs interficiendōs Gabīniō, urbem īnflammandam Cassiō, tōtam Ītaliam vāstandam dīripiendamque Catilīnae. Vereāminī minus cēnseō nē in hōc scelere tam immānī ac nefandō aliquid sevērius statuisse videāminī: multō magis est verendum nē remissiōne poenae crūdēlēs in patriam quam nē sevēritāte animadversiōnis nimis vehementēs in acerbissimōs hostīs fuisse videāmur.

He points out that the fears of some of the senators are unfounded. Everything is ready to secure the carrying out of the decree. All citizens, senators, knights, and plebeians are unanimous in their desire to succor their threatened fatherland. (14–17.)

7. 14. Sed ea quae exaudiō, patrēs cōnscrīptī, dissimulāre nōn possum. Iaciuntur enim vōcēs quae perveniunt ad aurīs meās eōrum quī verērī videntur ut habeam satis praesidī ad ea quae vōs statueritis hodiernō diē trānsigenda. Omnia et prōvīsa et parāta et cōnstitūta sunt, patrēs cōnscrīptī, cum meā summā cūrā atque dīligentiā tum multō etiam maiōre populī Rōmānī ad summum imperium rētinendum et ad commūnīs fortūnās cōnservandās voluntāte. Omnēs adsunt omnium ōrdinum hominēs, omnium generum, omnium dēnique aetātum; plēnum est forum, plēna templa circum forum, plēni omnēs aditūs huius templī ac locī. Causa est enim post urbem conditam haec inventa sōla in quā omnēs sentīrent ūnum atque idem praeter eōs quī, cum sibi vidērent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam sōlī perīre voluērunt. 15. Hōsce ego hominēs excipiō et sēcernō libenter, neque in improbōrum cīvium sed in acer-

bissimōrum hostium numerō habendōs putō. Cēterī vērō, dī immortālēs! quā frequentiā, quō studiō, quā virtūte ad commūnem salūtem dignitātemque cōnsentiunt! Quid ego hīc equitēs Rōmānōs commemorem? quī vōbīs ita summam ōrdinis cōnsilīque concēdunt ut vōbīscum dē amōre reī pūblicae certent; quōs ex multōrum annōrum dissēnsiōne hūius ōrdinis ad societātem concordiamque revocātōs hodiernus diēs vōbīscum atque haec causa coniungit. Quam sī coniūnctiōnem in cōnsulātū cōnfīrmātam meō perpetuam in rē pūblicā tenuerimus, cōnfīrmō vōbīs nūllum posthāc malum cīvīle ac domesticum ad ūllam reī pūblicae partem esse ventūrum. Parī studiō dēfendendae reī pūblicae convēnisse videō tribūnōs aerāriōs, fortissimōs virōs; scrībās item ūniversōs quōs, cum cāsū hīc diēs ad aerārium frequentāsset, videō ab exspectatiōne sortis ad salūtem commūnem esse conversōs. 16. Omnis ingenuōrum adest multitūdō, etiam tenuissimōrum. Quis est enim cui nōn haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessiō lībertātis, lūx dēnique haec ipsa et

FIG. 15. Vestal Virgin.

commūne patriae solum cum sit cārum tum vērō dulce atque iūcundum?

8. Operae pretium est, patrēs cōnscrīptī, lībertīnōrum hominum studia cōgnōscere quī, suā virtūte fortūnam huius cīvitātis cōnsecūtī, vērē hanc suam patriam esse iūdicant quam quīdam hīc nātī, et summō nātī locō, nōn patriam suam sed urbem hostium esse iūdicāvērunt. Sed quid ego hōsce ōrdinēs atque hominēs commemorō quōs prīvātae fortūnae, quōs commūnis rēs pūblica, quōs dēnique lībertās ea quae dulcissima est ad salūtem patriae dēfendendam excitāvit? Servus est nēmō, quī modo tolerābilī condiciōne sit servitūtis, quī nōn audāciam cīvium perhorrēscat, quī nōn haec stāre cupiat, quī nōn quantum audet et quantum potest cōnferat ad salūtem voluntātis. 17. Quā rē sī quem vestrum forte commovet hoc quod audītum est, lēnōnem quendam Lentulī concursāre circum tabernās, pretiō spērāre sollicitārī posse animōs egentium atque imperītōrum, est id quidem coeptum atque temptātum, sed nūllī sunt inventī tam aut fortūnā miserī aut voluntāte perditī quī nōn illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestūs cotīdiānī locum, quī nōn cubīle ac lectulum suum, quī dēnique nōn cursum hunc ōtiōsum vītae suae salvum esse velint. Multō vērō maxima pars eōrum quī in tabernīs sunt, immō vērō — id enim potius est dīcendum — genus hoc ūniversum amantissimum est ōtī. Etenim omne īnstrūmentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentiā cīvium sustentātur, alitur ōtiō; quōrum sī quaestus occlūsīs tabernīs minuī solet, quid tandem incēnsīs futūrum fuit?

Let the senate do its duty. (18–19.)

18. Quae cum ita sint, patrēs conscrīptī, vōbīs populī Rōmānī praesidia nōn dēsunt: vōs nē populō Rōmānō deesse videāminī prōvidēte.

9. Habētis cōnsulem ex plūrimīs perīculīs et īnsidiīs atque ex mediā morte nōn ad vītam suam sed ad salūtem vestram reservātum. Omnēs ōrdinēs ad cōnservandam rem pūblicam mente, voluntāte, vōce cōnsentiunt. Obsessa facibus et tēlis impiae coniūrātiōnis vōbīs supplex manūs tendit patria commūnis, vōbīs sē, vōbīs vītam omnium cīvium, vōbīs arcem et Capitōlium, vōbīs ārās Penātium, vōbīs illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vōbīs omnium deōrum templa atque dēlūbra, vōbīs mūrōs atque urbis tēcta commendat. Praetereā dē vestrā vītā, dē coniugum vestrārum atque līberōrum animā, dē fortūnīs omnium, dē sēdibus, dē focīs vestrīs hodiernō diē vōbīs iūdicandum est. 10. Habētis ducem memorem vestrī, oblītum suī, quae nōn semper facultās datur; habētis omnīs ōrdinēs, omnīs hominēs, ūniversum populum Rōmānum, id quod in cīvīlī causā hodiernō diē prīmum vidēmus, ūnum atque idem sentientem. Cōgitāte quantīs labōribus fundātum imperium, quantā virtūte stabilītam lībertātem, quantā deōrum benignitāte auctās exaggerātāsque fortūnās ūna nox paene dēlērit. Id nē umquam posthāc nōn modo nōn cōnficī sed nē cōgitārī quidem possit ā cīvibus hodiernō dīe prōvidendum est. Atque haec, nōn ut vōs quī mihi studiō paene praecurritis excitārem, locūtus sum, sed ut mea vōx quae dēbet esse in rē pūblicā prīnceps officiō fūncta cōnsulārī vidērētur.

FIG. 16. Temple of Vesta. Restoration.

Peroratio

He perceives, but does not fear the implacable hatred which his devotion to his country will bring upon him. He counts upon the gratitude and support of good citizens. (20–23.)

10. 20. Nunc ante quam ad sententiam redeō, dē mē pauca dīcam. Ego, quanta manus est coniūrātōrum, quam vidētis esse permagnam, tantam mē inimīcōrum multitūdinem suscēpisse videō; sed eam turpem iūdicō et īnfīrmam et abiectam. Quod sī aliquandō alicuius furōre et scelere concitāta manus ista plūs valuerit quam vestra ac reī pūblicae dignitās, mē tamen meōrum factōrum atque cōnsiliōrum numquam, patrēs cōnscrīptī, paenitēbit. Etenim mors, quam illī fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parāta: vītae tantam laudem quantā vōs mē vestrīs dēcrētīs honestāstis nēmō est adsecūtus; cēterīs enim semper bene gestā, mihi ūnī cōnservātā rē pūblicā grātulātiōnem dēcrēvistis. 21. Sit Scipiō clārus ille cuius cōnsiliō atque virtūte Hannibal in Āfricam redīre atque Ītaliā dēcēdere coāctus est, ōrnētur alter eximiā laude Āfricānus quī duās urbīs huic imperiō īnfēstissimās Karthāginem Numantiamque dēlēvit, habeātur vir ēgregius Paulus ille cuius currum rēx potentissimus quondam et nōbilissimus Persēs honestāvit, sit aeternā glōriā Marius quī bis Ītaliam obsidiōne et metū servitūtis līberāvit, antepōnātur omnibus Pompēius cuius rēs gestae atque virtūtēs īsdem quibus sōlis cursus regiōnibus ac terminīs continentur: erit profectō inter hōrum laudēs aliquid locī nostrae glōriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere nōbīs prōvinciās quō exīre possīmus quam cūrāre ut etiam illī quī absunt habeant quō victōrēs revertantur. 22. Quamquam est ūnō locō condiciō melior externae victōriae quam domesticae, quod hostēs aliēnigenae aut oppressī serviunt aut receptī beneficiō sē obligātōs putant, quī autem ex

numerō cīvium dēmentiā aliquā dēprāvātī hostēs patriae semel esse coepērunt, eōs, cum ā perniciē reī pūblicae reppuleris, nec vī coercēre nec beneficiō plācāre possīs. Quā rē mihi cum perditīs cīvibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse videō. Id ego vestrō bonōrumque omnium auxiliō memoriāque tantōrum perīculōrum, quae nōn modo in hōc populō quī servātus est sed in omnium gentium sermōnibus ac mentibus semper haerēbit, ā mē atque ā meīs facile prōpulsārī posse cōnfīdō. Neque ūlla profectō tanta vīs reperiētur quae coniūnctiōnem vestram equitumque Rōmānōrum et tantam cōnspīrātiōnem bonōrum omnium cōnfringere et labefactāre possit.

11. 23. Quae cum ita sint, prō imperiō, prō exercitū, prō prōvinciā quam neglēxī, prō triumphō cēterīsque laudis īnsignibus quae sunt ā mē propter urbis vestraeque salūtis cūstōdiam repudiāta, prō clientēlīs hospitiīsque prōvinciālibus quae tamen urbānīs opibus nōn minōre labōre tueor quam comparō, prō hīs igitur omnibus rēbus, prō meīs in vōs singulāribus studiīs prōque hāc quam perspicitis ad cōnservandam rem publicam dīligentiā nihil ā vōbīs nisi huius temporis tōtīusque meī cōnsulātūs memoriam postulō: quae dum erit in vestrīs fīxa mentibus, tūtissimō mē murō saeptum esse arbitrābor. Quod sī meam spem vīs improbōrum fefellerit atque superāverit, commendō vōbīs parvum meum fīlium, cui profectō satis erit praesidī nōn sōlum ad salūtem vērum etiam ad dignitātem, sī eius quī haec omnia suō sōlīus perīculō cōnservārit illum fīlium esse memineritis.

Cicero shows the importance of the decision about to be made and declares himself ready to carry it into execution, accepting the responsibility. (24.)

24. Quāpropter dē summā salūte vestrā populīque Rōmānī, dē vestrīs coniugibus ac līberīs, dē ārīs ac focīs, dē

fānīs atque templīs, dē tōtīus urbis tēctīs ac sēdibus, dē imperiō ac lībertāte, dē salūte Italiae, dē ūniversā rē pūblicā dēcernite dīligenter, ut īnstituistis, ac fortiter. Habētis eum cōnsulem quī et pārēre vestrīs dēcrētīs nōn dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vīvet, dēfendere et per sē ipsum praestāre possit.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

PRO LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO

Introduction

A. Licinius Archias was a native of Antiochea in Syria. We know little about him except what Cicero has told us in this oration. He distinguished himself by his talents in his native city, which he left when he was a very young man to travel in other parts of Asia and in Greece. Cicero speaks most highly of his reputation. His great talent was to make extempore verses. Archias next visited the south of Italy, receiving among other distinctions the citizenship in Tarentum, Rhegium, and Neapolis. In 102, in the consulship of Marius and Catulus, he came to Rome where he got the patronage of the Luculli. He went to Sicily with Lucullus, and from there to Heraclea in Lucania, where he was admitted a citizen through the influence of Lucullus. In 89 the *Lex Plautia et Papiria* gave the Roman citizenship to all persons whose names were at that time enrolled on the list of citizens in a *civitas foederata*. Heraclea had a *foedus* with Rome, and Archias, who wished to become a Roman citizen, made the necessary declaration at Rome before his friend the praetor Q. Metellus Pius, and was admitted a Roman citizen. He adopted the gentile name of his patron and became A. Licinius Archias. The new citizens were not enrolled on the Censor's list before the census of 86, and Archias was then in Asia with L. Lucullus, who was Sulla's quaestor. Again in 70 Archias was not entered on the Censor's lists, for he was in Asia with L. Lucullus, who was then conducting the war against Mithridates. In 65, 64 there was no census. In 62 a man named Grattius prosecuted Archias before the praetor, who was Cicero's brother, Q. Cicero, and under the *Lex Papia*, which was directed against those who acted as if they

had the *civitas* without being entitled to it. It was done to strike a blow at the protectors of Archias, the Luculli, at the instigation of the party of Pompeius, which the year before had sustained a defeat by the triumph of L. Lucullus. Cicero defended Archias, who had begun to write a poem on Cicero's consulship.

Exordium

I was taught by Aulus Licinius and he has a right to my services. All arts, including poetry, have a common bond. The nature of the case is my excuse for employing a new kind of pleading. I shall prove that he is a citizen and a man who ought in any case to be made a citizen. (1–3.)

1. 1. Sī quid est in mē ingenī, iūdicēs, quod sentiō quam sit exiguum, aut sī qua exercitātiō dīcendī, in quā mē nōn īnfitior mediocriter esse versātum, aut sī huiusce reī ratiō aliqua ab optimārum artium studiīs ac disciplīnā profecta, ā quā ego nūllum cōnfiteor aetātis meae tempus abhorruisse, eārum rērum omnium vel in prīmīs hīc A. Licinius frūctum ā mē repetere prope suō iūre dēbet. Nam quoad longissimē potest mēns mea respicere spatium praeteritī temporis et pueritiae memoriam recordārī ultimam, inde ūsque repetēns hunc videō mihi prīncipem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam ratiōnem hōrum studiōrum extitisse. Quod sī haec vōx huius hortātū praeceptīsque cōnfōrmāta nōn nūllīs aliquandō salūtī fuit, ā quō id accēpimus quō cēterīs opitulārī et aliōs servāre possēmus huic profectō ipsī, quantum est situm in nōbīs, et opem et salūtem ferre dēbēmus. 2. Ac nē quis ā nōbīs hoc ita dīcī forte mīrētur, quod alia quaedam in hōc facultās sit ingenī neque haec dīcendī ratiō aut disciplīna, nē nōs quidem huic ūnī studiō penitus umquam dēditī fuimus. Etenim omnēs artēs quae ad hūmānitātem pertinent habent quoddam commūne vinclum et quasi cōgnātiōne quādam inter sē continentur.

2. 3. Sed nē cui vestrum mīrum esse videātur mē in quaestiōne lēgitimā et in iūdiciō pūblicō, cum rēs agātur apud praetōrem populī Rōmānī, lēctissimum virum, et apud sevērissimōs iūdicēs, tantō conventū hominum ac frequentiā hōc ūtī genere dīcendī quod nōn modo ā cōnsuetūdine iūdiciōrum vērum etiam ā forēnsī sermōne abhorreat, quaesō ā vōbīs ut in hāc causā mihi dētis hanc veniam accommodātam huic reō, vōbīs, quem ad modum spērō, nōn molestam, ut mē prō summō poētā atque ērudītissimō homine dīcentem hōc concursū hominum litterātissimōrum, hāc vestrā hūmānitāte, hōc dēnique praetōre exercente iūdicium patiāminī dē studiīs hūmānitātis ac litterārum paulō loquī līberius et in eius modī persōnā, quae propter ōtium ac studium minimē in iūdiciīs perīculīsque trāctāta est, ūtī prope novō quōdam et inūsitātō genere dīcendī.

Archias has been welcomed in many places: Asia, Magna Graecia, Rome. He was on familiar terms with the Luculli, Drusus, Octavius, and Cato. Heraclea bestowed citizenship upon him. By this, under the law of Silvanus and Carbo, he became a Roman citizen. (4–9.)

4. Quod sī mihi ā vōbīs tribuī concēdīque sentiam, perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium nōn modo nōn sēgregandum, cum sit cīvis, ā numerō cīvium, vērum etiam, sī nōn esset, putētis ascīscendum fuisse.

Narratio

3. Nam, ut prīmum ex puerīs excessit Archiās atque ab eīs artibus, quibus aetās puerīlis ad hūmānitātem īnfōrmārī solet, sē ad scrībendī studium contulit, prīmum Antiochēae — nam ibi nātus est locō nōbilī — celebrī quondam urbe et cōpiōsā atque ērudītissimīs hominibus līberālissimīsque studiīs adfluentī, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenī glōriā contigit. Post in cēterīs Asiae partibus cūnctāque Graeciā

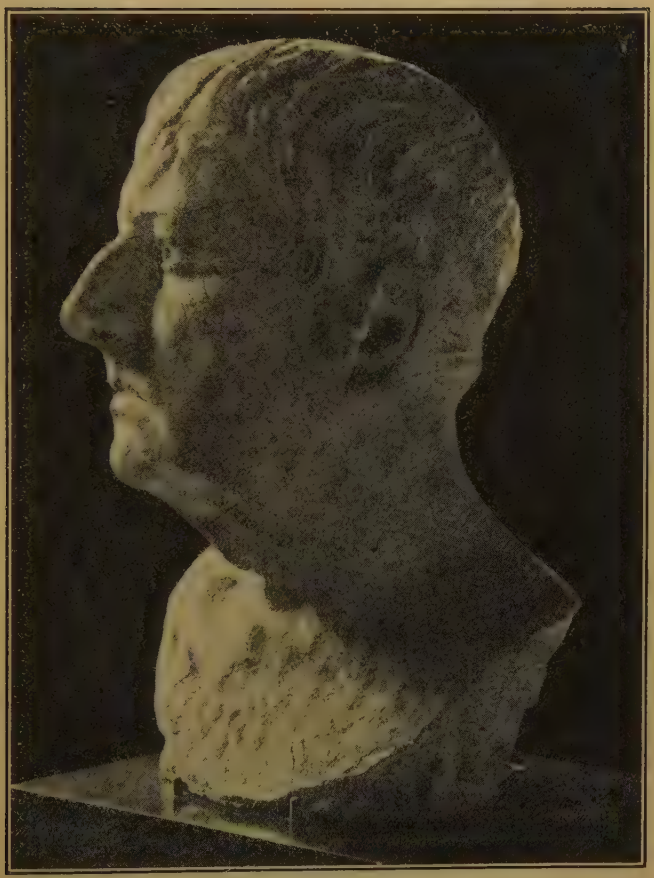


FIG. 17. Head of a Roman. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

sīc eius adventūs celebrābantur ut fāmam ingenī exspectātiō hominis, exspectātiōnem ipsīus adventus admīrātiōque superāret. 5. Erat Italia tum plēna Graecārum artium ac disciplīnārum, studiaque haec et in Latiō vehementius tum colēbantur quam nunc īsdem in oppidīs et hīc Rōmae propter tranquillitātem reī pūblicae nōn neglegēbantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentīnī et Locrēnsēs et Rēgīnī et Neāpolitānī cīvitāte cēterīsque praemiīs dōnārunt, et omnēs, quī aliquid dē ingeniīs poterant iūdicāre, cōgnitiōne atque hospitiō dignum exīstimārunt. Hāc tantā celebritāte fāmae cum esset iam absentibus nōtus, Rōmam vēnit Mariō cōnsule et Catulō. Nactus est prīmum cōnsulēs eōs, quōrum alter rēs ad scrībendum maximās, alter cum rēs gestās, tum etiam studium atque aurīs adhibēre posset. Statim Lūcullī, cum praetextātus etiam tum Archiās esset, eum domum suam recēpērunt. Est iam hoc nōn sōlum ingenī ac litterārum, vērum etiam nātūrae atque virtūtis, ut domus, quae huius adulēscentiae prīma fāvit, eadem esset familiārissima senectūtī. 6. Erat temporibus illīs iūcundus Q. Metellō illī Numidicō et eius Piō fīliō, audiēbātur ā M. Aemiliō, vīvēbat cum Q. Catulō et patre et fīliō, ā L. Crassō colēbātur, Lūcullōs vērō et Drūsum et Octāviōs et Catōnem et tōtam Hortēnsiōrum domum dēvīnctam cōnsuetūdine cum tenēret, adficiēbātur summō honōre, quod eum nōn sōlum colēbant quī aliquid percipere atque audīre studēbant vērum etiam sī quī forte simulābant.

4. Interim satis longō intervāllō, cum esset cum M. Lūcullō in Siciliam profectus et cum ex eā prōvinciā cum eōdem Lūcullō dēcēderet, vēnit Hēraclēam. Quae cum esset cīvitās acquissimō iūre ac foedere, ascrībī sē in eam cīvitātem voluit idque, cum ipse per sē dignus putārētur, tum auctōritāte et grātiā Lūcullī ab Hēraclīēnsibus impetrāvit. 7. Data est cīvitās Silvānī lēge et Carbōnis: Sī

QUĪ FOEDERĀTĪS CĪVITĀTIBVS ASCRĪPTĪ FVISSENT, SĪ TVM, CVM LĒX FĒRĒBĀTVR, IN ĪTALIĀ DOMICILIVM HABVISSENT ET SĪ SEXĀGINTĀ DIĒBVS APVD PRAETŌREM ESSENT PROFESSĪ. Cum hīc domicilium Rōmae multōs iam annōs habēret, professus est apud praetōrem Q. Metellum, familiārissimum suum. 8. Sī nihil aliud nisi dē cīvitāte ac lēge dīcimus, nihil dīcō amplius; causa dicta est. Quid enim hōrum īnfīrmārī, Grattī, potest? Hēraclēaene esse tum ascrīptum negābis? Adest vir summā auctōritāte et religiōne et fidē, M. Lūcullus; quī sē nōn opīnārī sed scīre, nōn audīsse sed vīdisse, nōn interfuisse sed ēgisse dīcit. Adsunt Hēraclīēnsēs lēgātī, nōbilissimī hominēs, huius iūdicī causā cum mandātīs et cum pūblicō testimōniō vēnērunt; quī hunc ascrīptum Hēraclēae esse dīcunt. Hīc tū tabulās dēsīderās Hēraclīēnsium pūblicās, quās Ītalicō bellō incēnsō tabulāriō interīsse scīmus omnēs? Est rīdiculum ad ea quae habēmus nihil dīcere, quaerere quae habēre nōn possumus, et dē hominum memoriā tacēre, litterārum memoriam flāgitāre et, cum habeās amplissimī virī religiōnem, integerrimī mūnicipī iūs iūrandum fidemque, ea quae dēprāvārī nūllō modō possunt repudiāre, tabulās quās īdem dīcis solēre corrumpī dēsīderāre. 9. An domicilium Rōmae nōn habuit is, quī tot annīs ante cīvitātem datam sēdem omnium rērum ac fortūnārum suārum Rōmae conlocāvit? An nōn est professus? Immō vērō eīs tabulīs professus, quae sōlae ex illā professiōne conlēgiōque praetōrum obtinent pūblicārum tabulārum auctōritātem.

Confirmatio

The records were burned, but witnesses are present. The scrupulous Metellus placed his name with the records. Unimportant men were enrolled as citizens in the towns of Magna Graecia; much more would Archias be willingly enrolled. Accident makes the testimony of the

census unavailable, but his acts have been those of a citizen. Archias supplies me with refreshment from legal duties. This intellectual entertainment has not interfered with my devotion to my vocation. I have been taught by reading to love glory. Literary training is not a substitute for natural talent, but increases its brilliancy. Men of sublime character have been cultured men. No time of life is unsuited for these pursuits. Roscius is lamented by us all. Archias often extemporizes skillfully. Ennius called poets "sacred." Poets are sacred with cultured people. Homer was claimed after his death by many cities. Our poet must not be driven out. The natural desire for fame. Archias celebrated the deeds of Lucullus. (9–22.)

5. Nam, cum Appī tabulae neglegentius adservātae dīcerentur, Gabīnī, quam diū incolumis fuit, levitās, post damnātiōnem calamitās omnem tabulārum fidem resignāsset, Metellus, homō sānctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tantā dīligentiā fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum praetōrem et ad iūdicēs vēnerit et ūnīus nōminis litūrā sē commōtum esse dīxerit. Hīs igitur in tabulīs nūllam litūram in nōmine A. Licinī vidētis. 10. Quae cum ita sint, quid est, quod dē eius cīvitāte dubitētis, praesertim cum aliīs quoque in cīvitātibus fuerit ascrīptus? Etenim, cum mediocribus multīs et aut nūllā aut humilī aliquā arte praeditīs grātuītō cīvitātem in Graeciā hominēs impertiēbant, Rēgīnōs crēdō aut Locrēnsēs aut Neāpolitānōs aut Tarentīnōs, quod scaenicīs artificibus largīrī solēbant, id huic summā ingenī praeditō glōriā nōluisse! Quid? cum cēterī nōn modo post cīvitātem datam sed etiam post lēgem Pāpiam aliquō modō in eōrum mūnicipiōrum tabulās inrēpsērunt; hīc, quī nē ūtitur quidem illīs in quibus est scrīptus, quod semper sē Hēraclīēnsem esse voluit, rēiciētur? VI. Cēnsūs nostrōs requīris. Scīlicet; est enim obscūrum proximīs cēnsōribus hunc cum clārissimō imperātōre, L. Lūcullō, apud exercitum fuisse, superiōribus cum eōdem quaestōre fuisse in Asiā, prīmīs, Iūliō et Crassō, nūllam populī partem esse cēnsam. Sed,

quoniam cēnsus nōn iūs cīvitātis cōnfīrmat ac tantum modo indicat eum quī sit cēnsus, ita sē iam tum gessisse, prō cīve, eīs temporibus, quem tū crīminārīs nē ipsīus quidem iūdiciō in cīvium Rōmānōrum iūre esse versātum, et testāmentum saepe fēcit nostrīs lēgibus et adiit hereditātēs cīvium Rōmānōrum et in beneficiīs ad aerārium dēlātus est ā L. Lūcullō prō cōnsule.

6. Quaere argūmenta, sī quae potes; numquam enim hīc neque suō neque amīcōrum iūdiciō revincētur. 12. Quaerēs ā nōbīs, Grattī, cūr tantō opere hōc homine dēlectēmur. Quia suppeditat nōbīs ubi et animus ex hōc forēnsī strepitū reficiātur et aurēs convīciō dēfessae conquiēscant. An tū exīstimās aut suppetere nōbīs posse quod cotīdiē dicāmus in tantā varietāte rērum, nisi animōs nostrōs doctrīnā excolāmus, aut ferre animōs tantam posse contentiōnem, nisi eōs doctrīnā eādem relaxēmus? Ego vērō fateor mē hīs studiīs esse dēditum. Cēterōs pudeat, sī quī ita sē litterīs abdidērunt ut nihil possint ex eīs neque ad commūnem adferre frūctum neque in aspectum lūcemque prōferre; mē autem quid pudeat quī tot annōs ita vīvō, iūdicēs, ut ā nūllīus umquam mē tempore aut commodō aut ōtium meum abstrāxerit aut voluptās āvocārit aut dēnique somnus retardārit? 13. Quā rē quis tandem mē reprehendat, aut quis mihi iūre suscēnseat, sī, quantum cēteris ad suās rēs obeundās, quantum ad festōs diēs lūdōrum celebrandōs, quantum ad aliās voluptātēs et ad ipsam requiem animī et corporis concēditur temporum, quantum aliī tribuunt tempestīvīs convīviīs, quantum dēnique alveolō, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sūmpserō? Atque hoc ideō mihi concēdendum est magis quod ex hīs studiīs haec quoque crēscit ōrātiō et facultās, quae quantacumque in mē est, numquam amīcōrum perīculīs dēfuit. Quae sī cui lēvior

vidētur, illa quidem certē quae summa sunt ex quō fonte hauriam sentiō. 14. Nam, nisi multōrum praeceptīs multīsque litterīs mihī ab adulēscentiā suāsissem nihil esse in vītā magnō opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestātem, in eā autem persequendā omnīs cruciātūs corporis, omnia perīcula mortis atque exilī parvī esse dūcenda, numquam mē prō salūte vestrā in tot ac tantās dīmicātiōnēs atque in hōs prōfligātōrum hominum cotīdiānōs impetūs obiēcissem. Sed plēnī omnēs sunt librī, plēnae sapientium vōcēs, plēna exemplōrum vetustās; quae iacērent in tenebrīs omnia, nisi litterārum lūmen accēderet. Quam multās nōbīs imāginēs nōn sōlum ad intuendum vērum etiam ad imitandum fortissimōrum virōrum expressās scrīptōrēs et Graecī et Latīnī relīquērunt! quās ego mihi semper in administrandā rē pūblicā prōpōnēns animum et mentem meam ipsā cōgitātiōne hominum excellentium cōnfōrmābam.

7. 15. Quaeret quispiam: 'Quid? illī ipsī summī virī quōrum virtūtēs litterīs prōditae sunt, istāne doctrīnā, quam tū effers laudibus ērudītī fuērunt?' Difficile est hoc dē omnibus cōnfirmāre, sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multōs hominēs excellentī animō ac virtūte fuisse sine doctrīnā et nātūrae ipsīus habitū prope dīvīnō per sē ipsōs et moderātōs et gravīs exstitisse fateor; etiam illud adiungō, saepius ad laudem atque virtūtem nātūram sine doctrīnā quam sine nātūrā valuisse doctrīnam. Atque īdem ego hoc contendō, cum ad nātūram eximiam et inlūstrem accesserit ratiō quaedam cōnfōrmātiōque doctrīnae, tum illud nesciō quid praeclārum ac singulāre solēre existere. 16. Ex hōc esse illum numerō, quem patrēs nostrī vīdērunt, dīvīnum hominem, Āfricānum, ex hōc C. Laelium, L. Fūrium, moderātissimōs hominēs et continentissimōs, ex hōc fortissimum virum et illīs temporibus doc-

tissimum, M. Catōnem illum senem; quī profectō sī nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtūtem litterīs adiuvārentur, numquam sē ad eārum studium contulissent. Quod sī nōn hīc tantus frūctus ostenderētur, et sī ex hīs studiīs dēlectātiō sōla peterētur, tamen, ut opīnor, hanc animī remissiōnem hūmānissimam ac līberālissimam iūdicārētis. Nam cēterae neque temporum sunt neque aetātum omnium neque locōrum; at haec studia adulēscentiam alunt, senectūtem oblectant, secundās rēs ōrnant, adversīs perfugium ac sōlācium praebent, dēlectant domī, nōn impediunt forīs, pernoctant nōbīscum, peregrīnantur, rūsticantur.

17. Quod sī ipsī haec neque attingere neque sēnsū nostrō gustāre possēmus, tamen ea mīrārī dēbērēmus, etiam cum in aliīs vidērēmus.

8. Quis nostrum tam animō agrestī ac dūrō fuit ut Rōscī morte nūper nōn commovērētur? quī cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustātem vidēbātur omnīnō morī nōn dēbuisse. Ergō ille corporis mōtū tantum amōrem sibi conciliārat ā nōbīs omnibus; nōs animōrum incrēdibilīs mōtūs celeritātemque ingeniōrum neglegēmus? 18. Quotiēns ego hunc Archiam vīdī, iūdicēs, ūtar enim vestrā benīgnitāte, quōniam mē in hōc novō genere dīcendī tam dīligenter attenditis, quotiēns ego hunc vīdī, cum litteram scrīpsisset nūllam, magnum numerum optimōrum versuum de eīs ipsīs rēbus quae tum agerentur dīcere ex tempore, quotiēns revocātum eandem rem dīcere commūtātīs verbīs atque sententiīs! Quae vērō accūrātē cōgitātēque scrīpsisset, ea sīc vīdī probārī ut ad veterum scrīptōrum laudem pervenīret. Hunc ego nōn dīligam, nōn admīrer, nōn omnī ratiōne dēfendendum putem? Atque sīc ā summīs hominibus ērudītissimīsque accēpimus, cēterārum rērum studia ex doctrīnā et praeceptīs et arte cōnstāre, poētam nātūrā ipsā valēre et mentis vīribus excitārī et quasi

dīvīnō quōdam spīritū īnflārī. Quā rē suō iūre noster ille Ennius 'sānctōs' appellat poētās, quod quasi deōrum aliquō dōnō atque mūnere commendātī nōbīs esse videantur.

FIG. 18. The Elder Africanus.

9. Sit igitur, iūdicēs, sānctum apud vōs, hūmānissimōs hominēs, hoc poētae nōmen quod nūlla umquam barbaria violāvit. Saxa et sōlitūdinēs vōcī respondent, bēstiae saepe immānēs cantū flectuntur atque cōnsistunt; nōs īnstitūtī rēbus optimīs nōn poētārum vōce mōveāmur? Homērum Colophōniī cīvem esse dīcunt suum, Chiī suum vindicant, Salamīniī repetunt, Smyrnaeī vērō suum esse cōnfīrmant itaque etiam dēlūbrum eius in oppidō dēdicāvērunt, permultī aliī praetereā pugnant inter sē atque contendunt.

9. Ergō illī aliēnum, quia poēta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt; nōs hunc vīvum, quī et voluntāte et lēgibus noster est, repudiāmus, praesertim cum omne ōlim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archiās ad populī Rōmānī glō-

riam laudemque celebrandam? Nam et Cimbricās rēs adulēscēns attigit et ipsī illī C. Mariō quī dūrior ad haec studia vidēbātur iūcundus fuit. 20. Neque enim quisquam est tam āversus ā Mūsīs quī nōn mandārī versibus aeternum suōrum labōrum praecōnium facile patiātur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athēnīs virum, dīxisse aiunt, cum ex eō

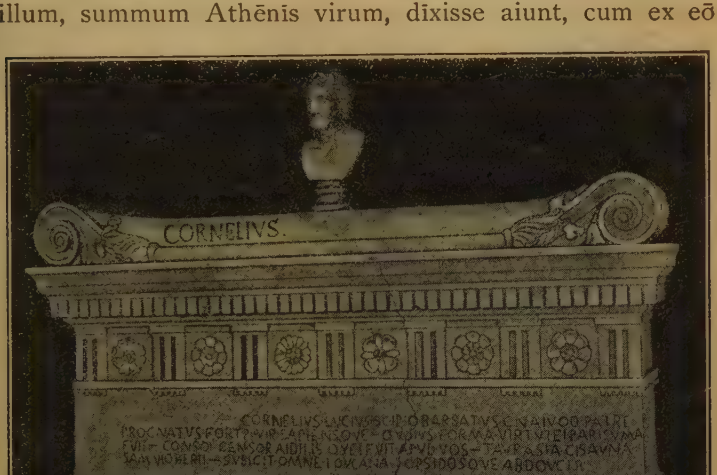


FIG. 19. Sarcophagus of one of the Scipios, with the bust often called Ennius.

quaererētur quod acroāma aut cuius vōcem libentissimmē audīret: 'eius ā quō sua virtūs optimē praedicārētur.' Itaque ille Marius item eximiē L. Plōtium dīlēxit, cuius ingeniō putābat ea quae gesserat posse celebrārī. 21. Mithridāticum vero bellum magnum atque difficile et in multā varietāte terrā marīque versātum tōtum ab hōc expressum est; quī librī nōn modo L. Lūcullum, fortissimum et clārissimum virum, vērum etiam populī Rōmānī nōmen inlūs-

trant. Populus enim Rōmānus aperuit Lūcullō imperante Pontum et rēgiīs quondam opibus et ipsā nātūrā et regiōne vāllātum, populī Rōmānī exercitus eōdem dūce nōn maximā manū innumerābilīs Armeniōrum cōpiās fūdit, populī Rōmānī laus est urbem amīcissimam Cȳzicēnōrum eiusdem cōnsiliō ex omnī impetū rēgiō atque tōtius bellī ōre ac faucibus ēreptam esse atque servātam; nostra semper ferētur et praedicābitur L. Lūcullō dīmicante, cum interfectīs ducibus dēpressa hostium classis est, incrēdibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa nāvālis, nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monumenta, nostrī triumphī. Quae quōrum ingeniīs efferuntur, ab eīs populī Rōmānī fāma celebrātur.

22. Cārus fuit Āfricānō superiōrī noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcrō Scīpiōnum putātur is esse cōnstitūtus ex marmore; at eīs laudibus certē nōn sōlum ipse quī laudātur sed etiam populī Rōmānī nōmen ōrnātur. In caelum huius proavus Catō tollitur; magnus honōs populī Rōmānī rēbus adiungitur. Omnēs dēnique illī Maximī, Mārcellī, Fulviī nōn sine commūnī omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

Ennius was given citizenship, Archias should not be refused. Greek literature is read everywhere. Our prowess conquers the world, and our fame should extend to the same boundaries. Alexander took poets with him on his expeditions, and is said to have envied Achilles because of his having Homer to praise him. Pompey rewarded Theophanes. Sulla rewarded a poet of no ability who had written a poem in his praise. Metellus gave ear to rustic poets. Even philosophers who condemn the desire for glory, court fame by putting their names in their books. Even soldiers have honored poets. (22–26.)

10. Ergō illum quī haec fēcerat Rudīnum hominem maiōrēs nostrī in cīvitātem recēpērunt; nōs hunc Hēraclīēnsem multīs cīvitātibus expetītum, in hāc autem lēgibus cōnstitūtum dē nostrā cīvitāte ēiciēmus?

23. Nam sī quis minōrem glōriae frūctum putat ex Graecīs versibus percipī quam ex Latīnīs, vehementer

errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus ferē gentibus, Latīna suīs fīnibus exiguīs sānē continentur. Quā rē, sī rēs eae quās gessimus orbis terrae regiōnibus dēfīniuntur, cupere dēbēmus, quō manuum nostrārum tēla pervēnerint, eōdem glōriam fāmamque penetrāre, quod cum ipsīs populīs dē quōrum rēbus scrībitur haec ampla sunt, tum eīs certē quī dē vītā glōriae causā dīmicant, hoc maximum et perīculōrum incitāmentum est et labōrum. 24. Quam multōs scrīptōrēs rērum suārum magnus ille Alexander sēcum habuisse dīcitur! Atque is tamen, cum in Sigēō ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: 'Ō fortūnāte,' inquit, 'adulēscēns quī tuae virtūtis Homērum praecōnem invēneris!' Et vērē. Nam, nisi Īlias illa exstitisset, īdem tumulus quī corpus eius contēxerat nōmen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hīc Magnus quī cum virtūte fortūnam adaequāvit, nōnne Theophanem Mytilēnaeum, scrīptōrem rērum suārum, in cōntiōne mīlitum cīvitāte dōnāvit, et nostrī illī fortēs virī, sed rūsticī ac mīlitēs dulcēdine quādam glōriae commōtī quasi participēs eiusdem laudis magnō illud clāmōre approbāvērunt? 25. Itaque, crēdō, sī cīvis Rōmānus Archiās lēgibus nōn esset, ut ab aliquō imperātōre cīvitāte dōnārētur perficere nōn potuit. Sulla cum Hispānōs et Gallōs dōnāret, crēdō, hunc petentem repudiāsset; quem nōs in cōntiōne vīdimus, cum eī libellum malus poēta dē populō subiēcisset, quod epigramma in eum fēcisset tantum modo alternīs versibus longiusculīs, statim ex eīs rēbus, quās tum vēndēbat, iubēre eī praemium tribuī, sed eā condiciōne nē quid posteā scrīberet. Quī sēdulitātem malī poētae dūxerit aliquō tamen praemiō dignam, huius ingenium et virtūtem in scrībendō et cōpiam nōn expetīsset? 26. Quid? ā Q. Metellō Piō, familiārissimō suō, quī cīvitāte multōs dōnāvit, neque per sē neque per Lūcullōs impetrāvisset? quī praesertim usque eō dē suīs rēbus scrībī

cuperet ut etiam Cordubae nātīs poētīs pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrīnum tamen aurīs suās dēderet.

11. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscūrārī nōn potest, sed prae nōbīs ferendum: Trahimur omnēs studiō laudis, et optimus quisque maximē glōriā dūcitur. Ipsī illī philosophī etiam in eīs libellīs quōs dē contemnendā glōriā scrībunt, nōmen suum īnscrībunt; in eō ipsō in quō praedicātiōnem nōbilitātemque dēspiciunt praedicārī dē sē ac nōmināri volunt.

Archias has begun to celebrate the acts of my consulship. Real talent seeks no other reward than fame. This is why an ambitious man toils. He feels that the remembrance of his name must not be lost with the termination of his life. We ought to leave enduring monuments of our wisdom and character. (27–30.)

27. Decimus quidem Brūtus, summus vir et imperātor, Accī, amīcissimī suī, carminibus templōrum ac monumentōrum aditūs exōrnāvit suōrum. Iam vērō ille quī cum Aetōlīs Enniō comite bellāvit Fulvius nōn dubitāvit Mārtis manubiās Mūsīs cōnsecrāre. Quā rē, in quā urbe impērātōrēs prope armātī poētārum nōmen et Mūsārum dēlūbra coluērunt, in eā nōn dēbent togātī iūdicēs ā Mūsārum honōre et ā poētārum salūte abhorrēre.

28. Atque ut id libentius faciātis, iam mē vōbīs, iūdicēs, indicābō et dē meō quōdam amōre glōriae nimis ācrī fortasse, vērum tamen honestō vōbīs cōnfitēbor. Nam, quās rēs nōs in cōnsulātū nostrō vōbīscum simul prō salūte huius urbis atque imperī et prō vītā cīvium prōque ūniversā rē pūblicā gessimus, attigit hīc versibus atque inchoāvit. Quibus audītīs, quod mihi magna rēs et iūcunda vīsa est, hunc ad perficiendum adōrnāvī. Nūllam enim virtūs aliam mercēdem labōrum perīculōrumque dēsīderat praeter hanc laudis et glōriae; quā quidem dētrāctā, iūdicēs, quid est quod in hōc tam exiguō vītae curriculō et tam brevī tantīs

nōs in labōribus exerceāmus? 29. Certē, sī nihil animus praesentīret in posterum, et sī, quibus regiōnibus vītae spatium circumscrīptum est, īsdem omnīs cōgitātiōnēs terminăret suās, nec tantīs sē labōribus frangeret neque tot cūrīs vigiliīsque angerētur nec totiēns dē ipsā vītā dīmicăret. Nunc īnsidet quaedam in optimō quōque virtūs, quae noctīs ac diēs animum glōriae stimulīs concitat atque admonet nōn cum vītae tempore esse dīmittendam commemorātiōnem nōminis nostrī, sed cum omnī posteritāte adaequandam. 12. 30. An vērō tam parvī animī videāmur esse omnēs quī in rē pūblicā atque in hīs vītae perīculīs labōribusque versāmur ut, cum usque ad extrēmum spatium nūllum tranquillum atque ōtiōsum spīritum dūxerimus, nōbīscum simul moritūra omnia arbitrēmur? An statuās et imāginēs, nōn animōrum simulācra sed corporum, studiōsē multī summī hominēs relīquērunt; cōnsiliōrum relinquere ac virtūtum nostrārum effigiem nōnne multō mālle dēbēmus summīs ingeniīs expressam et polītam? Ego vērō omnia quae gerēbam iam tum in gerendō spargere mē ac dissēmināre arbitrābar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec vērō sīve ā meō sēnsū post mortem āfutūra est sīve, ut sapientissimī hominēs putāvērunt, ad aliquam animī meī partem pertinēbit, nunc quidem certē cōgitātiōne quādam spēque dēlector.

Peroratio

Therefore, judge in favor of this man, whose friends delight to honor him. He has honored the name of Rome, and is one of those called "sacred." I have spoken plainly and briefly. I trust that you may have taken in good part what I have said concerning the man's intellectual gifts and the pursuit of letters. (31–32.)

31. Quā rē cōnservāte, iūdicēs, hominem pudōre eō quem amīcōrum vidētis comprobārī cum dignitāte, tum etiam vetustāte, ingeniō autem tantō quantum id convenit

exīstimārī quod summōrum hominum ingeniīs expetītum esse videātis, causā vērō eius modī quae beneficiō lēgis, auctōritāte mūnicipī, testimōniō Lūcullī, tabulīs Metellī comprobētur. Quae cum ita sint, petimus ā vōbīs, iūdicēs, sī quā nōn modo hūmāna vērum etiam dīvīna in tantīs ingeniīs commendātiō dēbet esse, ut eum quī vōs, quī vestrōs imperātōrēs, quī populī Rōmānī rēs gestās semper ōrnāvit, quī etiam hīs recentibus nostrīs vestrīsque domesticīs periculīs aeternum sē testimōnium laudis datūrum esse profitētur estque ex eō numerō quī semper apud omnēs sānctī sunt habitī itaque dictī, sīc in vestram accipiātis fidem ut hūmānitāte vestrā levātus potius quam acerbitāte violātus esse videātur.

32. Quae dē causā prō meā cōnsuētūdine breviter simpliciterque dīxī, iūdicēs, ea cōnfīdō probāta esse omnibus; quae ā forēnsī aliēna iūdiciālique cōnsuētūdine et dē hominis ingeniō et cōmmūniter dē ipsō studiō locūtus sum, ea, iūdicēs, ā vōbīs spērō esse in bonam partem accepta, ab eō quī iūdicium exercet certō sciō.

M. TVLLI CICERONIS
PRO L. MVRENA ORATIO

Introduction

In 63 the candidates for consul were L. Catilina, Servius Sulpicius, L. Licinius Murena, and D. Iunius Silanus. Murena and Silanus were elected. Catiline tried to avenge himself by hurrying on the execution of his conspiracy. Servius commenced a prosecution against Murena for having used bribery (*ambitus*) at his election. Murena was prosecuted under the Lex Tullia in November, 62. Servius was assisted by M. Cato, Cn. Postumius, and his son Servius. Cicero, Q. Hortensius, and M. Crassus defended Murena, and he was acquitted. Cicero spoke last. If Murena was guilty, Cicero had a difficult task in defending him; and even if he was innocent, it was not an easy thing to defend Murena against the attacks of two honest men, who no doubt believed him to be guilty. Cicero's defense is in reply to Cato and Sulpicius. The best thing he could do for his client was to show that the profession of arms was nobler than the profession of law; and he should not be blamed if he laid hold of the forms of law, of the ridiculous side of it, in order to raise a laugh, and put the judges in good humor; and if he made light of the Stoic teachings, he did right to ridicule the men of small minds who still stuck to the old-fashioned and ill-placed *formulae* and phrases incident to law procedure. He no doubt accomplished his purpose, and whether the facts of bribery were strongly urged against Murena or not, the best thing he could do was to give him a good character and divert attention from the charge of bribery.

Murena was the son of L. Licinius Murena, who commanded a division of the Roman army in the battle of Chaeronea, in 86, in

which L. Sulla defeated Archelaus. He accompanied Sulla to Asia in 84, when Sulla concluded peace with Mithridates, and being in a hurry to return to Italy, left Murena as propraetor of the province of Asia. Murena began a second war against Mithridates without any authority. The son was summoned into Asia by his father about 83, to learn the military art in the fight against Mithridates. He was quaestor with Servius Sulpicius. He was a *legatus* of L. Lucullus for several years in the third Mithridatic war, but he returned to Italy first. In 65 he was *praetor urbanus* and became popular because of his fine shows. Then he had the province of Gallia Transalpina. After his acquittal he voted in the Senate for the death of the conspirators. When he became consul in 62 the conspirators at Rome had been executed, and Catiline fell in battle in the early part of the same year.

This speech is not usually included in American editions. It has been chosen because of its connection with Catiline's race for the consulship and for the sidelights which it throws upon the events of that year; because of the mastery of Roman Law and Stoic Philosophy shown in Cicero's ridicule of the *formulae* and his parodies of the Stoic paradoxes; and because it presents something not usually read in schools, something "new."

Exordium

The solemn prayers I uttered as presiding officer at the late election bind me to wish well to the candidates whose names I then published as elected consuls. You gentlemen are now the representatives of Heaven; I would claim your protection for Murena. (1–2.)

1. 1. QVAE precātus ā dīs immortālibus sum, iūdicēs, mōre īnstitūtōque maiōrum illō diē quō auspicātō comitiīs centuriātīs L. Mūrēnam cōnsulem renūntiāvī, ut ea rēs mihi fideī magistrātuīque meō, populō plēbīque Rōmānae bene atque fēlīciter ēvenīret, eadem precor ab īsdem dīs immortālibus ob eiusdem hominis cōnsulātum ūnā cum salūte obtinendum, et ut vestrae mentēs atque sententiae cum populī Rōmānī voluntātibus suffrāgiīsque cōnsentiant, eaque

rēs vōbīs populōque Rōmānō pācem, tranquillitātem, ōtium concordiamque adferat. Quod sī illa sollemnis comitiōrum precātiō cōnsulāribus auspiciīs cōnsecrāta tantam habet in sē vim et religiōnem quantam reī pūblicae dignitās postulat, īdem ego sum precātus ut eīs quoque hominibus quibus hīc cōnsulātus mē rogante datus esset ea rēs faustē fēlīciter prōsperēque ēvenīret. 2. Quae cum ita sint, iūdicēs, et cum omnis deōrum immortālium potestās aut trānslāta sit ad vōs aut certē commūnicāta vōbīscum, īdem cōnsulem vestrae fideī commendat quī anteā dīs immortālibus commendāvit, ut eiusdem hominis vōce et dēclārātus cōnsul et dēfēnsus beneficium populī Rōmānī cum vestrā atque omnium cīvium salūte tueātur.

I have been reproached for undertaking this case: let me then begin by justifying myself, that my words may have weight. First I must protest against Cato's Stoic severity, and maintain that as presiding consul I am the very man to plead for Murena. He has a claim upon me for defense of his title to office. I have just coped with Catiline; is it not human nature to feel anxious for one who is to meet the dangers I have faced? Again, we must have our two consuls to open this next critical year. What if I did pass a law for the prevention of corrupt practices? May I not plead for the guiltless? I dealt severely with Catiline, it is true, but I acted perforce an uncongenial part: I do but follow my natural bent in pleading for Murena. As for you, Sulpicius, it is too bad of you to say that I act unfriendly by you; but I will calmly defend myself. Did I not support you as a candidate? Yes, but to expect me to help in crushing Murena is really going too far. He is an old friend and even you shall not make me desert him. Look at yourself; who but Servius gives advice to everybody? How otherwise would most men get advocates? I will not listen to such charges: I will be gentle with you, but I will plead for my friend Murena. (2–10.)

Et quoniam in hōc officiō studium meae dēfēnsiōnis ab accūsātōribus atque etiam ipsa susceptiō causae reprēnsa est, ante quam prō L. Mūrēnā dīcere īnstituō, prō mē ipsō

pauca dīcam, nōn quō mihi potior hōc quidem tempore sit officī meī quam huiusce salūtis dēfēnsiō, sed ut meō factō vōbīs probātō maiōre auctōritāte ab huius honōre fāmā fortūnīsque omnibus inimīcōrum impetūs prōpulsāre possim.

2. 3. Et prīmum M. Catōnī vītam ad certam ratiōnis normam dērigentī et dīligentissimē perpendentī mōmenta officiōrum omnium dē officiō meō respondēbō. Negat fuisse rēctum Catō mē et cōnsulem et lēgis ambitūs lātōrem et tam sevērē gestō cōnsulātū causam L. Mūrēnae attingere. Cuius reprehēnsiō mē vehementer movet, nōn solum ut vōbīs, iūdicēs, quibus maxime dēbeō, vērum etiam ut ipsī Catōnī, gravissimō atque integerrimō virō, ratiōnem factī meī probem. Ā quō tandem, M. Catō, est aequius cōnsulem dēfendī quam ā cōnsule? Quis mihi in rē pūblicā potest aut dēbet esse coniūnctior quam is cui rēs pūblica ā mē iam trāditur sustinenda magnīs meīs labōribus et perīculīs sustentāta? Quod sī in eīs rēbus repetendīs quae mancipī sunt is perīculum iūdicī praestāre dēbet quī sē nexū obligāvit, profectō etiam rēctius in iūdiciō cōnsulis dēsīgnātī is potissimum cōnsul quī cōnsulem dēclārāvit auctor beneficī populī Rōmānī dēfēnsorque perīculī esse dēbēbit. 4. Ac sī, ut nōn nūllīs in cīvitātibus fierī solet, patrōnus huic causae pūblicē cōnstituerētur, is potissimum summō honōre adfectō dēfēnsor darētur quī eōdem honōre praeditus nōn minus adferret ad dīcendum auctōritātis quam facultātis. Quod sī ē portū solventibus eī quī iam in portum ex altō invehuntur praecipere summō studiō solent et tempestātum ratiōnem et praedōnum et locōrum, quod nātūra adfert ut eīs faveāmus quī eadem perīcula quibus nōs perfūnctī sumus ingrediantur, quō tandem mē esse animō oportet prope iam ex magnā iactātiōne terram videntem in hunc cui videō maximās reī pūblicae tempes-

tātēs esse subeundās? Quā rē sī est bonī cōnsulis nōn sōlum vidēre quid agātur vērum etiam prōvidēre quid futūrum sit, ostendam aliō locō quantum salūtis commūnis intersit duōs cōnsulēs in rē pūblicā Kalendīs Iānuāriīs esse.

5. Quod sī ita est, nōn tam mē officium dēbuit ad hominis amīcī fortūnās quam rēs pūblica cōnsulem ad commūnem salūtem dēfendendam vocāre.

3. Nam quod lēgem dē ambitū tulī, certē ita tulī ut eam quam mihimet ipsī iam prīdem tulerim dē cīvium perīculīs dēfendendīs nōn abrogārem. Etenim sī largītiōnem factam esse cōnfitērer idque rēctē factum esse dēfenderem, facerem improbē, etiam sī alius lēgem tulisset; cum vērō nihil commissum contrā lēgem esse dēfendam, quid est quod meam dēfēnsiōnem lātiō lēgis impediat?

6. Negat esse eiusdem sevēritātis Catilīnam exitium reī pūblicae intrā moenia mōlientem verbīs et paene imperiō ex urbe expulisse et nunc prō L. Mūrēnā dīcere. Ego autem hās partīs lēnitātis et misericordiae quās mē nātūra ipsa docuit semper ēgī libenter, illam vērō gravitātis sevēritātisque persōnam nōn appetīvī, sed ab rē pūblicā mihi impositam sustinuī, sīcut huius imperī dignitās in summō perīculō cīvium pōstulābat. Quod sī tum, cum rēs pūblica vim et sevēritātem dēsīderābat, vīcī nātūram et tam vehemēns fuī quam cōgēbar, nōn quam volēbam, nunc cum omnēs mē causae ad misericordiam atque ad hūmānitātem vocent, quantō tandem studiō dēbeō nātūrae meae cōnsuētūdinīque servīre? Ac dē officiō dēfēnsiōnis meae ac dē ratiōne accūsātiōnis tuae fortasse etiam aliā in parte ōrātiōnis dīcendum nōbīs erit.

7. Sed mē, iūdicēs, nōn minus hominis sapientissimī atque ōrnātissimī, Ser. Sulpicī, conquestiō quam Catōnis accūsātiō commovēbat quī gravissimē et acerbissimē sē ferre dīxit mē familiāritātis necessitūdinisque oblītum cau-

sam L. Murēnae contrā sē dēfendere. Huic ego, iūdicēs, satis facere cupiō vōsque adhibēre arbitrōs. Nam cum grave est vērē accūsārī in amīcitiā, tum, etiam sī falsō accūsēris, nōn est neglegendum. Ego, Ser. Sulpicī, mē in petītiōne tuā tibi omnia studia atque officia prō nostrā necessitūdine et dēbuisse cōnfiteor et praestitisse arbitror. Nihil tibi cōnsulātum petentī ā mē dēfuit quod esset aut ab amīcō aut a grātiōsō aut ā cōnsule pōstulandum. Abiit illud tempus; mūtāta ratiō est. Sīc exīstimō, sīc mihi persuādeō, mē tibi contrā honōrem Mūrēnae quantum tū ā mē pōstulāre ausus sīs, tantum dēbuisse, contrā salūtem nihil dēbēre. 8. Neque enim, sī tibi tum cum peterēs cōnsulātum studuī, nunc cum Mūrēnam ipsum petās, adiūtor eōdem pactō esse dēbeō. Atque hoc nōn modo nōn laudārī sed nē concēdī quidem potest ut amīcīs nostrīs accūsantibus nōn etiam aliēnissimōs dēfendāmus.

4. Mihi autem cum Mūrēnā, iūdicēs, et magna et vetus amīcitia est, quae in capitis dīmicātiōne ā Ser. Sulpiciō nōn idcircō obruētur quod ab eōdem in honōris contentiōne superāta est. Quae sī causa nōn esset, tamen vel dignitās hominis vel honōris eius quem adeptus est amplitūdō summam mihi superbiae crūdēlitātisque īnfāmiam inussisset, sī hominis et suīs et populī Rōmānī ōrnāmentīs amplissimī causam tantī perīculī repudiāssem. Neque enim iam mihi licet neque est integrum ut meum labōrem hominum perīculīs sublevandīs nōn impertiam. Nam cum praemia mihi tanta prō hāc industriā sint data quanta anteā nēminī, sīc exīstimō, labōrēs quōs in petītiōne excēperis, eōs, cum adeptus sīs, dēpōnere, esse hominis et astūtī et ingrātī. 9. Quod sī licet dēsinere, sī tē auctōre possum, sī nūlla inertiae īnfāmia, nūlla superbiae turpitūdō, nūlla inhūmānitātis culpa suscipitur, ego vērō libenter dēsinō. Sīn autem fuga labōris dēsidiam, repudiātiō supplicum

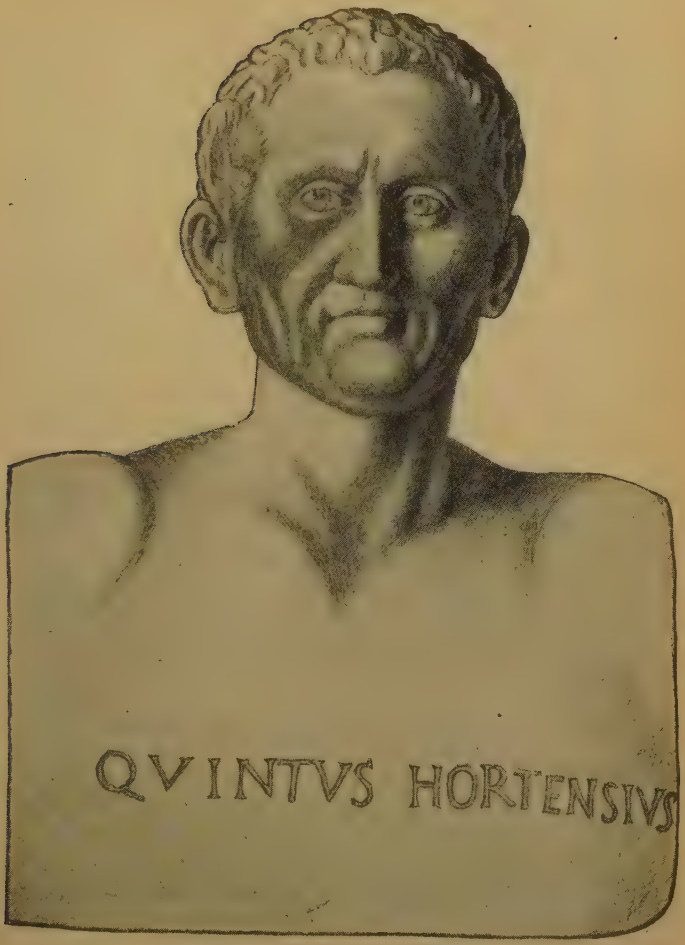


FIG. 20. Hortensius. Villa Albani.

superbiam, amīcōrum neglēctiō improbitātem coarguit, nīmīrum haec causa est eius modī quam nec industrius quisquam nec misericors nec officiōsus dēserere possit. Atque huiusce reī coniectūram dē tuō ipsīus studiō, Servī, facillimē cēperis. Nam sī tibi necesse putās etiam adversāriīs amīcōrum tuōrum dē iūre cōnsulentibus respondēre, et sī turpe exīstimās tē advocātō illum ipsum quem contrā vēneris causā cadere, nōlī tam esse iniūstus ut, cum tuī fontēs vel inimīcīs tuīs pateant, nostrōs etiam amīcīs putēs clausōs esse oportēre. 10. Etenim sī mē tua familiāritās ab hāc causā remōvisset, et sī hoc idem Q. Hortēnsiō, M. Crassō, clārissimīs virīs, sī item cēterīs ā quibus intellegō tuam grātiam magnī aestimārī accidisset, in eā cīvitāte cōnsul dēsignātus dēfēnsōrem nōn habēret in quā nēminī umquam īnfimō maiōrēs nostrī patrōnum deesse voluērunt. Ego vērō, iūdicēs, ipse mē exīstimārem nefārium sī amīcō, crūdēlem sī miserō, superbum sī cōnsulī dēfuissem. Quā rē quod dandum est amīcitiae, largē dabitur ā mē, ut tēcum agam, Servī, nōn secus ac sī meus esset frāter, quī mihi est cārissimus, istō in locō; quod tribuendum est officiō, fideī, religiōnī, id ita moderābor ut meminerim mē contrā amīcī studium prō amīcī perīculō dīcere.

Confutatio

How weak are the charges on the score of his life! The prosecution felt bound to say something. As to his career in Asia, it was one of hard campaigning; it was his duty to go; and why should he not adorn his father's triumph? As for his being a mountebank, you ought to know better, Cato, than to talk in that vein. The charge is unsubstantiated. Out of the mouths of the prosecution I show that he is without reproach. (11–14.)

5. 11. Intellegō, iūdicēs, trīs tōtīus accūsātiōnis partīs fuisse, et eārum ūnam in reprehēnsiōne vītae, alteram in contentiōne dignitātis, tertiam in crīminibus ambitūs esse

versātam. Atque hārum trium partium prīma illa quae gravissima dēbēbat esse ita fuit īnfīrma et levis ut illōs lēx magis quaedam accūsātōria quam vēra male dīcendī facultās dē vītā L. Mūrēnae dīcere aliquid coēgerit. Obiecta est enim Asia; quae ab hōc nōn ad voluptātem et lūxuriam expetīta est sed in mīlitārī labōre peragrāta. Quī sī adulēscēns patre suō imperātōre nōn meruisset, aut hostem aut patris imperium timuisse aut ā parente repudiātus vidērētur. An cum sedēre in equīs triumphantium praetextātī potissimum fīliī soleant, huic dōnīs mīlitāribus patris triumphum decorāre fugiendum fuit, ut rēbus commūniter gestīs paene simul cum patre triumphāret? 12. Hīc vērō, iūdicēs, et fuit in Asiā et virē fortissimō, parentī suō, magnō adiūmentō in perīculīs, sōlāciō in labōribus, grātulātiōnī in victōriā fuit. Et sī habet Asia sūspīciōnem lūxuriae quandam, nōn Asiam numquam vīdisse sed in Asiā continenter vīxisse laudandum est. Quam ob rem nōn Asiae nōmen obiciendum Mūrēnae fuit ex quā laus familiae, memoria generī, honōs et glōria nōminī cōnstitūta est, sed aliquod aut in Asiā susceptum aut ex Asiā dēportātum flāgitium ac dēdecus. Meruisse vērō stīpendia in eō bellō quod tum populus Rōmānus nōn modo maximum sed etiam sōlum gerēbat virtūtis, patre imperātōre libentissimē meruisse pietātis, fīnem stīpendiōrum patris victōriam ac triumphum fuisse fēlīcitātis fuit. Maledictō quidem idcircō nihil in hīsce rēbus locī est quod omnia laus occupāvit.

6. 13. Saltātōrem appellat L. Mūrēnam Catō. Maledictum est, sī vērē obicitur, vehementis accūsātōris, sīn falsō, maledicī convīciātōris. Quā rē cum istā sīs auctōritāte, nōn dēbēs, M. Catō, adripere maledictum ex triviō aut ex scurrārum aliquō convīciō neque temere cōnsulem populī Rōmānī saltātōrem vocāre, sed circumspicere quibus praetereā vitiīs adfectum esse necesse sit

eum cui vērē istud obicī possit. Nēmō enim ferē saltat sōbrius, nisi forte īnsānit, neque in sōlitūdine neque in convīviō moderātō atque honestō. Tempestīvī convīvī, amoenī locī, multārum dēliciārum comes est extrēma saltātiō. Tū mihi adripis hoc quod necesse est omnium vitiōrum esse postrēmum, relinquis illa quibus remōtīs hoc vitium omnīnō esse nōn potest? Nūllum turpe convīvium, nōn amor, non cōmissātiō, nōn libīdō, nōn sūmptus ostenditur, et, cum ea nōn reperiantur quae voluptātis nōmen habent quamquam vitiōsa sunt, in quō ipsam lūxuriam reperīre nōn potes, in eō tē umbram lūxuriae repertūrum putās? 14. Nihil igitur in vītam L. Mūrēnae dīcī potest, nihil, inquam, omnīnō, iūdicēs. Sīc ā mē cōnsul dēsignātus dēfenditur ut eius nūlla fraus, nūlla avāritia, nūlla perfidia, nūlla crūdēlitās, nūllum petulāns dictum in vītā prōferātur. Bene habet; iacta sunt fundāmenta dēfēnsiōnis. Nōndum enim nostrīs laudibus, quibus ūtar posteā, sed prope inimīcōrum cōnfessiōne virum bonum atque integrum hominem dēfendimus. Quō cōnstitūtō facilior est mihi aditus ad contentiōnem dignitātis, quae pars altera fuit accūsātiōnis.

Your claims to the consulship are very strong, Sulpicius; but so are those of Murena. Your depreciation of his family and puffing-up of your own is partial and not based on fact. I count you as a self-made man, and all credit to you for it. I did hope that my exertions had gone some way towards stopping the mouths of the proud old families. I got the consulship against two patricians. Why not? You were above Murena on the roll of quaestors, you say. A mere piece of luck; and as quaestors neither of you distinguished himself much. Here you widely diverge from one another. While you went through all the labor and annoyance of a jurist's life at Rome, Murena was in the East displaying all the most soldierly qualities as lieutenant of Lucullus. Clearly the soldier has far higher claims to office than the jurist. Rome and all in or under it are protected by soldiers. You must not think too highly of your learning as a jurist; your other merits give you far more claim to distinction than jurisprudence ever will. Jurisprudence

is paltry, and your hidden lore has long since been made public property. You now take your stand upon words and forms which are easier to ridicule than to explain. The proceedings before the praetor in cases of disputed title to property are foolish and absurd. They often cannot tell which of two words is the right one, and so use both. Oratory, too, is a pursuit far better adapted for a public career than jurisprudence. Think of the exertions the orator must make and the power he wields when he has made them. As for Cato's depreciation of Murena's military services and his contempt for Orientals, I can only say that it is not justified by history. Oh, but when you both were elected praetors, you were returned before him on the roll. Well, but you have no agreement to that effect with the people. And who does not know the uncertainty of the tide of popular favor and the strange results of elections? But we know of two things that went against Murena in the praetorian election, (1) *his having never given any public shows,* (2) *the absence of those who had known his merits as a general or governor of a province. All this was reversed when he stood for the consulship. To be plain with you, it was all your own fault that you lost the consular election. You gave yourself up to preparations for this trial, and the consequence was that your friends held back, then, in order to support you in court. Again your threats in the senate in the debate on the new bribery law went against you with the people. Above all, you made us afraid that Catiline would be elected while you wasted your time on other things. Of course people voted for Murena as the only way to save the state.* (15–53.)

7. 15. Summam videō esse in tē, Ser. Sulpicī, dignitātem generis, integritātis, industriae cēterōrumque ōrnāmentōrum omnium quibus frētum ad cōnsulātus petītiōnem adgredī pār est. Paria cōgnōscō esse ista in L. Mūrēnā, atque ita paria ut neque ipse dignitāte vincī ā tē potuerit neque tē dignitāte superārit. Contempsistī L. Mūrēnae genus, extulistī tuum. Quō locō sī tibi hoc sūmis, nisi quī patricius sit, nēminem bonō esse genere nātum, facis ut rūrsus plēbēs in Aventīnum sēvocanda esse videātur. Sīn autem sunt amplae et honestae familiae plēbēiae, et proavus L. Mūrēnae et avus praetor fuit, et pater, cum amplissimē atque honestissimē ex praetūrā triumphāsset, hōc

faciliōrem huic gradum cōnsulātus adipīscendī relīquit quod is iam patrī dēbitus ā fīliō petēbātur. 16. Tua vērō nōbilitās, Ser. Sulpicī, tametsī summa est tamen hominibus litterātīs et historicīs est nōtior, populō vērō et suffrāgātōribus obscūrior. Pater enim fuit equestrī locō, avus nūllā inlūstrī laude celebrātus. Itaque nōn ex sermōne hominum recentī sed ex annālium vetustāte ēruenda memoria est nōbilitātis tuae. Quā rē ego tē semper in nostrum numerum adgregāre sōleō, quod virtūte industriāque perfēcistī ut, cum equitis Rōmānī essēs fīlius, summā tamen amplitūdine dignus putārēre. Nec mihi umquam minus in Q. Pompēiō, novō homine et fortissimō virō, virtūtis esse vīsum est quam in homine nōbilissimō, M. Aemiliō. Etenim eiusdem animī atque ingenī est posterīs suīs, quod Pompēius fēcit, amplitūdinem nōminis quam nōn accēperit trādere et, ut Scaurus, memoriam prope intermortuam generis suā virtūte renovāre.

8. 17. Quamquam ego iam putābam, iūdicēs, multīs virīs fortibus nē īgnōbilitās generis obicerētur meō labōre esse perfectum, quī nōn modo Curiīs, Catōnibus, Pompēiīs, antīquīs illīs fortissimīs virīs, novīs hominibus, sed hīs recentibus, Mariīs et Didiīs et Caeliīs, commemorandīs id agēbam. Cum vērō ego tantō intervāllō claustra ista nōbilitātis refrēgissem, ut aditus ad cōnsulātum posthāc, sīcut apud maiōrēs nostrōs fuit, nōn magis nōbilitātī quam virtūtī patēret, nōn arbitrābar, cum ex familiā vetere et inlūstrī cōnsul dēsignātus ab equitis Rōmānī fīliō cōnsule dēfenderētur, dē generis novitāte accūsātōres esse dictūrōs. Etenim mihi ipsī accidit ut cum duōbus patriciīs, alterō improbissimō atque audācissimō, alterō modestissimō atque optimō virō, peterem; superāvī tamen dignitāte Catilīnam, grātiā Galbam. Quod sī id crīmen hominī novō esse dēbēret, profectō mihi neque inimīcī neque invidī dēfuissent.

18. Omittāmus igitur dē genere dīcere cuius est magna in utrōque dignitās; videāmus cētera.

'Quaestūram ūnā petiit et sum ego factus prior.' Nōn est respondendum ad omnia. Neque enim vestrum quemquam fugit, cum multī parēs dignitāte fiant, ūnus autem prīmum sōlus possit obtinēre, nōn eundem esse ōrdinem dignitātis et renūntiātiōnis, propterea quod renūntiātiō gradūs habeat, dignitās autem sit persaepe eadem omnium. Sed quaestūra utrīusque prope modum parī mōmentō sortis fuit. Habuit hīc lēge Titiā prōvinciam tacitam et quiētam, tū illam cui, cum quaestōrēs sortiuntur, etiam acclāmārī sōlet, Ōstiēnsem, nōn tam grātiōsam et inlūstrem quam negōtiōsam et molestam. Cōnsēdit utrīusque nōmen in quaestūra. Nūllum enim vōbīs sors campum dedit in quō excurrere virtus cōgnōscīque posset. 19. Reliquī temporis spatium in contentiōnem vocātur. Ab utrōque dissimillimā ratiōne tractātum est.

9. Servius hīc nōbīscum hanc urbānam mīlitiam respondendī, scrībendī, cavendī plēnam sollicitūdinis ac stomachī secūtus est; iūs cīvīle didicit, multum vigilāvit, labōrāvit, praestō multīs fuit, multōrum stultitiam perpessus est, adrogantiam pertulit, difficultātem exsorbuit; vīxit ad aliōrum arbitrium, nōn ad suum. Magna laus et grāta hominibus ūnum hominem ēlabōrāre in eā scientiā quae sit multīs prōfutūra. 20. Quid Mūrēna intereā? Fortissimō et sapientissimō virō, summō imperātōrī lēgātus, L. Lūcullō, fuit; quā in lēgātiōne dūxit exercitum, sīgna contulit, manum cōnseruit, magnās cōpiās hostium fūdit, urbis partim vī, partim obsidiōne cēpit, Asiam istam refertam et eandem dēlicātam sīc obiit ut in eā neque avāritiae neque lūxuriae vestīgium relīquerit, maximō in bellō sīc est versātus ut hīc multās rēs et magnās sine imperātōre gesserit, nūllam sine hōc imperātōr. Atque haec quamquam praesente L. Lū-

cullō loquor, tamen nē ab ipsō propter perīculum nostrum concessam videāmur habēre licentiam fingendī, pūblicīs litterīs testāta sunt omnia, quibus L. Lūcullus tantum laudis impertiit quantum neque ambitiōsus imperātōr neque invidus tribuere alterī in commūnicandā glōriā dēbuit. 21. Summa in utrōque est honestās, summa dignitās; quam ego, sī mihi per Servium liceat, parī atque eādem in laude pōnam. Sed nōn licet; agitat rem mīlitārem, īnsectātur tōtam hanc lēgātiōnem, adsiduitātis et operārum hārum cotīdiānārum putat esse cōnsulātum. 'Apud exercitum mihi fueris' inquit; 'tot annōs forum nōn attigeris; āfueris tam diū et, cum longō intervāllō vēneris, cum hīs quī in forō habitārint dē dignitāte contendās?' Prīmum ista nostra adsiduitās, Servī, nescīs quantum interdum adferat hominibus fastīdī, quantum satietātis. Mihi quidem vehementer expediit positam in oculīs esse grātiam; sed tamen ego meī satietātem magnō meō labōre superāvī et tū item fortasse; vērum tamen utrīque nostrum dēsīderium nihil obfuisset. 22. Sed ut hōc omissō ad studiōrum atque artium contentiōnem revertāmur, quī potest dubitārī quīn ad cōnsulātum adipīscendum multō plūs adferat dignitātis reī mīlitāris quam iūris cīvīlis glōria? Vigilās tū dē nocte ut tuīs cōnsultōribus respondeās, ille ut eō quō intendit mātūrē cum exercitū perveniat; tē gallōrum, illum būcinārum cantus exsuscitat; tū āctiōnem īnstituis, ille aciem īnstruit; tū cavēs nē tuī cōnsultōrēs, ille nē urbēs aut castra capiantur; ille tenet et scit ut hostium cōpiae, tū ut aquae pluviae arceantur; ille exercitātus est in prōpāgandīs fīnibus, tūque in regendīs.

10. Ac nīmīrum — dīcendum est enim quod sentiō — reī mīlitāris virtūs praestat cēterīs omnibus. Haec nōmen populō Rōmānō, haec huic urbī aeternam glōriam peperit, haec orbem terrārum pārēre huic imperiō coēgit; omnēs

urbānae rēs, omnia haec nostra praeclāra studia et haec forēnsis laus et industria latet in tūtēlā ac praesidiō bellicae virtūtis. Simul atque increpuit suspīciō tumultus, artēs īlicō nostrae conticīscunt. 23. Et quoniam mihi vīderis istam scientiam iūris tamquam fīliolam ōsculārī tuam, nōn patiar tē in tantō errōre versārī ut istud nesciō quid quod tantō opere didicistī praeclārum aliquid esse arbitrārē. Aliīs ego tē virtūtibus, continentiae, gravitātis, iūstitiae, fideī, cēterīs omnibus, cōnsulātū et omnī honōre semper dignissimum iūdicāvī; quod quidem iūs cīvīle didicistī, nōn dīcam operam perdidistī, sed illud dīcam, nūllam esse in istā disciplīnā mūnītam ad cōnsulātum viam. Omnēs enim artēs, quae nōbīs populī Rōmānī studia concilient, et admīrābilem dignitātem et pergrātam ūtilitātem dēbent habēre.

11. 24. Summa dignitās est in eīs quī mīlitārī laude antecellunt; omnia enim quae sunt in imperiō et in statū cīvitātis ab hīs dēfendī et fīrmārī putantur; summa etiam ūtilitās, sī quidem eōrum cōnsiliō et perīculō cum rē publicā tum etiam nostrīs rēbus perfruī possumus. Gravis etiam illa est et plēna dignitātis dīcendī facultās quae saepe valuit in cōnsule dēligendō, posse cōnsiliō atque ōrātiōne et senātus et populī et eōrum quī rēs iūdicant mentīs permovēre. Quaeritur cōnsul quī dīcendō nōn numquam comprimat tribūnīciōs furōrēs, quī concitātum populum flectat, quī largītiōnī resistat. Nōn mīrum, sī ob hanc facultātem hominēs saepe etiam nōn nōbilēs cōnsulātum cōnsecūtī sunt, praesertim cum haec eadem rēs plūrimās grātiās, fīrmissimās amīcitiās, maxima studia pariat. Quōrum in istō vestrō artificiō, Sulpicī, nihil est. 25. Prīmum dignitās in tam tenuī scientiā nōn potest esse; rēs enim sunt parvae, prope in singulīs litterīs atque interpūnctiōnibus verbōrum occupātae. Deinde, etiam sī quid apud maiōrēs nostrōs fuit in istō studiō

admīrātiōnis, id ēnūntiātīs vestrīs mystēriīs tōtum est contemptum et abiectum. Posset agī lēge necne paucī quondam sciēbant; fāstōs enim volgō nōn habēbant. Erant in magnā potentiā quī cōnsulēbantur; ā quibus etiam diēs tamquam ā Chaldaeīs petēbātur. Inventus est scrība quīdam, Cn. Flavius, quī cornīcum oculōs cōnfīxerit et singulīs diēbus ēdiscendīs fāstōs populō prōposuerit et ab ipsīs hīs cautīs iūris cōnsultīs eōrum sapientiam compīlārit. Itaque īrātī illī, quod sunt veritī nē diērum ratiōne pervolgātā et cōgnitā sine suā operā lēge agī posset, verba quaedam composuērunt ut omnibus in rēbus ipsī interessent.

12. 26. Cum hoc fierī bellissimē posset: 'Fundus Sabīnus meus est.' 'Immō meus,' deinde iūdicium, nōluērunt. 'FVNDVS' inquit 'QVĪ EST IN AGRŌ QVĪ SABĪNVS VOCĀTVR.' Satis verbōsē; cēdō quid posteā? 'EVM EGO EX IVRE QVIRĪTIVM MEVM ESSE AIŌ.' Quid tum? 'INDE IBI EGO TĒ EX IVRE MANVM CŌNSERTVM VOCŌ.' Quid huic tam loquāciter lītigiōsō respondēret ille unde petēbātur nōn habēbat. Trānsit īdem iūris cōnsultus tībīcinis Latīnī modō. 'VNDE TŪ MĒ' inquit 'EX IVRE MANVM CŌNSERTVM VOCĀSTĪ, INDE IBI EGO TĒ REVOCŌ.' Praetor intereā nē pulchrum sē ac beātum putāret atque aliquid ipse suā sponte loquerētur, eī quoque carmen compositum est cum cēterīs rēbus absurdum tum vērō in illō: 'SVĪS VTRĪSQVE SVPERSTITIBVS PRAESENTIBVS ISTAM VIAM DĪCŌ; ĪTE VIAM.' Praestō aderat sapiēns ille quī inīre viam docēret. 'REDĪTE VIAM.' Eōdem duce redībant. Haec iam tum apud illōs barbātōs rīdicula, crēdō, vidēbantur, hominēs, cum rēctē atque in locō cōnstitissent, iubērī abīre ut, unde abissent, eōdem statim redīrent. Īsdem ineptiīs fūcāta sunt illa omnia: 'QVANDŌ TĒ IN IVRE CŌNSPICIŌ' et haec: 'ANNE TŪ DĪCĀS QVĀ EX CAVSĀ VINDICĀVERIS?' Quae dum erant occulta, necessāriō ab eīs quī ea tenēbant petēbantur; posteā vērō

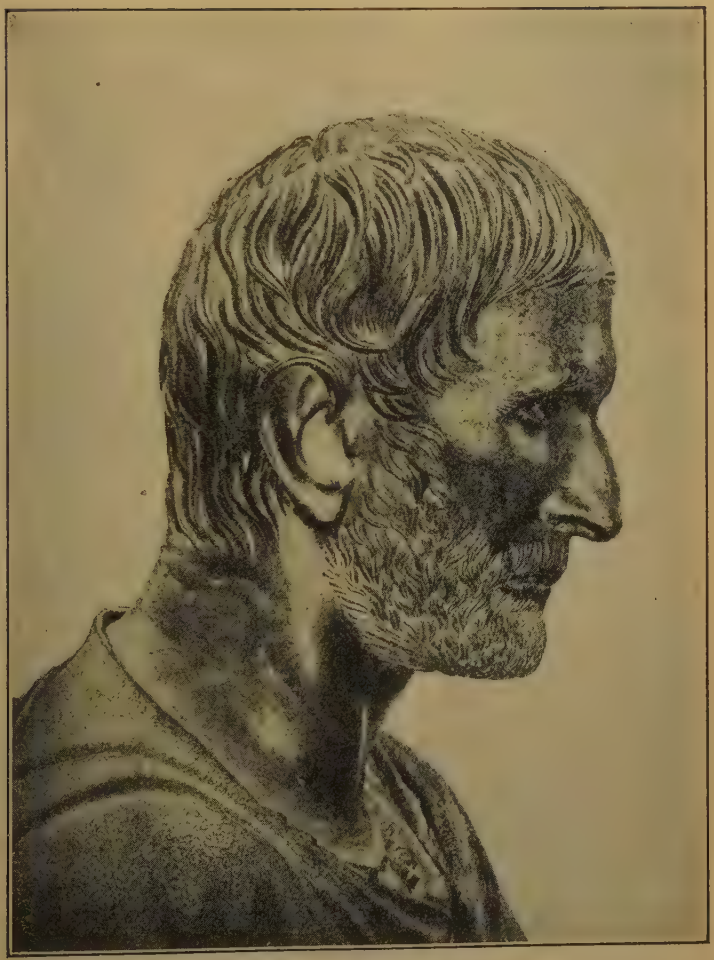


FIG. 21. The Elder Brutus.

pervolgāta atque in manibus iactāta et excussa, inānissima prūdentiae reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiae plēnissima. 27. Nam, cum permulta praeclārē lēgibus essent cōnstitūta, ea iūre cōnsultōrum ingeniīs plērāque corrupta ac dēprāvāta sunt. Mulierēs omnīs propter īnfīrmitātem cōnsilī maiōrēs in tūtōrum potestāte esse voluērunt; hī invēnērunt genera tūtōrum quae potestāte mulierum continērentur. Sacra interīre illī nōluērunt; hōrum ingeniō senēs ad coēmptiōnēs faciendās interimendōrum sacrōrum causā repertī sunt. In omnī dēnique iūre cīvīlī aequitātem relīquērunt, verba ipsa tenuērunt, ut, quia in alicuius librīs exemplī causā id nōmen invēnerant, putārunt omnīs mulierēs quae coēmptiōnem facerent 'Gāiās' vocārī. Iam illud mihi quidem mīrum vidērī sōlet, tot hominēs, tam ingeniōsōs, post tot annōs etiam nunc statuere nōn potuisse utrum 'diem tertium' an 'perendinum,' 'iūdicem' an 'arbitrum,' 'rem' an 'lītem' dīcī oportēret.

13. 28. Itaque, ut dīxī, dignitās in istā scientiā cōnsulāris numquam fuit, quae tōta ex rēbus fictīs commentīciīsque cōnstāret, grātiae vērō multō etiam minus. Quod enim omnibus patet et aequē prōmptum est mihi et adversāriō meō, id esse grātum nūllō pactō potest. Itaque nōn modo beneficī conlocandī spem sed etiam illud quod aliquamdiū fuit 'LICET CŌNSVLERE?' iam perdidistis. Sapiēns exīstimārī nēmō potest in eā prūdentiā quae neque extrā Rōmam usquam neque Rōmae rēbus prōlātīs quicquam valet. Perītus ideō habērī nēmō potest quod in eō quod sciunt omnēs nūllō modō possunt inter sē discrepāre. Difficilis autem rēs ideō nōn putātur quod et perpaucīs et minimē obscūrīs litterīs continētur. Itaque sī mihi, hominī vehementer occupātō, stomachum moveritis, trīduō mē iūris cōnsultum esse profitēbor. Etenim quae dē scrīptō aguntur, scrīpta sunt omnia, neque tamen quicquam tam angustē scrīptum

est quō ego nōn possim 'QVĀ DĒ RĒ AGITVR' addere; quae cōnsuluntur autem, minimō perīculō respondentur. Sī id quod oportet responderis, idem videāre respondisse quod Servius; sīn aliter, etiam contrōversum iūs nōsse et tractāre videāre. 29. Quāpropter nōn sōlum illa glōria mīlitāris vestrīs fōrmulīs atque āctiōnibus antepōnenda est vērum etiam dīcendī cōnsuētūdō longē et multum istī vestrae exercitātiōnī ad honōrem antecellit. Itaque mihi videntur

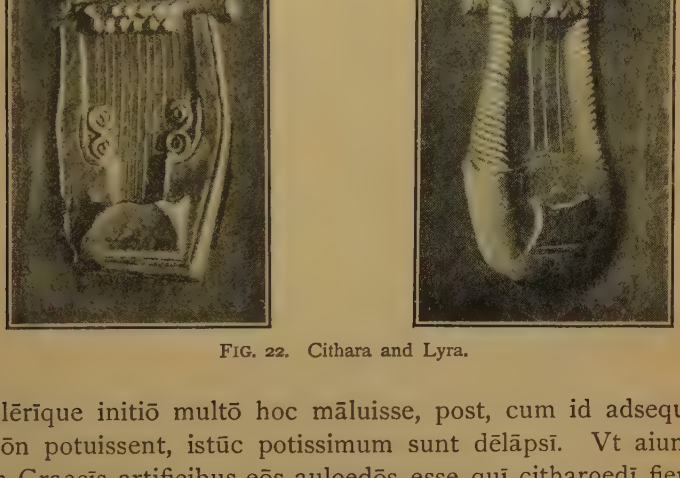


FIG. 22. Cithara and Lyra.

plērīque initiō multō hoc māluisse, post, cum id adsequī nōn potuissent, istūc potissimum sunt dēlāpsī. Vt aiunt in Graecīs artificibus eōs auloedōs esse quī citharoedī fierī nōn potuerint, sīc nōs vidēmus, quī ōrātōrēs ēvādere nōn potuerint, eōs ad iūris studium dēvenīre. Magnus dīcendī labor, magna rēs, magna dignitās, summa autem grātia. Etenim ā vōbīs salūbritās quaedam, ab eīs quī dīcunt salūs ipsa petitur. Deinde vestra respōnsa atque dēcrēta et ēvertuntur saepe dīcendō et sine dēfēnsiōne ōrātiōnis fīrma esse nōn possunt. In quā sī satis prōfēcissem, parcius dē

eius laude dīcerem; nunc nihil dē mē dīcō, sed dē eīs quī in dīcendō magnī sunt aut fuērunt.

14. 30. Duae sunt artēs igitur quae possint locāre hominēs in amplissimō gradū dignitātis, ūna imperātōris, altera ōrātōris bonī. Ab hōc enim pācis ōrnāmenta retinentur, ab illō bellī perīcula repelluntur. Cēterae tamen virtūtēs ipsae per sē multum valent, iūstitia, fidēs, pudor, temperantia; quibus tē, Servī, excellere omnēs intellegunt. Sed nunc dē studiīs ad honōrem appositīs, nōn dē īnsitā cuiusque virtūte disputō. Omnia ista nōbīs studia dē manibus excutiuntur, simul atque aliquī mōtus novus bellicum canere coepit. Etenim, ut ait ingeniōsus poēta et auctor valdē bonus, 'proeliīs prōmulgātīs pellitur ē mediō' nōn sōlum ista vestra verbōsa simulātiō prūdentiae sed etiam ipsa illa domina rērum, 'sapientia; vī geritur rēs, spernitur ōrātor' nōn sōlum odiōsus in dīcendō ac loquāx vērum etiam 'bonus; horridus mīles amātur,' vestrum vērō studium tōtum iacet. 'Nōn ex iūre manum cōnsertum, sed mage ferrō' inquit 'rem repetunt.' Quod sī ita est, cēdat, opīnor, Sulpicī, forum castrīs, ōtium mīlitiae, stilus gladiō, umbra sōlī; sit dēnique in cīvitāte ea prīma rēs propter quam ipsa est cīvitās omnium prīnceps.

31. Vērum haec Catō nimium nōs nostrīs verbīs magna facere dēmōnstrat et oblītōs esse bellum illud omne Mithridāticum cum mulierculīs esse gestum. Quod ego longē secus exīstimō, iūdicēs; dēque eō pauca disseram; neque enim causa in hōc continētur. Nam sī omnia bella quae cum Graecīs gessimus contemnenda sunt, dērīdeātur dē rēge Pyrrhō triumphus M'. Curī, dē Philippō T. Flāminīnī, dē Aetōlīs M. Fulvī, dē rēge Persē L. Paulī, dē Pseudophilippō Q. Metellī, dē Corinthiīs L. Mummī. Sīn haec bella gravissima victōriaeque eōrum bellōrum grātissimae fuērunt, cūr Asiāticae nātiōnēs atque ille ā tē hostis con-

temnitur? Atquī ex veterum rērum monumentīs vel maximum bellum populum Rōmānum cum Antiochō gessisse videō; cuius bellī victor L. Scipiō aequā partā cum P. frātre glōriā, quam laudem ille Africā oppressā cōgnōmine ipsō prae sē ferēbat, eandem hīc sibi ex Asiae nōmine adsūmpsit.

FIG. 23. Sulla. Vatican.

32. Quō quidem in bellō virtūs ēnituit ēgregia M. Catōnis, proavī tuī; quō ille, cum esset, ut ego mihi statuō, tālis quālem tē esse videō, numquam cum Scipiōne esset profectus, sī cum mulierculīs bellandum arbitrārētur. Neque vērō cum P. Āfricānō senātus ēgisset ut lēgātus frātrī proficīscerētur, cum ipse paulō ante Hannibale ex Ītaliā expulsō, ex Āfricā ēiectō, Carthāgine oppressā maximis perīculīs rem pūblicam līberāsset, nisi illud grave bellum et vehemēns putārētur.

15. Atquī sī dīligenter quid Mithridātēs potuerit et quid effēcerit et quī vir fuerit cōnsīderāris, omnibus quibuscum populus Rōmānus bellum gessit hunc rēgem nīmīrum antepōnēs. Quem L. Sulla maximō et fortissimō exercitū, pugnāx et ācer et nōn rudis imperātor, ut aliud nihil dīcam,

cum bellō invectum tōtam in Asiam cum pāce dīmīsit; quem L. Murēna, pater huiusce, vehementissimē vigilantissimēque vexātum repressum magnā ex parte, nōn oppressum relīquit; quī rēx sibi aliquot annīs sūmptīs ad cōnfīrmandās ratiōnēs et cōpiās bellī tantum spē cōnātūque valuit ut sē Ōceanum cum Pontō, Sertōrī cōpiās cum suīs coniūnctūrum putāret. 33. Ad quod bellum duōbus cōnsulibus ita missīs ut alter Mithridātem persequerētur, alter Bīthȳniam tuerētur, alterius rēs et terrā et marī calamitōsae vehementer et opēs rēgis et nōmen auxērunt; L. Lūcullī vērō rēs tantae exstitērunt ut neque maius bellum commemorārī possit neque maiōre cōnsiliō et virtūte gestum. Nam cum tōtīus impetus bellī ad Cȳzicēnōrum moenia cōnstitisset eamque urbem sibi Mithridātēs Asiae iānuam fore putāsset quā effrāctā et revolsā tōta patēret prōvincia, perfecta ā Lūcullō haec sunt omnia ut urbs fidēlissimōrum sociōrum dēfenderētur et omnēs cōpiae rēgis diūturnitāte obsessiōnis cōnsūmerentur. Quid? illam pugnam nāvālem ad Tenedum, cum contentō cursū ācerrimīs ducibus hostium classis Ītaliam spē atque animīs īnflāta peteret, mediocrī certāmine et parvā dīmicātiōne commīssam arbitrāris? Mittō proelia, praetereō oppugnātiōnēs oppidōrum; expulsus rēgnō tandem aliquandō tantum tamen cōnsiliō atque auctōritāte valuit ut sē rēge Armeniōrum adiūnctō novīs opibus cōpiīsque renovārit.

16. Ac sī mihi nunc dē rēbus gestīs esset nostrī exercitūs imperātōrisque dīcendum, plūrima et maxima proelia commemorāre possem; sed nōn id agimus. 34. Hoc dīcō: Sī bellum hoc, sī hīc hostis, sī ille rēx contemnendus fuisset, neque tantā cūra senātus et populus Rōmānus suscipiendum putāsset neque tot annōs gessisset neque tantā glōriā L. Lūcullus, neque vērō eius bellī cōnficiendum exitum tantō studiō populus Rōmānus ad Cn. Pompēium

dētulisset. Cuius ex omnibus pugnīs, quae sunt innumerābilēs, vel ācerrima mihi vidētur illa quae cum rēge commissa est et summā contentiōne pugnāta. Quā ex pugnā cum sē ille ēripuisset et Bosphorum cōnfūgisset quō exercitus adīre nōn posset, etiam in extrēmā fortūnā et fugā nōmen tamen retinuit rēgium. Itaque ipse Pompēius rēgnō possessō ex omnibus ōrīs ac nōtīs sēdibus hoste pulsō tamen tantum in ūnīus animā posuit ut, cum ipse omnia quae tenuerat, adierat, spērārat, victōriā possidēret, tamen nōn ante quam illum vītā expulit bellum cōnfectum iūdicārit. Hunc tū hostem, Catō, contemnis quōcum per tot annōs tot proeliīs tot imperātōrēs bella gessērunt, cuius expulsī et ēiectī vīta tantī aestimāta est ut morte eius nūntiāta dēnique bellum cōnfectum arbitrārentur? Hōc igitur in bellō L. Murēnam lēgātum fortissimī animī, summī cōnsilī, maximī labōris cōgnitum esse dēfendimus, et hanc eius operam nōn minus ad cōnsulātum adipīscendum quam hanc nostram forēnsem industriam dignitātis habuisse.

17. 35. At enim in praetūrae petītiōne prior renūntiātus est Servius. Pergitisne vōs tamquam ex syngraphā agere cum populō ut, quem locum semel honōris cuipiam dederit, eundem in reliquīs honōribus dēbeat? Quod enim fretum, quem Eurīpum tot mōtūs, tantās, tam variās habēre putātis agitātiōnēs commūtātiōnēsque fluctuum quantās perturbātiōnēs et quantōs aestūs habet ratiō comitiōrum? Diēs intermissus aut nox interposita saepe perturbat omnia, et tōtam opīniōnem parva nōn numquam commūtat aura rumōris. Saepe etiam sine ūllā apertā causā fit aliud atque exīstimāris, ut nōn numquam ita factum esse etiam populus admīrētur, quasi vērō nōn ipse fēcerit. 36. Nihil est incertius volgō, nihil obscūrius voluntāte hominum, nihil fallācius ratiōne tōtā comitiōrum. Quis L. Philippum summō ingeniō, operā, grātiā, nōbilitāte ā M. Herenniō

superārī posse arbitrātus est? quis Q. Catulum hūmānitāte, sapientiā, integritāte antecellentem ā Cn. Malliō? quis M. Scaurum, hominem gravissimum, cīvem ēgregium, fortissimum senātōrem, ā Q. Maximō? Nōn modo hōrum nihil ita fore putātum est sed, nē cum esset factum quidem, quā rē ita factum esset intellegī potuit. Nam, ut tempestātēs saepe certō aliquō caelī sīgnō commoventur, saepe imprōvīsō nūllā ex certā ratiōne obscūrā aliquā ex causā concitantur, sīc in hāc comitiōrum tempestāte populārī saepe intellegās quō sīgnō commōta sit, saepe ita obscūra causa est ut cāsū excitāta esse videātur.

18. 37. Sed tamen sī est reddenda ratiō, duae rēs vehementer in praetūrā dēsīderātae sunt quae ambae in cōnsulātū multum Mūrēnae prōfuērunt, ūna exspectātiō mūneris quae et rūmōre nōn nūllō et studiīs sermōnibusque competītōrum crēverat, altera quod eī quōs in prōvinciā ac lēgātiōne omnī et līberālitātis et virtūtis suae testīs habuerat nōndum dēcesserant. Hōrum utrumque eī fortūna ad cōnsulātūs petītiōnem reservāvit. Nam et L. Lūcullī exercitus quī ad triumphum convēnerat īdem comitiīs L. Mūrēnae praestō fuit, et mūnus amplissimum quod petītiō praetūrae dēsīderārat praetūra restituit. 38. Num tibi haec parva videntur adiūmenta et subsidia cōnsulātūs, voluntās mīlitum, quaeque cum per sē valet multitūdine, cum apud suōs grātiā, tum vērō in cōnsule dēclārandō multum etiam apud ūniversum populum Rōmānum auctōritātis habet, suffrāgātiō mīlitāris? Imperātōrēs enim comitiīs cōnsulāribus, nōn verbōrum interpretēs dēliguntur. Quā rē gravis est illa ōrātiō: 'Mē saucium recreāvit, mē praedā dōnāvit; hōc duce castra cēpimus, sīgna contulimus; numquam iste plūs mīlitī labōris imposuit quam sibi sūmpsit, ipse cum fortis tum etiam fēlīx.' Hoc quantī putās esse ad fāmam hominum ac voluntātem? Etenim, sī tanta illīs comitiīs religiō est ut

adhūc semper ōmen valuerit praerogātīvum, quid mīrum est in hōc fēlīcitātis fāmam sermōnemque valuisse?

19. Sed sī haec leviōra dūcis quae sunt gravissima et hanc urbānam suffrāgātiōnem mīlitārī antepōnis, nōlī lūdōrum huius ēlegantiam et scaenae magnificentiam tam valdē contemnere; quae huic admodum prōfuērunt. Nam quid ego dīcam populum ac volgus imperītōrum lūdīs magnō opere dēlectārī? Minus est mīrandum. Quamquam huic causae id satis est; sunt enim populī ac multitūdinis comitia. Quā rē, sī populō lūdōrum magnificentia voluptātī est, nōn est mīrandum eam L. Mūrēnae apud populum prōfuisse. 39. Sed sī nōsmet ipsī quī et ab dēlectātiōne commūnī negōtiīs impedīmur et in ipsā occupātiōne dēlectātiōnēs aliās multās habēre possumus, lūdīs tamen oblectāmur et dūcimur, quid tū admīrēre dē multitūdine indoctā? 40. L. Otho, vir fortis, meus necessārius, equestrī ōrdinī restituit nōn sōlum dignitātem sed etiam voluptātem. Itaque lēx haec quae ad lūdōs pertinet est omnium grātissima, quod honestissimō ōrdinī cum splendōre frūctūs quoque iūcunditātis est restitūtus. Quā rē dēlectant hominēs, mihi crēde, lūdī, etiam illōs quī dissimulant, nōn sōlum eōs quī fatentur; quod ego in meā petītiōne sēnsī. Nam nōs quoque habuimus scaenam competītrīcem. Quod sī ego quī trīnōs lūdōs aedīlis fēceram tamen Antōnī lūdīs commovēbar, tibi quī cāsū nūllōs fēcerās nihil huius istam ipsam quam inrīdēs argenteam scaenam adversātam putās?

41. Sed haec sānē sint paria omnia, sit pār forēnsis opera mīlitārī, mīlitāris suffrāgātiō urbānae, sit idem magnificentissimōs et nūllōs umquam fēcisse lūdōs; quid? in ipsā praetūrā nihilne exīstimās inter tuam et huius sortem interfuisse?

20. Huius sors ea fuit quam omnēs tuī necessāriī tibi optābāmus, iūris dīcundī; in quā glōriam conciliat magni-

tūdō negōtī, grātiam aequitātis largītiō; quā in sorte sapiēns praetor quālis hīc fuit offēnsiōnem vītat aequābilitāte dēcernendī, benevolentiam adiungit lēnitāte audiendī. Ēgregia et ad cōnsulātum apta prōvincia in quā laus aequitātis, integritātis, facilitātis ad extrēmum lūdōrum voluptāte conclūditur. 42. Quid tua sors? Trīstis, atrōx, quaestiō pecūlātūs ex alterā parte lacrimārum et squālōris, ex alterā plēna accusātōrum atque indicum; cōgendī iūdicēs invītī, retinendī contrā voluntātem; scrība damnātus, ōrdō tōtus aliēnus; Sullāna grātificātiō reprehēnsa, multī virī fortēs et prope pars cīvitātis offēnsa est; līтēs sevērē aestimātae; cui placet oblīvīscitur, cui dolet meminit. Postrēmō tū in prōvinciam īre nōluistī. Nōn possum id in tē reprehendere quod in mē ipsō et praetōre et cōnsule probāvī. Sed tamen L. Mūrēnae prōvincia multās bonās grātiās cum optimā exīstimātiōne attulit. Habuit profiscīscēns dīlēctum in Vmbriā; dedit eī facultātem rēs pūblica līberālitātis, quā ūsus multās sibi tribūs quae mūnicipiīs Vmbriae cōnficiuntur adiūnxit. Ipse autem in Galliā ut nostrī hominēs dēspērātās iam pecūniās exigerent aequitāte dīligentiāque perfēcit. Tū intereā Rōmae scīlicet amīcīs praestō fuistī; fateor; sed tamen illud cōgitā nōn nūllōrum amīcōrum studia minuī sōlēre in eōs ā quibus prōvinciās contemnī intellegunt.

21. 43. Et quoniam ostendī, iūdicēs, parem dignitātem ad cōnsulātūs petītiōnem, disparem fortūnam prōvinciālium negōtiōrum in Mūrēnā atque in Sulpiciō fuisse, dīcam iam apertius in quō meus necessārius fuerit īnferior, Servius, et ea dīcam vōbīs audientibus āmissō iam tempore quae ipsī sōlī rē integrā saepe dīxī. Petere cōnsulātum nescīre tē, Servī, persaepe tibi dīxī; et in eīs rēbus ipsīs quās tē magnō et fortī animō et agere et dīcere vidēbam tibi solitus sum dīcere magis tē fortem accūsātōrem mihi vidērī quam sapientem candidātum. Prīmum accūsandī terrōrēs et minae qui-

bus tū cotīdiē ūtī sōlēbās sunt fortis virī, sed et populī opīniōnem ā spē adipīscendī āvertunt et amīcōrum studia dēbilitant. Nesciō quō pactō semper hoc fit — neque in ūnō aut alterō animadversum est sed iam in plūribus — simul atque candidātus accūsātiōnem meditārī vīsus est, ut honōrem dēspērāsse videātur. 44. Quid ergō? acceptam iniūriam persequī nōn placet? Immō vehementer placet; sed aliud tempus est petendī, aliud persequendī. Petītōrem ego, praesertim cōnsulātūs, magnā spē, magnō animō, magnīs cōpiīs et in forum et in campum dēdūcī volō. Nōn placet mihi inquīsītiō candidātī, praenūntia repulsae, nōn testium potius quam suffrāgātōrum comparātiō, nōn minae magis quam blanditiae, nōn dēnūntiātiō potius quam persalūtātiō, praesertim cum iam hōc novō mōre omnēs ferē domōs omnium concursent et ex voltū candidātōrum coniectūram faciant quantum quisque animī et facultātis habēre videātur. 45. 'Vidēsne tū illum trīstem, dēmīssum? iacet, diffīdit, abiēcit hastās.' Serpit hīc rūmor. 'Scīs tū illum accūsātiōnem cōgitāre, inquīrere in competītōrēs, testīs quaerere? Alium fac iam, quoniam sibi hīc ipse dēspērat.' Eius modī rūmōribus candidātōrum amīcī intimī dēbilitantur, studia dēpōnunt; aut certam rem abiciunt aut suam operam et grātiam iūdiciō et accūsātiōnī reservant.

22. Accēdit eōdem ut etiam ipse candidātus tōtum animum atque omnem cūram operam dīligentiamque suam in petītiōne nōn possit pōnere. Adiungitur enim accūsātiōnis cōgitātiō, nōn parva rēs sed nīmīrum omnium maxima. Magnum est enim tē comparāre ea quibus possīs hominem ē cīvitāte, praesertim nōn inopem neque īnfīrmum, exturbāre, quī et per sē et per suōs et vērō etiam per aliēnōs dēfendātur. Omnēs enim ad perīcula propulsanda concurrimus et quī nōn apertē inimīcī sumus etiam aliēnissimīs in capitis perīculīs amīcissimōrum officia et studia prae-

stāmus. 46. Quā rē ego expertus et petendī et dēfendendī et accūsandī molestiam sīc intellēxī in petendō studium esse ācerrimum, in dēfendendō officium, in accūsandō labōrem. Itaque sīc statuō fierī nūllō modō posse ut īdem accūsātiōnem et petītiōnem cōnsulātūs dīligenter adōrnet atque īnstruat. Vnum sustinēre paucī possunt, utrumque nēmō. Tū cum tē dē curriculō petītiōnis dēflexissēs animumque ad accūsandum trānstulissēs, exīstimāstī tē utrīque negōtiō satis facere posse. Vehementer errāstī. Quis enim diēs fuit, posteā quam in istam accūsandī dēnūntiātiōnem ingressus es, quem tū nōn tōtum in istā ratiōne cōnsūmpseris?

23. Lēgem ambitūs flāgitāstī, quae tibi nōn deerat; erat enim sevērissimē scrīpta Calpurnia. Gestus est mōs et voluntātī et dignitātī tuae. Sed tōta illa lēx accūsātiōnem tuam, sī habēres nocentem reum, fortasse armāsset; petītiōnī vērō refrāgāta est. 47. Poena gravior in plēbem tuā vōce efflāgitāta est; commōtī animī tenuiōrum. Exsilium in nostrum ōrdinem; concessit senātus postulātiōnī tuae, sed nōn libenter dūriōrem fortūnae commūnī condiciōnem tē auctōre cōnstituit. Morbī excūsātiōnī poena addita est; voluntās offēnsa multōrum quibus aut contrā valētūdinis commodum labōrandum est aut incommodō morbī etiam cēterī vītae frūctūs relinquendī. Quid ergō? haec quis tulit? Is quī auctōritātī senātūs, voluntātī tuae pāruit, dēnique is tulit cui minimē prōderant. Illa quidem quae meā summā voluntāte senāṭus frequēns repudiāvit mediocriter adversāta tibi esse exīstimās? Cōnfūsiōnem suffrāgiōrum flāgitāstī, †praerogātiōnum lēgis Mānīliae†, aequātiōnem grātiae, dignitātis, suffrāgiōrum. Graviter hominēs honestī atque in suīs vīcīnitātibus et mūnicipiīs grātiōsī tulērunt ā tālī virō esse pugnātum ut omnēs et dignitātis et grātiae gradūs tollerentur. Īdem ēditīciōs iūdicēs esse voluistī, ut odia occulta cīvium quae tacitīs nunc discor-

diīs continentur in fortūnās optimī cuiusque ērumperent. 48. Haec omnia tibi accūsandī viam mūniēbant, adipiscendī obsaepiēbant.

Atque ex omnibus illa plāga est iniecta petītiōnī tuae nōn tacente mē maxima, dē quā ab homine ingeniōsissimō et cōpiōsissimō, Q. Hortēnsiō, multa gravissimē dicta sunt. Quō etiam mihi dūrior locus est dīcendī datus ut, cum ante mē et ille dīxisset et vir summā dignitāte et dīligentiā et facultāte dīcendī, M. Crassus, ego in extrēmō nōn partem aliquam agerem causae sed dē tōtā rē dīcerem quod mihi viderētur. Itaque in īsdem rēbus ferē versor et quoad possum, iūdicēs, occurrō vestrae satietātī.

24. Sed tamen, Servī, quam tē secūrim putās iniēcisse petītiōnī tuae, cum populum Rōmānum in eum metum addūxistī ut pertimēsceret nē cōnsul Catilīna fieret, dum tū accūsātiōnem comparārēs depositā atque abiectā petītiōne? 49. Etenim tē inquīrere vidēbant, tristem ipsum, maestōs amīcōs; observātiōnēs, testificātiōnēs, sēductiōnēs testium, sēcessiōnēs subscrīptōrum animadvertēbant, quibus rēbus certē ipsī candidātōrum voltūs obscūriōrēs vidērī sōlent; Catilīnam intereā alacrem atque laetum, stīpātum chorō iuventūtis, vāllātum indicibus atque sīcāriīs, īnflātum cum spē mīlitum tum conlēgae meī, quem ad modum dīcēbat ipse, prōmissīs, circumfluentem colōnōrum Arretīnōrum et Faesulānōrum exercitū; quam turbam dissimillimō ex genere dīstinguēbant hominēs perculsī Sullānī temporis calamitāte. Voltus erat ipsius plēnus furōris, oculī sceleris, sermō adrogantiae, sīc ut eī iam explōrātus et domī conditus cōnsulātus viderētur. Mūrēnam contemnēbat, Sulpicium accūsātōrem suum numerābat nōn competītōrem; eī vim dēnūntiābat, reī pūblicae minābātur.

25. 50. Quibus rēbus quī timor bonīs omnibus iniectus sit quantaque dēspērātiō reī pūblicae, sī ille factus esset,

nōlīte ā mē commonērī velle; vōsmet ipsī vōbīscum recordāminī. Meministis enim, cum illīus nefāriī gladiātōris vōcēs percrēbruissent quās habuisse in cōntiōne domesticā dicēbātur, cum miserōrum fidēlem dēfēnsōrem negāsset invenīrī posse nisi eum quī ipse miser esset; integrōrum et fortūnātōrum prōmissīs sauciōs et miserōs crēdere nōn oportēre; quā rē quī cōnsūmpta replēre, ērepta reciperāre vellent, spectārent quid ipse dēbēret, quid possidēret, quid audēret; minimē timidum et valdē calamitōsum esse oportēre eum quī esset futūrus dux et sīgnifer calamitōsōrum. 51. Tum igitur, hīs rēbus audītīs, meministis fierī senātūs cōnsultum referente mē nē posterō diē comitia habērentur, ut dē hīs rēbus in senātū agere possēmus. Itaque postrīdiē frequentī senātū Catilīnam excitāvī atque eum dē hīs rēbus iussī, sī quid vellet, quae ad mē adlātae essent dīcere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, nōn sē pūrgāvit sed indicāvit atque induit. Tum enim dīxit duo corpora esse reī pūblicae, ūnum dēbile īnfīrmō capite, alterum fīrmum sine capite; huic, sī ita dē sē meritum esset, caput sē vīvō nōn dēfutūrum. Congemuit senātus frequēns neque tamen satis sevērē prō reī indignitāte dēcrēvit; nam partim ideō fortēs in dēcernendō nōn erant, quia nihil timēbant, partim, quia omnia. Ērūpit ē senātū triumphāns gaudiō quem omnīnō vīvum illinc exīre nōn oportuerat, praesertim cum īdem ille in eōdem ōrdine paucīs diēbus ante Catōnī, fortissimō virō, iūdicium minitantī ac dēnūntiantī respondisset, sī quod esset in suās fortūnās incendium excitātum, id sē nōn aquā sed ruīnā restīnctūrum.

26. 52. Hīs tum rēbus commōtus et quod hominēs iam tum coniūrātōs cum gladiīs in campum dēdūcī ā Catilīnā sciēbam, dēscendī in campum cum fīrmissimō praesidiō fortissimōrum virōrum et cum illā lātā īnsignīque lōrīcā, nōn quae mē tegeret — etenim sciēbam Catilīnam nōn latus aut

ventrem sed caput et collum solēre petere — vērum ut omnēs bonī animadverterent et, cum in metū et perīculō cōnsulem vidērent, id quod est factum, ad opem praesidiumque concurrerent. Itaque cum tē, Servī, remissiōrem in petendō putārent, Catilīnam et spē et cupiditāte īnflammātum vidērent, omnēs quī illam ab rē pūblicā pestem dēpellere cupiēbant ad Mūrēnam sē statim contulērunt. 53. Magna est autem comitiīs cōnsulāribus repentīna voluntātum inclīnātiō, praesertim cum incubuit ad virum bonum et multīs aliīs adiūmentīs petītiōnis ōrnātum. Quī cum honestissimō patre atque maiōribus, modestissimā adulēscentiā, clarissimā lēgātiōne, praetūrā probātā in iūre, grātā in mūnere, ōrnātā in prōvinciā petisset dīligenter, et ita petisset ut neque minantī cēderet neque cuiquam minārētur, huic mīrandum est magnō adiūmentō Catilīnae subitam spem cōnsulātūs adipīscendī fuisse?

I must now deal with the specific charges: but first I will remark that Murena is hardly used. The time and the accusers are such as one would scarcely have looked for. Now for Cato, the prop and stay for the prosecution. I fear the weight he may carry with the jury more than the charges he can bring. You push things too far, Cato: naturally upright and strict, you have been trained into a sort of perverseness and bitterness by the Stoic principles which you have imbibed. The stiff morality of the Porch is utterly unpractical; their paradoxical dogmas break down when applied to real life. With age you may come round. Even your masters do not expect people to act fully up to their high-pitched theories. Let us to the charges. You say with truth that a decree of the Senate defines certain practices as bringing candidates under the Calpurnian law. But when you come to apply this to the case of Murena, you fail in each separate charge to prove what is the real point. You take popularity to be a proof of bribery. You are impugning, not the acts of Murena, but the usages of political life. Remember how ridiculous Tubero made himself by crossgrained application of dogmas out of season. Besides, if you must be very nice as to the moral bearing of every little thing, how

about your own canvass? You took up this prosecution, you say, for the public weal. No doubt you mean well, but you are mistaken. Mine is the side of true patriotism. Think, gentlemen of the jury, of Catiline's accomplices in the city. Do not play their game: we shall want two consuls for the new year. This is a critical time. My magistracy is drawing to its close; leave me my successor. It is, Cato, your manifest duty to help in securing for this crisis the services of such a man as Murena in the consulship. (54–83.)

54. Nunc mihi tertius ille locus est relictus ōrātiōnis, dē ambitūs crīminibus, perpūrgātus ab eīs quī ante mē dīxērunt, ā mē, quoniam ita Mūrēna voluit, retractandus; quō in locō C. Postumō, familiārī meō, ōrnātissimō virō, dē dīvīsōrum indiciīs et dē dēprehēnsīs pecūniīs, adulēscentī ingeniōsō et bonō, Ser. Sulpiciō, de equitum centuriīs, M. Catōnī, hominī in omnī virtūte excellentī, dē ipsīus accūsātiōne, dē senātūs cōnsultō, dē rē pūblicā respondēbō.

27. 55. Sed pauca quae meum animum repente movērunt prius dē L. Mūrēnae fortūnā conquerar. Nam cum saepe anteā, iūdicēs, et ex aliōrum miseriīs et ex meīs cūrīs labōribusque cotīdiānīs fortūnātōs eōs hominēs iūdicārem quī remōtī ā studiīs ambitiōnis ōtium ac tranquillitātem vītae secūtī sunt, tum vērō in hīs L. Mūrēnae tantīs tamque imprōvīsīs perīculīs ita sum animō adfectus ut nōn queam satis neque commūnem omnium nostrum condiciōnem neque huius ēventum fortūnamque miserārī. Quī prīmum, dum ex honōribus continuīs familiae maiōrumque suōrum ūnum ascendere gradum dignitātis cōnātus est, vēnit in perīculum nē et ea quae eī relicta, et haec quae ab ipsō parta sunt āmittat, deinde propter studium novae laudis etiam in veteris fortūnae discrīmen addūcitur. 56. Quae cum sunt gravia, iūdicēs, tum illud acerbissimum est quod habet eōs accūsātōrēs, nōn quī odiō inimīcitiārum ad accūsandum, sed quī studiō accūsandī ad inimīcitiās dēscenderint. Nam ut omittam Servium Sulpicium quem intellegō nōn iniūriā

L. Mūrēnae sed honōris contentiōne permōtum, accūsat paternus amīcus, C. Postumus, vetus, ut ait ipse, vīcīnus ac necessārius, quī necessitūdinis causās complūrīs prōtulit, simultātis nūllam commemorāre potuit. Accūsat Ser. Sulpicius, sodālis fīlius, cuius ingeniō paternī omnēs necessāriī mūnītiōrēs esse dēbēbant. Accūsat M. Catō quī cum ā Mūrēnā nūllā rē umquam aliēnus fuit, tum eā condiciōne nōbīs erat in hāc cīvitāte nātus ut eius opēs, ut ingenium praesidiō multīs etiam aliēnīs, exitiō vix cuiquam inimīcō esse dēbēret. 57. Respondēbō igitur Postumō prīmum quī nesciō quō pactō mihi vidētur praetorius candidātus in cōnsulārem quasi desultōrius in quadrīgārum curriculum incurrere. Cuius competītōrēs sī nihil dēlīquērunt, dignitātī eōrum concessit, cum petere dēstitit; sīn autem eōrum aliquis largītus est, expetendus amīcus est quī aliēnam potius iniūriam quam suam persequātur.

Dē Postvmī crīminibvs, dē Servī advlēscentis.

28. 58. Veniō nunc ad M. Catōnem, quod est fundāmentum ac rōbur tōtīus accūsātiōnis; quī tamen ita gravis est accūsātor et vehemēns ut multō magis eius auctōritātem quam crīminātiōnem pertimēscam. In quō ego accūsātōre, iūdicēs, prīmum illud dēprecābor nē quid L. Mūrēnae dignitās illīus, nē quid exspectātiō tribūnātūs, nē quid tōtīus vītae splendor et gravitās noceat, dēnique nē ea sōlī huic obsint bona M. Catōnis quae ille adeptus est ut multīs prōdesse possit. Bis cōnsul fuerat P. Africānus et duōs terrōrēs huius imperī, Carthāginem Numantiamque, dēlēverat cum accūsāvit L. Cottam. Erat in eō summa ēloquentia, summa fidēs, summa integritās, auctōritās tanta quanta in imperiō populī Rōmānī quod illīus operā tenēbātur. Saepe hoc maiōrēs nātū dīcere audīvī, hanc accūsātōris eximiam vim et dignitātem plūrimum L. Cottae prōfuisse. Nōluērunt sapientissimī hominēs quī

tum rem illam iūdicābant ita quemquam cadere in iūdiciō ut nimiis adversāriī vīribus abiectus vidērētur. 59. Quid? Ser. Galbam — nam trāditum memoriae est — nōnne proavō tuō, fortissimō atque flōrentissimō virō, M. Catōnī, incumbentī ad eius perniciem populus Rōmānus ēripuit? Semper in hāc cīvitāte nimis magnīs accūsātōrum opibus et populus ūniversus et sapientēs ac multum in posterum prōspicientēs iūdicēs restitērunt. Nōlō accūsātor in iūdicium potentiam adferat, nōn vim maiōrem aliquam, nōn auctōritātem excellentem, nōn nimiam grātiam. Valeant haec omnia ad salūtem innocentium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium calamitōsōrum, in perīculō vērō et in perniciē cīvium repudientur. 60. Nam sī quis hoc forte dīcet, Catōnem dēscēnsūrum ad accūsandum nōn fuisse, nisi prius dē causā iūdicāsset, inīquam lēgem, iūdicēs, et miseram condiciōnem īnstituet perīculīs hominum, sī exīstimābit iūdicium accūsātōris in reum prō aliquō praeiūdiciō valēre oportēre.

29. Ego tuum cōnsilium, Catō, propter singulāre animī meī dē tuā virtūte iūdicium vituperāre nōn possum; nōn nūlla forsitan cōnfōrmāre et leviter ēmendāre possim. 'Nōn multa peccās,' inquit ille fortissimō virō senior magister, 'sed peccās; tē regere possum.' At ego nōn tē; vērissimē dīxerim peccāre tē nihil neque ūllā in rē tē esse huius modī ut corrigendus potius quam leviter īnflectendus esse videāre. Fīnxit enim tē ipsa nātūra ad honestātem, gravitātem, temperantiam, magnitūdinem animī, iūstitiam, ad omnīs dēnique virtūtēs magnum hominem et excelsum. Accessit istūc doctrīna nōn moderāta nec mītis sed, ut mihi vidētur, paulō asperior et dūrior quam aut vēritās aut nātūra patitur. 61. Et quoniam nōn est nōbīs haec ōrātiō habenda aut in imperītā multitūdine aut in aliquō conventū agrestium, audācius paulō dē studiīs hūmānitātis quae et mihi et vōbīs nota et iūcunda sunt disputābō. In M. Catōne, iūdicēs,

haec bona quae vidēmus dīvīna et ēgregia ipsīus scītōte esse propria; quae nōn numquam requīrimus, ea sunt omnia nōn ā nātūrā vērum ā magistrō. Fuit enim quīdam summō ingeniō vir, Zeno, cuius inventōrum aemulī Stōicī nōminantur. Huius sententiae sunt et praecepta eius modī. Sapientem grātiā numquam movērī, numquam cuiusquam dēlictō īgnōscere; nēminem misericordem esse nisi stultum et levem; virī nōn esse neque exōrārī neque plācārī; sōlōs sapientēs esse, sī distortissimī sint, formōsōs, sī mendīcissimī, dīvitēs, sī servitūtem serviant, rēgēs; nōs autem quī sapientēs nōn sumus fugitīvōs, exsulēs, hostīs, īnsānōs dēnique esse dīcunt; omnia peccāta esse paria; omne dēlictum scelus esse nefārium, nec minus dēlinquere eum quī gallum gallīnāceum, cum opus nōn fuerit, quam eum quī patrem suffōcāverit; sapientem nihil opīnārī, nūllīus reī paenitēre, nūllā in rē fallī, sententiam mūtāre numquam.

30. 62. Hoc homō ingeniōsissimus, M. Catō, auctōribus ērudītissimīs inductus adripuit, neque disputandī causā, ut magna pars, sed ita vīvendī. Petunt aliquid pūblicānī; cavē nē quicquam habeat mōmentī grātia. Supplicēs aliquī veniunt miserī et calamitōsī; scelerātus et nefārius fueris, sī quicquam misericordiā adductus fēceris. Fatētur aliquis sē peccāsse et suī dēlictī veniam petit; 'nefārium est facinus īgnōscere.' At leve dēlictum est. 'Omnia peccāta sunt paria.' Dīxistī quippiam: 'fīxum et statūtum est.' Nōn rē ductus es sed opīniōne; 'sapiēns nihil opīnātur.' Errāstī aliquā in rē; male dīcī putat. Hāc ex disciplīnā nōbīs illa sunt: 'Dīxī in senātū mē nōmen cōnsulāris candidātī dēlātūrum.' Īrātus dīxistī. 'Numquam' inquit 'sapiēns īrāscitur.' At temporis causā. 'Improbī' inquit 'hominis est mendāciō fallere; mūtāre sententiam turpe est, exōrārī scelus, miserērī flāgitium.' 63. Nostrī

autem illī — fatēbor enim, Catō, mē quoque in adulēscentiā diffīsum ingeniō meō quaesisse adiūmenta doctrīnae — nostrī, inquam, illī ā Platōne et Aristotele, moderātī hominēs et temperātī, aiunt apud sapientem valēre aliquandō grātiam; virī bonī esse miserērī; dīstincta genera esse dēlictōrum et disparīs poenās; esse apud hominem cōnstantem īgnōscendī locum; ipsum sapientem saepe aliquid opīnārī quod nesciat, īrāscī nōn numquam, exōrārī eundem et plācārī, quod dixerit interdum, sī ita rēctius sit, mūtāre, dē sententiā dēcēdere aliquandō; omnīs virtūtēs mediocritāte quādam esse moderātās.

31. 64. Hōs ad magistrōs sī qua tē fortūna, Catō, cum istā nātūrā dētulisset, nōn tū quidem vir melior essēs nec fortior nec temperantior nec iūstior — neque enim esse potes — sed paulō ad lēnitātem prōpēnsior. Nōn accūsārēs nūllīs adductus inimīcitiīs, nūllā lacessītus iniūriā, pudentissimum hominem summā dignitāte atque honestāte praeditum; putārēs, cum in eiusdem annī cūstōdiā tē atque L. Mūrēnam fortūna posuisset, aliquō tē cum hōc reī pūblicae vinculō esse coniūnctum; quod atrōciter in senātū dīxistī, aut nōn dīxissēs aut, sī potuissēs, mītiōrem in partem interpretārēre. 65. Ac tē ipsum, quantum ego opīniōne auguror, nunc et animī quōdam impetū concitātum et vī nātūrae atque ingenī ēlātum et recentibus praeceptōrum studiīs flagrantem iam ūsus flectet, diēs lēniet, aetās mītigābit. Etenim istī ipsī mihi videntur vestrī praeceptōrēs et virtūtis magistrī fīnīs officiōrum paulō longius quam nātūra vellet prōtulisse ut, cum ad ultimum animō contendissēmus, ibi tamen ubi oportēret cōnsisterēmus. 'Nihil īgnōveris.' Immō aliquid, nōn omnia. 'Nihil grātiae causā fēceris.' Immō resistitō grātiae, cum officium et fidēs postulābit. 'Misericordiā commōtus nē sīs.' Etiam, in dissolvendā sevēritāte; sed tamen est laus aliqua hūmā-

nitātis. 'In sententiā permanētō.' 66. Vērō, nisi sententiam sententia alia vīcerit melior. Huiusce modī Scipiō ille fuit quem nōn paenitēbat facere idem quod tū, habēre ērudītissimum hominem Panaetium domī; cuius ōrātiōne et praeceptīs, quamquam erant eadem ista quae tē dēlectant, tamen asperior nōn est factus sed, ut accēpī ā senibus, lēnissimus. Quis vērō C. Laeliō comior fuit, quis iūcundior eōdem ex studiō istō, quis illō gravior, sapientior? Possum dē L. Philō, dē C. Gallō dīcere haec eadem, sed tē domum iam dēdūcam tuam. Quemquamne exīstimās Catōne, proavō tuō, commodiōrem, commūniōrem, moderātiōrem fuisse ad omnem ratiōnem hūmānitātis? Dē cuius praestantī virtūte cum vērē graviterque dīcerēs, domesticum tē habēre dīxistī exemplum ad imitandum. Est illud quidem exemplum tibi prōpositum domī, sed tamen nātūrae similitūdō illīus ad tē magis quī ab illō ortus es quam ad ūnum quemque nostrum pervenīre potuit, ad imitandum vērō tam mihi prōpositum exemplar illud est quam tibi. Sed sī illīus cōmitātem et facilitātem tuae gravitātī sevēritātīque asperseris, nōn ista quidem erunt meliōra, quae nunc sunt optima, sed certē condīta iūcundius.

32. 67. Quā rē, ut ad id quod īnstituī revertar, tolle mihi ē causā nōmen Catōnis, removē vim, praetermitte auctōritātem quae in iūdiciīs aut nihil valēre aut ad salūtem dēbet valēre, congredere mēcum crīminibus ipsīs. Quid accūsās, Catō, quid adfers ad iūdicium, quid arguis? Ambitum accūsās; nōn dēfendō. Mē reprehendis, quod idem dēfendam quod lēge pūnierim. Pūnīvī ambitum, nōn innocentiam; ambitum vērō ipsum vel tēcum accūsābō, sī volēs. Dīxistī senātūs cōnsultum mē referente esse factum, sī mercēde obviam candidātīs īssent, sī conductī sectārentur, sī gladiātōribus volgō locus tribūtim et item prandia sī volgō essent data, contrā lēgem Calpurniam factum vidērī.

Ergō ita senātus iūdicat, contrā lēgem facta haec vidērī, sī facta sint; dēcernit quod nihil opus est, dum candidātīs mōrem gerit. Nam factum sit necne vehementer quaeritur; sīn factum sit, quīn contrā lēgem sit dubitāre nēmō potest. 68. Est igitur rīdiculum, quod est dubium, id relinquere incertum, quod nēminī dubium potest esse, id iūdicāre. Atque id dēcernitur omnibus postulantibus candidātīs, ut ex senātūs cōnsultō neque cuius intersit, neque contrā quem sit intellegī possit. Quā rē docē ab L. Mūrēnā illa esse commissa; tum egomet tibi contrā lēgem commissa esse concēdam.

33. 'Multī obviam prodiērunt dē prōvinciā dēcēdentī.' Cōnsulātum petentī solet fierī; eccui autem nōn prōditur revertentī? 'Quae fuit ista multitūdō?' Prīmum, sī tibi istam ratiōnem nōn possim reddere, quid habet admīrātiōnis tālī virō advenientī, candidātō cōnsulārī, obviam prōdīsse multōs? quod nisi esset factum, magis mīrandum vidērētur. 69. Quid? sī etiam illud addam quod ā cōnsuētūdine nōn abhorret, rogātōs esse multōs, num aut crīminōsum sit aut mīrandum, quā in cīvitāte rogātī īnfimōrum hominum fīliōs prope dē nocte ex ultimā saepe urbe dēductum venīre soleāmus, in eā nōn esse gravātōs hominēs prōdīre hōrā tertiā in campum Martium praesertim tālis virī nōmine rogātōs? Quid? sī omnēs societātēs vēnērunt quārum ex numerō multī sedent iūdicēs; quid? sī multī hominēs nostrī ōrdinis honestissimī; quid? sī illa officiōsissima quae nēminem patitur nōn honestē in urbem introīre tōta nātiō candidātōrum, sī dēnique ipse accūsātor noster Postumus obviam cum bene magnā catervā suā venit, quid habet ista multitūdō admīrātiōnis? Omittō clientīs, vīcīnōs, tribūlīs, exercitum tōtum Lūcullī quī ad triumphum per eōs diēs vēnerat; hoc dicō, frequentiam in istō officiō grātuitam nōn modo dignitātī nūllīus umquam sed nē voluntātī

quidem dēfuisse. 70. At sectābantur multī. Docē mercēde; concēdam esse crīmen.

34. Hōc quidem remōtō quid reprēndis? 'Quid opus est' inquit 'sectātōribus?' Ā mē tū id quaeris, quid opus sit eō quō semper ūsī sumus? Hominēs tenuēs ūnum habent in nostrum ōrdinem aut prōmerendī aut referendī beneficī locum, hanc in nostrīs petītiōnibus operam atque adsectātiōnem. Neque enim fierī potest neque postulandum est ā nōbīs aut ab equitibus Rōmānīs ut suōs necessāriōs candidātōs adsectentur tōtōs diēs; ā quibus sī domus nostra celebrātur, sī interdum ad forum dēdūcimur, sī ūnō basilicae spatiō honestāmur, dīligenter observārī vidēmur et colī; tenuiōrum amīcōrum et nōn occupātōrum est ista adsiduitās, quōrum cōpia bonīs virīs et beneficīs deesse nōn solet. 71. Nōlī igitur ēripere hunc īnferiōrī generī hominum frūctum officī, Catō; sine eōs quī omnia ā nōbīs spērant habēre ipsōs quoque aliquid quod nōbīs tribuere possint. Sī nihil erit praeter ipsōrum suffrāgium, tenuēs, etsī suffrāgantur, nīl valent grātiā. Ipsī dēnique, ut solent loquī, nōn dīcere prō nōbīs, nōn spondēre, nōn vocāre domum suam possunt. Atque haec ā nōbīs petunt omnia neque ullā rē aliā quae ā nōbīs cōnsequuntur nisi operā suā compēnsārī putant posse. Itaque et lēgī Fabiae quae est dē numerō sectātōrum, et senātūs cōnsultō quod est L. Caesare cōnsule factum restitērunt. Nūlla est enim poena quae possit observantiam tenuiōrum ab hōc vetere īnstitūtō officiōrum exclūdere. 72. At spectācula sunt tribūtim data et ad prandium volgō vocātī. Etsī hoc factum ā Mūrēna omnīnō, iūdicēs, nōn est, ab eius amīcīs autem mōre et modō factum est, tamen admonitus rē ipsā recordor quantum hae conquestiōnēs in senātū habitae pūnctōrum nōbīs, Servī, dētrāxerint. Quod enim tempus fuit aut nostrā aut patrum nostrōrum memoriā quō haec

sive ambitiō est sīve liberālitās nōn fuerit ut locus et in circō et in forō darētur amīcīs et tribūlibus? Haec hominēs tenuiōrēs praemia commodaque ā suīs tribūlibus vetere īnstitūtō adsequēbantur * * *

[*Deest nōn nihil.*]

35. 73. Praefectum fabrum semel locum tribūlibus suīs dedisse, quid statuent in virōs prīmāriōs quī in circō tōtās tabernās tribūlium causā comparārunt? Haec omnia sectātōrum, spectāculōrum, prandiōrum item crīmina ā multitūdine in tuam nimiam dīligentiam, Servī, coniecta sunt, in quibus tamen Mūrēna ab senātūs auctōritāte dēfenditur. Quid enim? senātus num obviam prōdīre crīmen putat? Nōn, sed mercēde. Convince. Num sectārī multōs? Nōn, sed conductōs. Docē. Num locum ad spectandum dare aut ad prandium invītāre? Minimē, sed volgō, passim Quid est volgō? Vniversōs. Nōn igitur, sī L. Natta, summō locō adulēscēns, quī et quō animō iam sit et quālis vir futūrus sit vidēmus, in equitum centuriīs voluit esse et ad hoc officium necessitūdinis et ad reliquum tempus grātiōsus, id erit eius vitricō fraudī aut crīminī, nec, sī virgō Vestālis, huius propinqua et necessāria, locum suum gladiātōrium concessit huic, nōn et illa piē fēcit et hīc ā culpā est remōtus. Omnia haec sunt officia necessāriōrum, commoda tenuiōrum, mūnia candidātōrum.

74. At enim agit mēcum austērē et Stōicē Catō, negat vērum esse adlicī benevolentiam cibō, negat iūdicium hominum in magistrātibus mandandīs corrumpī voluptātibus oportēre. Ergō, ad cēnam petītiōnis causā sī quis vocat, condemnētur? 'Quippe' inquit 'tū mihi summum imperium, tū summam auctōritātem, tū gubernācula reī pūblicae petās fovendīs hominum sēnsibus et dēlēniendīs animīs et adhibendīs voluptātibus? Vtrum lēnōcinium' inquit 'ā

grēge dēlicātae iuventūtis, an orbis terrārum imperium ā populō Rōmānō petēbās?' Horribilis ōrātiō; sed eam ūsus, vīta, mōrēs, cīvitās ipsa respuit. Neque tamen Lacedaemoniī, auctōrēs istīus vītae atque ōrātiōnis, quī cotīdiānīs epulīs in rōbore accumbunt, neque vērō Crētēs quōrum nēmō gustāvit umquam cubāns, melius quam Rōmānī hominēs quī tempora voluptātis labōrisque dispertiunt rēs pūblicās suās retinuērunt; quōrum alterī ūnō adventū nostrī exercitūs dēlētī sunt, alterī nostrī imperī praesidiō disciplīnam suam lēgēsque cōnservant.

36. 75. Quā rē nōlī, Catō, maiōrum īnstitūta quae rēs ipsa, quae diūturnitās imperī comprobat nimium sevērā ōrātiōne reprehendere. Fuit eōdem ex studiō vir ērudītus apud patrēs nostrōs et honestus homō et nōbilis, Q. Tūberō. Is, cum epulum Q. Maximus P. Āfricānī, patruī suī, nōmine populō Rōmānō daret, rogātus est ā Maximō ut trīclīnium sterneret, cum esset Tūberō eiusdem Āfricānī sorōris fīlius. Atque ille, homō ērudītissimus ac Stōicus, strāvit pelliculīs haedīnīs lectulōs Pūnicānōs et exposuit vāsa Samia, quasi vērō esset Diogenēs Cynicus mortuus et nōn dīvīnī hominis Āfricānī mors honestārētur; quem cum suprēmō eius diē Maximus laudāret, grātiās ēgit dīs immortālibus quod ille vir in hāc rē pūblicā potissimum nātus esset; necesse enim fuisse ibi esse terrārum imperium ubi ille esset. Huius in morte celebrandā graviter tulit populus Rōmānus hanc perversam sapientiam Tūberōnis, 76 itaque homō integerrimus, cīvis optimus, cum esset L. Paulī nepōs, P. Āfricānī, ut dīxī, sorōris fīlius, hīs haedīnīs pelliculīs praetūrā dēiectus est. Ōdit populus Rōmānus prīvātam luxūriam, pūblicam magnificentiam dīligit; nōn amat prōfūsās epulās, sordīs et inhūmānitātem multō minus; dīstinguit ratiōnem officiōrum ac temporum, vicissitūdinem labōris ac voluptātis. Nam quod ais nūllā

rē adlicī hominum mentīs oportēre ad magistrātum mandandum nisi dignitāte, hoc tū ipse in quō summa est dignitās nōn servās. Cūr enim quemquam ut studeat tibi, ut tē adiuvet rogās? Rogās tū mē ut mihi praesīs, ut commit-
5 tam ego mē tibi. Quid tandem? istūc mē rogārī oportet abs tē, an tē potius ā mē ut prō meā salūte labōrem perīculumque suscipiās? 77. Quid quod habēs nōmenclātōrem? in eō quidem fallis et dēcipis. Nam, sī nōmine appellārī abs tē cīvīs tuōs honestum est, turpe est eōs nōtiōrēs esse
10 servō tuō quam tibi. Sīn iam nōris, tamenne per monitōrem appellandī sunt cum petis, quasi incertus sīs? Quid quod, cum admonēris, tamen, quasi tūtē nōris, ita salūtās? Quid, posteā quam es dēsignātus, multō salūtās neglegentius? Haec omnia ad ratiōnem cīvitātis sī dērigās, rēcta sunt; sīn
15 perpendere ad disciplīnae praecepta velīs, reperiantur prāvissima. Quā rē nec plēbī Rōmānae ēripiendī frūctūs istī sunt lūdōrum, gladiātōrum, convīviōrum, quae omnia maiōrēs nostrī comparāvērunt, nec candidātīs ista benignitās adimenda est quae līberālitātem magis sīgnificat quam largītiōnem.
20 37. 78. At enim tē ad accūsandum rēs pūblica addūxit. Crēdō, Catō, tē istō animō atque eā opīniōne vēnisse; sed tū imprūdentiā lāberis. Ego quod faciō, iūdicēs, cum amīcitiae dignitātisque L. Mūrēnae grātiā faciō, tum mē pācis, ōtī, concordiae, lībertātis, salūtis, vītae dēnique omnium
25 nostrum causā facere clāmō atque testor. Audīte, audīte cōnsulem, iūdicēs, nihil dīcam adrogantius, tantum dīcam tōtōs diēs atque noctēs dē rē pūblicā cōgitantem! Nōn usque eō L. Catilīna rem pūblicam dēspēxit atque contempsit ut eā cōpiā quam sēcum ēdūxit sē hanc cīvitātem oppres-
30 sūrum arbitrārētur. Lātius patet illīus sceleris contāgiō quam quisquam putat, ad plūrīs pertinet. Intus, intus, inquam, est equus Trōiānus; ā quō numquam mē cōnsule dormientēs opprimēminī. 79. Quaeris ā mē ecquid ego

Catilīnam metuam. Nihil, et cūrāvī nē quis metueret, sed cōpiās illius quās hīc videō dīcō esse metuendās; nec tam timendus est nunc exercitus L. Catilīnae quam istī quī illum exercitum dēseruisse dīcuntur. Nōn enim dēseruērunt sed ab illō in speculīs atque īnsidiīs relictī in capite atque in cervicibus nostrīs restitērunt. Hī et integrum cōnsulem et bonum imperātōrem et nātūrā et fortūnā cum reī pūblicae salūte coniūnctum dēicī dē urbis praesidiō et dē cūstōdiā cīvitātis vestrīs sententiīs dēturbārī volunt. Quōrum ego ferrum et audāciam rēiēcī in campō, dēbilitāvī in forō, compressī etiam domī meae saepe, iūdicēs, hīs vōs sī alterum cōnsulem trādideritis, plūs multō erunt vestrīs sententiīs quam suīs gladiīs cōnsecūtī. Magnī interest, iūdicēs, id quod ego multīs repugnantibus ēgī atque perfēcī, esse Kalendīs Iānuāriīs in rē pūblicā duo cōnsulēs. 80. Nōlīte arbitrārī, mediocribus cōnsiliīs aut ūsitātīs viīs eōs ūtī. Nōn lēx improba, nōn perniciōsa largītiō, nōn audītum aliquandō aliquod malum reī pūblicae quaeritur. Inita sunt in hāc cīvitāte cōnsilia, iūdicēs, urbis dēlendae, cīvium trucīdandōrum, nōminis Rōmānī exstinguendī. Atque haec cīvēs, cīvēs, inquam, sī eōs hōc nomine appellārī fās est, dē patriā suā et cōgitant et cōgitāvērunt. Hōrum ego cotīdiē cōnsiliīs occurrō, audāciam dēbilitō, scelerī resistō. Sed moneō, iūdicēs. In exitū iam est meus cōnsulātus; nōlīte mihi subtrahere vicārium meae dīligentiae, nōlīte adimere eum cui rem pūblicam cupiō trādere incolumem ab hīs tantīs perīculīs dēfendendam.

38. 81. Atque ad haec mala, iūdicēs, quid accēdat aliud nōn vidētis? Tē, tē appellō, Catō; nōnne prōspicis tempestātem annī tuī? Iam enim in hesternā cōntiōne intonuit vōx perniciōsa dēsignātī tribūnī, conlēgae tuī; contrā quem multum tua mēns, multum omnēs bonī prōvidērunt quī tē ad tribūnātūs petītiōnem vocāvērunt. Omnia quae per hoc triennium agitāta sunt, iam ab eō tempore quō ā L. Cati-

līnā et Cn. Pīsōne initum cōnsilium senātūs interficiendī scītis esse, in hōs diēs, in hōs mēnsīs, in hoc tempus ērumpunt. 82. Quī locus est, iūdicēs, quod tempus, quī diēs, quae nox cum ego nōn ex istōrum īnsidiīs ac mūcrōnibus nōn sōlum meō sed multō etiam magis dīvīnō cōnsiliō ēripiar atque ēvolem? Neque istī mē meō nōmine interficī sed vigilantem cōnsulem dē reī pūblicae praesidiō dēmovērī volunt. Nec minus vellent, Catō, tē quoque aliquā ratiōne, sī possent, tollere; id quod, mihi crēde, et agunt et mōliuntur. Vident quantum in tē sit animī, quantum ingenī, quantum auctōritātis, quantum reī pūblicae praesidī; sed, cum cōnsulārī auctōritāte et auxiliō spoliātam vim tribūnīciam vīderint, tum sē facilius inermem et dēbilitātum tē oppressūrōs arbitrantur. Nam nē sufficiātur cōnsul nōn timent. Vident in tuōrum potestāte conlēgārum fore; spērant sibi D. Sīlānum, clārum virum, sine conlēgā, tē sine cōnsule, rem pūblicam sine praesidiō obicī posse. 83. Hīs tantīs in rebus tantīsque in perīculīs est tuum, M. Catō, quī mihi nōn tibi, sed patriae nātus esse vidēris, vidēre quid agātur, retinēre adiūtōrem, dēfēnsōrem, socium in rē pūblicā, cōnsulem nōn cupidum, cōnsulem, quod maximē tempus hoc postulat, fortūnā cōnstitūtum ad amplexandum ōtium, scientiā ad bellum gerendum, animō et ūsū ad quod velīs negōtium sustinendum.

Peroratio

Gentlemen, all rests on you. Surely you will not play Catiline's game for him; take away our next year's consul, and the state is lost. In the name of our country, on behalf of Murena, I appeal alike to your patriotism and your mercy for an acquittal. Do this, and I can assure you that in so doing you will have done what is for the best. (83–90.)

39. Quamquam huiusce reī potestās omnis in vōbīs sita est, iūdicēs; tōtam rem pūblicam vōs in hāc causā tenētis,

vōs gubernātis. Sī L. Catilīna cum suō cōnsiliō nefāriōrum hominum quōs sēcum ēdūxit hāc dē rē posset iūdicāre, condemnāret L. Mūrēnam, sī interficere posset, occideret. Petunt enim ratiōnēs illīus ut orbētur auxiliō rēs pūblica, ut minuātur contrā suum furōrem imperātōrum cōpia, ut maior facultās tribūnīs plēbis dētur dēpulsō adversāriō sēditiōnis ac discordiae concitandae. Idemne igitur dēlēctī ex amplissimīs ōrdinibus honestissimī atque sapientissimī virī iūdicābunt quod ille importūnissimus gladiātor, hostis reī pūblicae iūdicāret? 84. Mihi crēdite, iūdicēs, in hāc causā nōn sōlum dē L. Mūrēnae vērum etiam dē vestrā salūte sententiam ferētis. In discrīmen extrēmum vēnimus; nihil est iam unde nōs reficiāmus aut ubi lāpsī resistāmus. Nōn sōlum minuenda nōn sunt auxilia quae habēmus sed etiam nova, sī fierī possit, comparanda. Hostis est enim nōn apud Aniēnem, quod bellō Pūnicō gravissimum vīsum est, sed in urbe, in forō — dī immortālēs! sine gemitū hoc dīcī nōn potest — nōn nēmō etiam in illō sacrāriō reī pūblicae, in ipsā, inquam, cūriā nōn nēmō hostis est. Dī faxint ut meus conlēga, vir fortissimus, hoc Catilīnae nefārium latrōcinium armātus opprimat! ego togātus vōbīs bonīsque omnibus adiūtōribus hoc quod conceptum rēs pūblica perīculum parturit cōnsiliō discutiam et comprimam. 85. Sed quid tandem fiet, sī haec ēlāpsa dē manibus nostrīs in eum annum quī cōnsequitur redundārint? Vnus erit cōnsul, et is nōn in administrandō bellō sed in sufficiendō conlēgā occupātus. Hunc iam quī impeditūrī sint * * * illa pestis immānis importūna Catilīnae prōrumpet, quā po * * * minātur; in agrōs suburbānōs repente advolābit; versābitur in urbe furor, in cūriā timor, in forō coniūrātiō, in campō exercitus, in agrīs vāstitās; omnī autem in sede ac locō ferrum flammamque metuēmus. Quae iam diū comparantur, eadem ista omnia, sī ōrnāta suīs praesidiīs erit

rēs pūblica, facile et magistrātuum cōnsiliīs et prīvātōrum dīligentiā comprimentur.

40. 86. Quae cum ita sint, iūdicēs, prīmum rei pūblicae causā, quā nūlla rēs cuiquam potior dēbet esse, vōs prō meā summā et vōbīs cōgnitā in rē pūblicā dīligentiā moneō, prō auctōritāte cōnsulārī hortor, prō magnitūdine perīculī obtestor, ut ōtiō, ut pācī, ut salūtī, ut vītae vestrae et cēterōrum cīvium cōnsulātis; deinde ego īdem et dēfēnsōris et amīcī officiō adductus ōrō atque obsecrō, iūdicēs, ut nē hominis miserī et cum corporis morbō tum animī dolōre cōnfectī, L. Mūrēnae, recentem grātulātiōnem novā lāmentātiōne obruātis. Modo maximō beneficiō populī Rōmānī ōrnātus fortūnātus vidēbātur, quod prīmus in familiam veterem, prīmus in mūnicipium antīquissimum cōnsulātum attulisset; nunc īdem in squālōre et sordibus, cōnfectus morbō, lacrimīs ac maerōre perditus vester est supplex, iūdicēs, vestram fidem obtestātur, vestram misericordiam implōrat, vestram potestātem ac vestrās opēs intuētur. 87. Nōlīte, per deōs immortālīs! iūdicēs, hāc eum cum rē quā sē honestiōrem fore putāvit etiam cēterīs ante partīs honestātibus atque omnī dignitāte fortūnāque prīvāre. Atque ita vōs L. Murēna, iūdicēs, ōrat atque obsecrat, sī iniūstē nēminem laesit, sī nūllīus aurīs voluntātemve violāvit, sī nēminī, ut levissimē dīcam, odiō nec domī nec mīlitiae fuit, sit apud vōs modestiae locus, sit dēmissīs hominibus perfugium, sit auxilium pudōrī. Misericordiam spoliātiō cōnsulātūs magnam habēre dēbet, iūdicēs; ūnā enim ēripiuntur cum cōnsulātū omnia; invidiam vērō hīs temporibus habēre cōnsulātus ipse nūllam potest; obicitur enim cōntiōnibus sēditiōsōrum, īnsidiīs coniūrātōrum, tēlīs Catilīnae, ad omne dēnique perīculum atque ad omnem iniūriam sōlus oppōnitur. 88. Quā rē quid invidendum Mūrēnae aut cuiquam nostrum sit in hōc praeclārō cōn-

sulātū nōn videō, iūdicēs; quae vērō miseranda sunt, ea et mihi ante oculōs versantur et vōs vidēre et perspicere potestis.

41. Sī, quod Iuppiter ōmen āvertat! hunc vestrīs sententiīs adflixeritis, quō sē miser vertet? domumne? ut eam imāginem clārissimī virī, parentis suī, quam paucīs ante diēbus laureātam in suā grātulātiōne cōnspexit, eandem dēfōrmātam īgnōminiā lūgentemque videat? An ad mātrem quae misera modo cōnsulem ōsculāta fīlium suum nunc cruciātur et sollicita est nē eundem paulō post spoliātum omnī dignitāte cōnspiciat? 89. Sed quid eius mātrem aut domum appellō quem nova poena lēgis et domō et parente et omnium suōrum cōnsuētūdine cōnspectūque prīvat? Ībit igitur in exsilium miser? Quō? ad Orientisne partīs in quibus annōs multōs lēgātus fuit, exercitūs dūxit, rēs maximās gessit? At habet magnum dolōrem, unde cum honōre dēcesseris, eōdem cum īgnōminiā revertī. An sē in contrāriam partem terrārum abdet, ut Gallia Trānsalpīna, quem nūper summō cum imperiō libentissimē viderit, eundem lūgentem, maerentem, exsulem videat? In eā porrō prōvinciā quō animō C. Mūrēnam frātrem suum aspiciet? Quī huius dolor, quī illīus maeror erit, quae utrīusque lāmentātiō, quanta autem perturbātiō fortūnae atque sermōnis, cum, quibus in locīs paucīs ante diēbus factum esse cōnsulem Mūrēnam nūntiī litteraeque celebrāssent et unde hospitēs atque amīcī grātulātum Rōmam concurrerent, repente exstiterit ipse nūntius suae calamitātis! 90. Quae sī acerba, sī misera, sī lūctuōsa sunt, sī aliēnissima ā mānsuētūdine et misericordiā vestrā, iūdicēs, cōnservāte populī Rōmānī beneficium, reddite reī pūblicae cōnsulem, date hoc ipsīus pudōrī, date patrī mortuō, date generī et familiae, date etiam Lānuviō, mūnicipiō honestissimō, quod in hāc tōtā causā frequēns maestumque vīdistis.

Nōlīte ā sacrīs patriīs Iūnōnis Sospitae, cui omnīs cōnsulēs facere necesse est, domesticum et suum cōnsulem potissimum āvellere. Quem ego vōbīs, sī quid habet aut mōmentī commendātiō aut auctōritātis cōnfīrmātiō mea, cōnsul cōnsulem, iūdicēs, ita commendō ut cupidissimum ōtī, studiōsissimum bonōrum, ācerrimum contrā sēditiōnem, fortissimum in bellō, inimīcissimum huic coniūrātiōnī quae nunc rem pūblicam labefactat futūrum esse prōmittam et spondeam.

PRO T. ANNIO MILONE ORATIO

IN DEFENSE OF T. ANNIUS MILO (52 B.C.)

Introduction

This oration is the consequence of a long personal and political contest. Cicero made many enemies in defeating the conspiracy of Catiline. Clodius became the instrument for the evil designs of Cicero's enemies. He belonged to the *gens Claudia*, which had furnished a long line of generals and statesmen. His parents were Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 76, and Caecilia Metella. Left an orphan at the age of sixteen, he grew up without restraint. In him the indomitable energy of the *Claudii* was joined with the unscrupulous corruption of the age. While lieutenant of his brother-in-law, Lucullus, in the Mithridatic War, he had profited by the situation to stir up sedition.

In December, 62, the mysteries of the Bona Dea, a festival for women only, were held in the dwelling of Julius Caesar, *pontifex maximus*. Clodius secreted himself in the house in order to meet Pompeia, Caesar's wife. He lost his way in trying to reach Pompeia, was discovered, and driven out. The story caused a sensation and was used by the enemies of Clodius, who cried profanation, and by the enemies of Caesar, who wished to compromise him. Caesar divorced Pompeia, and the democratic party espoused the cause of Clodius. The matter became purely political, and Clodius was tried and acquitted.

Until the trial of Clodius there had been no ill-feeling between Clodius and Cicero. Clodius supported Cicero in the troubles with Catilinarians. The rupture between them has been attributed to the suggestion of Terentia, who had become jealous of Clodius'

sister, Clodia, whom she suspected of wishing to take Cicero from her. More likely is the explanation that asperities arising in the senate or in the forum gradually estranged them.

The absence of Clodius as quaestor in Sicily led to a truce between him and Cicero. Clodius had not abandoned his hate. By a subterfuge he entered the ranks of the Plebeians, and thus became eligible to the tribuneship. Cicero prevented his election, but in 59 Cicero's imprudence opened the way for his enemy. Cicero had incurred the hostility of the triumvirs by openly deploring the condition of the state.

Clodius became tribune in December, 59. By gratuities and the restriction of the *collegia* he won over the populace. With the connivance of the consuls, Gabinius and Piso, he presented a law interdicting from fire and water any one who had caused the death of a citizen without trial. This was aimed at Cicero, who left Rome in April, 58.

The departure of Cicero was followed by a decree of banishment, and Clodius gave full rein to his vengeance. Cicero's house on the Palatine was razed and his family persecuted. It was not until Clodius ran foul of Pompey through having, without Pompey's consent, liberated the son of Tigranes, that the triumvirs realized what a monster they had unchained. The story of his conduct toward Pompey and Caesar in the months following Cicero's banishment can hardly be believed.

Early in 57 the question of Cicero's recall was before the senate. A riot arranged by Clodius filled the forum with victims and prevented the assembly of the senate which was to vote upon the recall.

Titus Annius Milo of Lanuvium, a man of whose origin and previous political history we know nothing, threw himself across the path of Clodius. Unable to conquer Clodius by legitimate means, he organized a band of gladiators. Street fights ensued, the result of which gave Milo such influence as to enable him to force the recall of Cicero in August, 57.

Clodius was beaten but not disarmed. He continued to harass Cicero. By laying to his charge the hard times from which Rome

was suffering, Clodius arrayed the people against him. He even resorted to violence to prevent the return to Cicero of his confiscated property. His gladiators dispersed the workmen who, by order of the senate, were rebuilding Cicero's house on the Palatine. He set fire to the house of Q. Cicero and actually attacked Cicero himself in the street.

Milo, meanwhile, was active also. He brought action against Clodius *de vi*. When Clodius sought to become curule aedile, Milo kept back the elections. They renewed their combats, and Milo's house was besieged. Cicero, as shown by his letters (*ad Att.* 4, 3, 5), expected a fatal result of the strife.

At the beginning of 56 the tribuneship of Milo had expired, and Clodius had become aedile. Clodius was not slow to take advantage of this change of affairs, and accused Milo *de vi*. Milo was cited before the *comitia tributa*. Three citations were necessary, and Clodius let the case drop before the third citation, because he feared that Milo might not be condemned.

Clodius and Milo now fenced for a while. Sestius, the tribune, who had labored for the recall of Cicero, was brought into court. Then violence began again. Clodius persuaded the people that the gods resented the erection of Cicero's house on ground consecrated to liberty. Cicero and Milo removed the tables from the Capitol, which contained the records of Clodius' tribuneship. Clodius replaced the tables.

Near the close of 56 there was a truce. Cicero began to regain the position in Rome which he had held before his exile. Clodius, reconciled to Caesar and Pompey, was busy in the politics of the triumvirate. He sought by well-timed riots to retard the consular comitia and bring in Pompey and Crassus as consuls. During 55 Clodius was absent from Rome. In 54 he returned to accuse Procilius, who had opposed the candidacy of Pompey and Crassus.

In 53 Clodius was a candidate for the praetorship and Milo for the consulship of the following year. With his enemy in the consulship Clodius would be balked in all his whims. Therefore he

opposed Milo, who was supported by the senate. Clodius attacked Milo in the senate, stigmatizing his conduct, public and private, and showing the enormous extent of his debts. He declared that Milo would have to rob the state to free himself of debt. But Cicero blocked Clodius in the senate, and he returned to his ordinary method — that of the street riot. Pompey winked at the violence because anarchy promised the need of a dictator. There was no chance to hold elections during the early months of 52.

A crisis had come. On the 18th of January, 52, near Bovillae on the Appian road, about twelve miles from Rome, Clodius and Milo met. Their attendants got into a dispute, a quarrel followed, and then a battle. The encounter was a chance one, but it was not chance that caused the death of Clodius. Wounded in the encounter, he was taken to an inn in Bovillae. Here, by Milo's orders, he was put to death.

Milo hesitated to return to Rome. In fact, he did not return until the senate house had been burned and the house of Lepidus, the interrex, attacked. He hoped to profit by the public indignation roused by the excess of the Clodians, to obtain a prompt acquittal. He spent money profusely and corrupted Caelius Rufus, a tribune. Caelius held an investigation and Milo defended himself. The affair was broken up by the old followers of Clodius, who proceeded to renew the former disorders.

The preliminaries to the trial of Milo were long and tedious. Consuls had to be elected. Pompey was jealous of Caesar, and was prepared for the struggle that would come when Caesar's government of Gaul should end. Pompey must be dictator to be in a position to defy Caesar. The case of Milo enabled him to force the hand of the senate. The senate dodged the issue by making the interrex and the tribunes guardians of the peace.

Pompey, failing to get the dictatorship, did not push the trial of Milo. For more than a month nothing was done by the parties of Clodius and Milo beyond mutual accusations of responsibility for the murder. Each party examined the slaves who might know the circumstances.

Pompey had a report spread about that Milo was threatening him personally, and shut himself up in an asylum. Finally, on the fifth day before the Kalends of March, Bibulus and Cato moved in the senate that the interrex name Pompey consul without a colleague. All was now action. Pompey immediately submitted to the senate two laws (*de vi* and *de ambitu*). The tribunal was to be a special commission drawn from a list of three hundred jurors, whom Pompey should commission. The president (*quaesitor*) was to be a consular elected by the comitia. Five days was set as a limit to the trial, the number of the advocates was limited, the duration of the speeches was reduced, *laudatores* were not admitted, and the right of challenge was circumscribed. The penalty was set at banishment for life. Just what Pompey's motives were in proposing these two laws is not known. Perhaps he meant to put a stop to the violence that was injuring Rome. In effect his measures led to the undoing of Milo. Milo and Milo's friends believed, or feigned to believe, that Pompey was actuated by animosity toward Milo.

In the senate Pompey's measures had a hard road. Hortensius preferred to accept that part of Pompey's communication which declared the murder of Clodius and the ensuing violence to be dangerous to the security of the state, and to reject the second part relating to the procedure. He preferred as a substitute that the authors of the murder should be prosecuted under existing laws and ordinary forms, except that the matter was to be taken up *extra ordinem*. When the senate was about to assent to this, a division of the motion was proposed. The first part carried, but the second could not be voted upon because of the tribune's veto. Pompey considered that his purpose, by implication, had been adopted. He pretended to be in bodily fear of Milo. The senate was badgered into yielding, and the laws were promulgated.

The comitia designated L. Domitius Ahenobarbus as *quaesitor* to preside over the trial *de vi*. Three accusations stood against Milo: *de vi*, *de ambitu*, and *de sodaliciis*. Answer was to be made on April 4, and by final arrangement only the charge *de vi* was to

be tried on this date. On April 4 the question at issue was that of the submission of slaves to torture. Milo had freed his slaves, but the slaves of Clodius, whom the accuser chose, were interrogated. On the 5th, 6th, and 7th additional testimony was taken. Pleadings took place on the 8th of April, Cicero alone pleading for Milo, who was condemned by a vote of 38 to 13. Milo went into exile at Marseilles. He returned to Italy in 56 as an opponent of Caesar, and perished by a blow from a stone before Cosa, near Thurium.

Exordium

There is something intimidating in the military display that is in view. Still, there is no reason for disquiet. Pompey has simply taken precautionary measures to assure the independence of the court. The public in general is in favor of the accused. The judges are impartial.

1. 1. Etsī vereor, iūdicēs, nē turpe sit prō fortissimō virō dīcere incipientem timēre minimēque deceat, cum T. Annius ipse magis dē reī pūblicae salūte quam dē suā perturbētur, mē ad eius causam parem animī magnitūdinem adferre nōn posse, tamen haec novī iūdicī nova fōrma terret oculōs, quī quōcumque incidērunt, veterem cōnsuētūdinem forī et prīstinum mōrem iūdiciōrum requīrunt. Nōn enim corōnā cōnsessus vester cīnctus est, ut solēbat; nōn ūsitātā frequentiā stīpātī sumus; 2. nōn illa praesidia, quae prō templīs omnibus cernitis, etsī contrā vim conlocāta sunt, nōn adferunt tamen ōrātiōnī terrōris aliquid, ut in forō et in iūdiciō, quamquam praesidiīs salūtāribus et necessāriīs saeptī sumus, tamen nē nōn timēre quidem sine aliquō timōre possīmus. Quae sī opposita Milōnī putārem, cēderem temporī, iūdicēs, nec enim inter tantam vim armōrum existimārem esse ōrātōrī locum. Sed mē recreat et reficit Cn. Pompēī, sapientissimī et iūstissimī virī, cōnsilium, quī profectō nec iūstitiae suae putāret esse, quem reum sententiīs iūdicum trādidisset, eundem tēlīs mīlitum dēdere, nec

sapientiae temeritātem concitātae multitūdinis auctōritāte pūblicā armāre. 3. Quam ob rem illa arma, centuriōnēs, cohortēs nōn perīculum nōbīs, sed praesidium dēnūntiant, neque sōlum ut quiētō, sed etiam ut magnō animō sīmus hortantur, nec auxilium modo dēfēnsiōnī meae, vērum etiam silentium pollicentur. Reliqua vērō multitūdō, quae quidem est cīvium, tōta nostra est, neque eōrum quisquam, quōs undique intuentīs, unde aliqua forī pars aspicī potest, et huius exitum iūdicī exspectantīs vidētis, nōn cum virtūtī Milōnis favet, tum dē sē, dē līberīs suīs, dē patriā, dē fortūnīs hodiernō diē dēcertārī putat.

2. Ūnum genus est adversum infēstumque nōbīs eōrum, quōs P. Clōdī furor rapīnīs et incendiīs et omnibus exitiīs pūblicīs pāvit; quī hesternā etiam cōntiōne incitātī sunt, ut vōbīs vōce praeīrent quid iūdicārētis. Quōrum clāmor sī quī forte fuerit, admonēre vōs dēbēbit, ut eum cīvem retineātis, quī semper genus illud hominum clāmōrēsque maximōs prae vestrā salūte neglēxit. 4. Quam ob rem adeste animīs, iūdicēs, et timōrem, sī quem habētis, dēpōnite. Nam sī umquam dē bonīs et fortibus virīs, sī umquam dē bene meritīs cīvibus potestās vōbīs iūdicandī fuit, sī dēnique umquam locus amplissimōrum ōrdinum dēlēctīs virīs datus est, ut sua studia ergā fortīs et bonōs cīvīs, quae voltū et verbīs saepe sīgnificāssent, rē et sententiīs dēclārārent, hōc profectō tempore eam potestātem omnem vōs habētis, ut statuātis utrum nōs, quī semper vestrae auctōritātī dēditī fuimus, semper miserī lūgeāmus an diū vexātī ā perditissimīs cīvibus aliquandō per vōs ac per vestram fidem, virtūtem sapientiamque recreēmur. 5. Quid enim nōbīs duōbus, iūdicēs, labōriōsius, quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum dīcī aut fingī potest, quī spē amplissimōrum praemiōrum ad rem pūblicam adductī metū crūdēlissimōrum suppliciōrum carēre nōn possumus? Equidem cēterās tem-

pestātēs et procellās in illīs dumtaxat flūctibus cōntiōnum semper putāvī Milōnī esse subeundās, quia semper prō bonīs contrā improbōs sēnserat, in iūdiciō vērō et in eō cōnsiliō, in quō ex cūnctīs ōrdinibus amplissimī virī iūdicārent, numquam exīstimāvī spem ūllam esse habitūrōs Milōnis inimīcōs ad eius nōn modo salūtem exstinguendam, sed etiam glōriam per tālīs virōs īnfringendam. 6. Quamquam in hāc causā iūdicēs T. Annī tribūnātū rēbusque omnibus prō salūte reī pūblicae gestīs ad huius crīminis dēfēnsiōnem nōn abūtēmur. Nisi oculīs vīderitis īnsidiās Milōnī ā Clōdiō esse factās, nec dēprecātūrī sumus, ut crīmen hoc nōbīs propter multa praeclāra in rem pūblicam merita condōnētis, nec postulātūrī ut, quia mors P. Clōdī salūs vestra fuerit, idcircō eam virtūtī Milōnis potius quam populī Rōmānī fēlīcitātī adsīgnētis. Sīn illīus īnsidiae clāriōrēs hāc lūce fuerint, tum dēnique obsecrābō obtestāborque vōs, iūdicēs, sī cētera āmīsimus, hoc nōbīs saltem ut relinquātur, vītam ab inimīcōrum audāciā tēlīsque ut impūne liceat dēfendere.

Refutatio Praeiudiciorum

There may exist prejudices that condemn Milo in advance: first, because he avows his crime, which puts him without the law; second, because the senate, by a senatus consultum, *declares the murder of the Appian road to be an attempt against the safety of the state; and, third, because the purport of Pompey's law directly regards Milo. These assertions must be annihilated, and it must be shown that the case stands unprejudiced. For this reason the advocate defers his* narratio *until after a preliminary* refutatio. *He shows: first, that voluntary homicide may be justifiable* (7–11); *second, that the senate has not pronounced against Milo* (12–14); *third, that neither the law of Pompey nor the extraordinary provisions of that law indicate an acceptance of Milo's guilt* (15–22).

3. 7. Sed ante quam ad eam ōrātiōnem veniō, quae est propria vestrae quaestiōnis, videntur ea mihi esse refūtanda,

quae et in senātū ab inimīcīs saepe iactāta sunt et in cōntiōne ab improbīs et paulō ante ab accūsātōribus, ut omnī errōre sublātō rem plānē, quae veniat in iūdicium, vidēre possītis. Negant intuērī lūcem esse fās eī, quī ā sē hominem occīsum fateātur. In quā tandem urbe hoc hominēs stultissimī disputant? Nempe in eā, quae prīmum iūdicium dē capite vīdit M. Horātī, fortissimī virī, quī nōndum līberā cīvitāte tamen populī Rōmānī comitiīs līberātus est, cum suā manū sorōrem esse interfectam fatērētur. 8. An est quisquam quī hoc īgnōret, cum dē homine occīsō quaerātur, aut negārī solēre omnīnō esse factum aut rēctē et iūre factum esse dēfendī? Nisi vērō exīstimātis dēmentem P. Āfricānum fuisse, quī cum ā C. Carbōne tribūnō plēbis sēditiōsē in cōntiōne interrogārētur quid dē Ti. Gracchī morte sentīret, responderit iūre caesum vidērī. Neque enim posset aut Ahāla ille Servīlius aut P. Nāsīca aut L. Opīmius aut C. Marius aut mē cōnsule senātus nōn nefārius habērī, sī scelerātōs cīvīs interficī nefās esset. Itaque hoc, iūdicēs, nōn sine causā etiam fictīs fābulīs doctissimī hominēs memoriae prōdidērunt, eum, quī patris ulcīscendī causā mātrem necāvisset, variātīs hominum sententiīs nōn sōlum dīvīnā, sed etiam sapientissimae deae sententiā līberātum. 9. Quod sī duodecim tabulae nocturnum fūrem quōquō modō, diurnum autem, sī sē tēlō dēfenderet, interficī impūne voluērunt, quis est quī, quōquō modō quis interfectus sit, pūniendum putet, cum videat aliquandō gladium nōbīs ad hominem occīdendum ab ipsīs porrigī lēgibus?

4. Atquī, sī tempus est ūllum iūre hominis necandī, quae multa sunt, certē illud est nōn modo iūstum, vērum etiam necessārium, cum vī vīs inlāta dēfenditur. Pudīcitiam cum ēriperet mīlitī tribūnus mīlitāris in exercitū C. Marī, propinquus eius imperātōris, interfectus ab eō est, cui vim

adferēbat; facere enim probus adulēscēns perīculōsē quam perpetī turpiter māluit. Atque hunc ille summus vir scelere solūtum perīculō līberāvit. 10. Īnsidiātōrī vērō et latrōnī quae potest īnferrī iniūsta nex? Quid comitātūs nostrī, quid gladiī volunt? quōs habēre certē nōn licēret, sī ūtī illīs nūllō pactō licēret. Est igitur haec, iūdicēs, nōn scrīpta, sed nātā lēx, quam nōn didicimus, accēpimus, lēgimus, vērum ex nātūrā ipsā adripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam nōn doctī, sed factī, nōn īnstitūtī, sed imbūtī sumus, ut, sī vīta nostra in aliquās īnsidiās, sī in vim et in tēla aut latrōnum aut inimīcōrum incidisset, omnis honesta ratiō esset expediendae salūtis. 11. Silent enim lēgēs inter arma nec sē exspectārī iubent, cum eī, quī exspectāre velit, ante iniūsta poena luenda sit quam iūsta repetenda. Etsī persapienter et quōdam modō tacitē dat ipsa lēx potestātem dēfendendī, quae nōn hominem occīdī, sed esse cum tēlō hominis occīdendī causā vetat, ut, cum causa, nōn tēlum quaererētur, quī suī dēfendendī causā tēlō esset ūsus, nōn hominis occīdendī causā habuisse tēlum iūdicārētur. Quāpropter hoc maneat in causā, iūdicēs; nōn enim dubitō quīn probātūrus sim vōbīs dēfēnsiōnem meam, sī id memineritis, quod oblīvīscī nōn potestis, īnsidiātōrem interficī iūre posse.

5. 12. Sequitur illud, quod ā Milōnis inimīcīs saepissimē dīcitur, caedem, in quā P. Clōdius occīsus esset, senātum iūdicāsse contrā rem pūblicam esse factam. Illam vērō senātus nōn sententiīs suīs sōlum, sed etiam studiīs comprobāvit. Quotiēns enim est illa causa ā nōbīs ācta in senātū, quibus adsēnsiōnibus ūniversī ōrdinis, quam nec tacitīs nec occultīs! Quandō enim frequentissimō senātū quattuor aut summum quīnque sunt inventī quī Milōnis causam nōn probārent? Dēclārant huius ambūstī tribūnī plēbis illae intermortuae cōntiōnēs, quibus cotīdiē meam potentiam

FIG. 24. The Via Appia. (Photograph.)

invidiōsē crīminābātur, cum dīceret senātum nōn quod sentīret, sed quod ego vellem dēcernere. Quae quidem sī potentia est appellanda potius quam propter magna in rem pūblicam merita mediocris in bonīs causīs auctōritās aut propter hōs officiōsōs labōrēs meōs nōn nūlla apud bonōs grātia, appellētur ita sānē, dum modo eā nōs ūtāmur prō salūte bonōrum contrā āmentiam perditōrum. 13. Hanc vērō quaestiōnem, etsī nōn est inīqua, numquam tamen senātus cōnstituendam putāvit; erant enim lēgēs, erant quaestiōnēs vel dē caede vel dē vī, nec tantum maerōrem ac lūctum senātuī mors P. Clōdī adferēbat, ut nova quaestiō cōnstituerētur. Cuius enim dē illō incestō stuprō iūdicium dēcernendī senātuī potestās esset ērepta, dē ēius interitū quis potest crēdere senātum iūdicium novum cōnstituendum putāsse? Cūr igitur incendium cūriae, oppugnātiōnem aedium M. Lepidī, caedem hanc ipsam contrā rem pūblicam senātus factam esse dēcrēvit? Quia nūlla vīs umquam est in līberā cīvitāte suscepta inter cīvīs nōn contrā rem pūblicam 14. — nōn enim est ulla dēfēnsiō contrā vim umquam optanda, sed nōn numquam est necessāria, — nisi vērō aut ille diēs, quō Ti. Gracchus est caesus, aut ille, quō Gāius, aut arma Sāturnīnī, nōn, etiam sī ē rē pūblicā oppressa sunt, rem pūblicam tamen volnerārunt.

6. Itaque ego ipse dēcrēvī, cum caedem in viā Appiā factam esse cōnstāret, nōn eum, quī sē dēfendisset, contrā rem pūblicam fēcisse, sed, cum inesset in rē vīs et īnsidiae, crīmen iūdiciō reservāvī, rem notāvī. Quod sī per furiōsum illum tr. pl. senatuī quod sentiēbat perficere licuisset, novam quaestiōnem nūllam habērēmus. Dēcernēbat enim, ut veteribus lēgibus, tantum modo extrā ōrdinem, quaererētur. Dīvīsa sententia est postulante nescio quō — nihil enim necesse est omnium mē flāgitia prōferre — sīc reliqua auctōritās senātūs ēmptā intercessiōne sublāta est. 15. At

enim Cn. Pompēius rogātiōne suā et dē rē et dē causā iūdicāvit: tulit enim dē caede, quae in Appiā viā facta esset, in quā P. Clōdius occīsus esset. Quid ergō tulit? Nempe ut quaererētur. Quid porrō quaerendum est? factumne sit? At cōnstat. Ā quō? At pāret. Vīdit igitur etiam in cōnfessiōne factī, iūris tamen dēfēnsiōnem suscipī posse. Quod nisi vīdisset, posse absolvī eum, quī fatērētur, cum vidēret nōs fatērī neque quaerī umquam iussisset nec vōbīs tam hanc salūtārem in iūdicandō litteram quam illam trīstem dedisset. Mihi vērō Cn. Pompēius nōn modo nihil gravius contrā Milōnem iūdicāsse, sed etiam statuisse vidētur quid vōs in iūdicandō spectāre oportēret. Nam quī nōn poenam cōnfessiōnī, sed dēfēnsiōnem dedit, is causam interitūs quaerendam, nōn interitum putāvit. 16. Iam illud ipse dīcet profectō, quod suā sponte fēcit, Pūbliōne Clōdiō tribuendum putārit an temporī.

7. Domī suae nōbilissimus vir, senātūs prōpugnātor atque illīs quidem temporibus paene patrōnus, avunculus huius iūdicis nostrī fortissimī virī, M. Catōnis, tribūnus plēbis M. Drūsus occīsus est. Nihil dē eius morte populus cōnsultus est, nūlla quaestiō dēcrēta ā senātū est. Quantum lūctum fuisse in hāc urbe ā nostrīs patribus accēpimus, cum P. Āfricānō domī suae quiēscentī illa nocturna vīs esset inlāta? Quis tum nōn ingemuit, quis nōn ārsit dolōre, quem immortālem, sī fierī posset, omnēs esse cuperent, eius nē necessāriam quidem exspectātam esse mortem? Num igitur ūlla quaestiō dē Āfricānī morte lāta est? Certē nūlla. Quid ita? 17. Quia nōn aliō facinore clārī hominēs, aliō obscūrī necantur. Intersit inter vītae dignitātem summōrum atque īnfimōrum; mors quidem inlāta per scelus īsdem et poenīs teneātur et lēgibus. Nisi forte magis erit parricīda, sī quī cōnsulārem patrem quam sī quis humilem necārit, aut eō mors atrōcior erit P. Clōdī, quod is in monu-

mentīs maiōrum suōrum sit interfectus — hoc enim ab istīs saepe dīcitur —, proinde quasi Appius ille Caecus viam mūnierit, nōn quā populus ūterētur, sed ubi impūne suī posterī latrōcinārentur! 18. Itaque in eādem istā Appiā cum ōrnātissimum equitem Rōmānum P. Clōdius M. Papīrium occīdisset, nōn fuit illud facinus pūniendum — homō enim nōbilis in suīs monumentīs equitem Rōmānum occīderat — nunc eiusdem Appiae nōmen quantās tragoediās excitat! Quae cruentāta anteā caede honestī atque innocentis virī silēbātur, eadem nunc crēbrō ūsūrpātur, posteā quam latrōnis et parricīdae sanguine imbūta est. Sed quid ego illa commemorō? Comprehēnsus est in templō Castoris servus P. Clōdī, quem ille ad Cn. Pompēium interficiendum conlocārat. Extorta est eī cōnfitentī sīca dē manibus. Caruit forō posteā Pompēius, caruit senātū, caruit pūblicō; iānuā sē ac parietibus, nōn iūre lēgum iūdiciōrumque tēxit. 19. Num quae rogātiō lāta, num quae nova quaestiō dēcrēta est? Atquī sī rēs, sī vir, sī tempus ūllum dignum fuit, certē haec in illā causā summa omnia fuērunt. Īnsidiātor erat in forō conlocātus atque in vestibulō ipsō senātus; eī virō autem mors parābātur, cuius in vītā nītēbātur salūs cīvitātis; eō porrō reī pūblicae tempore, quō, sī ūnus ille occidisset, nōn haec sōlum cīvitās, sed gentēs omnēs concidissent. Nisi vērō, quia perfecta rēs nōn est, nōn fuit pūnienda, proinde quasi exitūs rērum, nōn hominum cōnsilia lēgibus vindicentur. Minus dolendum fuit rē nōn perfectā, sed pūniendum certē nihilō minus. 20. Quotiēns ego ipse, iūdicēs, ex P. Clōdī tēlīs et ex cruentīs eius manibus effūgī! ex quibus sī mē nōn vel mea vel reī pūblicae fortūna servāsset, quis tandem dē interitū meō quaestiōnem tulisset?

8. Sed stultī sumus quī Drūsum, quī Āfricānum, Pompēium, nōsmet ipsōs cum P. Clōdiō cōnferre audeāmus. Tolerābilia fuērunt illa: P. Clōdī mortem aequō animō ferre

nēmō potest. Lūget senātus, maeret equester ōrdō, tōta cīvitās cōnfecta seniō est, squālent mūnicipia, adflictantur colōniae agrī dēnique ipsī tam beneficum, tam salūtārem, tam mānsuētum cīvem dēsīderant. 21. Nōn fuit ea causa, iūdicēs, profectō, nōn fuit, cūr sibi cēnsēret Pompēius quaestiōnem ferendam, sed homō sapiēns atque altā et dīvīnā quādam mente praeditus multa vīdit: fuisse illum sibi inimīcum, familiārem Milōnem; in commūnī omnium laetitiā sī etiam ipse gaudēret, timuit nē vidērētur īnfirmior fidēs reconciliātae grātiae. Multa etiam alia vīdit, sed illud maximē, quamvīs atrōciter ipse tulisset, vōs tamen fortiter iūdicātūrōs. Itaque dēlēgit ex flōrentissimīs ōrdinibus ipsa lūmina, neque vērō, quod nōn nūllī dictitant, sēcrēvit in iūdicibus legendīs amīcōs meōs. Neque enim hoc cōgitāvit vir iūstissimus, neque in bonīs virīs legendīs id adsequī potuisset, etiam sī cupīsset. Nōn enim mea grātia familiāritātibus continētur, quae lātē patēre nōn possunt, propterea quod cōnsuētūdinēs victūs nōn possunt esse cum multīs; sed, sī quid possumus, ex eō possumus quod rēs pūblica nōs coniūnxit cum bonīs. Ex quibus ille cum optimōs virōs legeret idque maximē ad fidem suam pertinēre arbitrārētur, nōn potuit legere nōn studiōsōs meī. 22. Quod vērō tē, L. Domitī, huic quaestiōnī praeesse maximē voluit, nihil quaesīvit aliud nisi iūstitiam, gravitātem, hūmānitātem, fidem. Tulit ut cōnsulārem necesse esset: crēdō, quod prīncipum mūnus esse dūcēbat resistere et levitātī multitūdinis et perditōrum temeritātī. Ex cōnsulāribus tē creāvit potissimum: dederās enim quam contemnerēs populārīs īnsāniās iam ab adulēscentiā documenta maxima.

Narratio

In the narratio *is contained* "*the case itself and all the scheme of the discussion*" (ipsa causa et omnis ratio controversiae). *By giv-*

ing a shrewdly natural turn to the narration, Cicero reënforces what he has already said to show that the ambush was the plan of Clodius and not of Milo. He depicts the man who is in no haste, who prepares no evil deed. Borrowing everyday terms and avoiding an appearance of artifice, he throws the jury off their guard. (23–31.)

9. 23. Quam ob rem, iūdicēs, ut aliquandō ad causam crīmenque veniāmus, sī neque omnis cōnfessiō facti est inūsitāta, neque dē causā nostrā quicquam aliter ac nōs vellēmus ā senātū iūdicātum est, et lātor ipse lēgis cum esset contrōversia nūlla factī, iūris tamen disceptātiōnem esse voluit et eī lēctī iūdicēs isque praepositus est quaestiōnī, quī haec iūstē sapienterque disceptet, reliquum est, iūdicēs, ut nihil iam quaerere aliud dēbeātis nisi uter utrī īnsidiās fēcerit. Quod quō facilius argūmentīs perspicere possītis, rem gestam vōbīs dum breviter expōnō, quaesō, dīligenter attendite.

24. P. Clōdius cum statuisset omnī scelere in praetūrā vexāre rem pūblicam vidēretque ita trācta esse comitia annō superiōre, ut nōn multōs mēnsīs praetūram gerere posset, quī nōn honōris gradum spectāret, ut cēterī, sed et L. Paulum conlēgam effugere vellet, singulārī virtūte cīvem, et annum integrum ad dīlacerandam rem pūblicam quaereret, subitō reliquit annum suum sēsēque in proximum trānstulit, nōn, ut fit, religiōne aliquā, sed ut habēret, quod ipse dīcēbat, ad praetūram gerendam, hoc est, ad ēvertendam rem pūblicam, plēnum annum atque integrum. 25. Occurrēbat eī mancam ac dēbilem praetūram futūram suam cōnsule Milōne; eum porrō summō cōnsēnsū populī Rōmānī cōnsulem fierī vidēbat. Contulit sē ad eius competītōrēs, sed ita, tōtam ut petītiōnem ipse sōlus etiam invītīs illīs gubernāret, tōta ut comitia suīs, ut dictitābat, umerīs sustinēret. Convocābat tribūs, sē interpōnēbat, Collīnam novam dīlēctū perditissimōrum cīvium cōnscrībēbat. Quantō ille

plūra miscēbat, tantō hīc magis in diēs convalēscēbat. Ubi vīdit homō ad omne facinus parātissimus fortissimum virum, inimīcissimum suum, certissimum cōnsulem, idque intellēxit nōn sōlum sermōnibus, sed etiam suffrāgiīs populī Rōmānī saepe esse dēclārātum, palam agere coepit et apertē dīcere occīdendum Milōnem. 26. Servōs agrestīs et barbarōs, quibus silvās pūblicās dēpopulātus erat Etrūriamque vexārat, ex Appenninō dēdūxerat, quōs vidēbātis. Rēs erat minimē obscūra. Etenim dictitābat palam cōnsulātum Milōnī ēripī nōn posse, vītam posse. Sīgnificāvit hoc saepe in senātū, dixit in cōntiōne; quīn etiam M. Favōniō, fortissimō virō, quaerentī ex eō quā spē fureret Milōne vīvō, respondit trīduō illum aut summum quadrīduō esse peritūrum; quam vōcem eius ad hunc M. Catōnem statim Favōnius dētulit.

10. 27. Interim cum scīret Clōdius — neque enim erat difficile scīre — iter sollemne, lēgitimum, necessārium ante diem XIII Kalendās Februāriās Milōnī esse Lānuvium ad flāminem prōdendum, Rōmā subitō ipse profectus prīdiē est, ut ante suum fundum, quod rē intellēctum est, Milōnī īnsidiās conlocāret; atque ita profectus est, ut cōntiōnem turbulentam, in quā eius furor dēsīderātus est, relinqueret, quam nisi obīre facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, numquam relīquisset. 28. Milō autem cum in senātū fuisset eō diē, quoad senātus est dīmissus, domum vēnit, calceōs et vestīmenta mūtāvit, paulisper, dum sē uxor, ut fit, comparat, commorātus est, dein profectus id temporis, cum iam Clōdius, sī quidem eō diē Rōmam ventūrus erat, redīre potuisset. Obviam fit eī Clōdius, expedītus, in equō, nūllā raedā, nūllīs impedīmentīs, nūllīs Graecīs comitibus, ut solēbat, sine uxōre, quod numquam ferē: cum hīc īnsidiātor, quī iter illud ad caedem faciendam apparāsset, cum uxōre vehērētur in raedā, paenulātus, magnō et impedītō et muliebrī

ac dēlicātō ancillārum puerōrumque comitātū. 29. Fit obviam Clōdiō ante fundum eius hōrā ferē ūndecimā aut nōn multō secus. Statim complūrēs cum tēlīs in hunc faciunt dē locō superiōre impetum ; adversī raedārium occīdunt. Cum autem hīc dē raedā rēiectā paenulā dēsiluisset sēque ācrī animō dēfenderet, illī, quī erant cum Clōdiō, gladiīs ēductīs, partim recurrere ad raedam, ut ā tergō Milōnem adorīrentur, partim, quod hunc iam interfectum

FIG. 25. Roman Shoes.

putārent, caedere incipiunt eius servōs, quī post erant; ex quibus qui animō fidēlī in dominum et praesentī fuērunt, partim occīsī sunt, partim, cum ad raedam pugnārī vidērent, dominō succurrere prohibērentur, Milōnem occīsum et ex ipsō Clōdiō audīrent et rē vērā putārent, fēcērunt id servī Milōnis — dīcam enim apertē nōn dērīvandī crīminis causā, sed ut factum est — nec imperante nec sciente nec praesente dominō, quod suōs quisque servōs in tālī rē facere voluisset.

11. 30. Haec, sīcutī exposuī, ita gesta sunt, iūdicēs: īnsidiātor superātus est, vī victa vīs vel potius oppressa virtūte audācia est. Nihil dīcō quid rēs pūblica cōnsecūta sit, nihil quid vōs, nihil quid omnēs bonī: nihil sānē id prōsit Milōnī, quī hōc fātō nātus est, ut nē sē quidem servāre potuerit quīn ūnā rem pūblicam vōsque servāret. Sī id

iūre fierī nōn potuit, nihil habeō quod dēfendam. Sīn hoc et ratiō doctīs et necessitās barbarīs et mōs gentibus et ferīs nātūra ipsa praescrīpsit, ut omnem semper vim, quācumque ope possent, ā corpore, ā capite, ā vītā suā prōpulsārent, nōn potestis hoc facinus improbum iūdicāre quīn simul iūdicētis omnibus, quī in latrōnēs inciderint, aut illōrum tēlīs aut vestrīs sententiīs esse pereundum. 31. Quod sī ita putāsset, certē optābilius Milōnī fuit dare iugulum P. Clōdiō, nōn semel ab illō neque tum prīmum petītum, quam iugulārī ā vōbīs, quia sē nōn iugulandum illī trādidisset. Sīn hoc nēmō vestrum ita sentit, illud iam in iūdicium venit, nōn occīsusne sit, quod fatēmur, sed iūre an iniūriā, quod multīs in causīs saepe quaesītum est. Īnsidiās factās esse cōnstat, et id est, quod senātus contrā rem pūblicam factum iūdicavit; ab utrō factae sint incertum est. Dē hōc igitur lātum est ut quaererētur. Ita et senātus rem, nōn hominem notāvit et Pompēius dē iūre, nōn dē factō quaestiōnem tulit.

12. Num quid igitur aliud in iūdicium venit nisi uter utrī īnsidiās fēcerit? Profectō nihil: sī hīc illī, ut nē sit impūne; sī ille huic, tum nōs scelere solvāmur.

Tractatio

A. *pars absoluta, de causa.* (32–71.)

1. *Clodius had every reason to wish Milo out of the way.* (32–33.)

32. Quōnam igitur pactō probārī potest īnsidiās Milōnī fēcisse Clōdium? Satis est in illā quidem tam audācī, tam nefāriā bēluā docēre, magnam eī causam, magnam spem in Milōnis morte prōpositam, magnās ūtilitātēs fuisse. Itaque illud Cassiānum, 'cui bonō fuerit,' in hīs persōnīs valeat, etsī bonī nūllō ēmolumentō impelluntur in fraudem, improbī saepe parvō. Atquī Milōne interfectō Clōdius haec adsequēbātur, nōn modo ut praetor esset nōn eō cōnsule, quō sceleris facere nihil posset, sed etiam ut eīs cōnsulibus prae-

tor esset, quibus sī nōn adiuvantibus, at cōnīventibus certē spērāret sē posse ēlūdere in illīs suīs cōgitātīs furōribus: cuius illī cōnātūs, ut ipse ratiōcinābātur, nec cuperent reprimere, sī possent, cum tantum beneficium eī sē dēbēre arbitrārentur, et, sī vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis scelerātissimī conrōborātam iam vetustāte audāciam.

33. An vērō, iūdicēs, vōs sōlī īgnōrātis, vōs hospitēs in hāc urbe versāminī, vestrae peregrīnantur aurēs neque in hōc pervagātō cīvitātis sermōne versantur, quās ille lēgēs, sī lēgēs nōminandae sunt ac nōn facēs urbis, pestēs reī pūblicae, fuerit impositūrus nōbīs omnibus atque inūstūrus? Exhibē, exhibē, quaesō, Sexte Clōdī, librārium illud lēgum vestrārum, quod tē aiunt ēripuisse ē domō et ex mediīs armīs turbāque nocturnā tamquam Palladium sustulisse, ut praeclārum vidēlicet mūnus atque īnstrūmentum tribūnātūs ad aliquem, sī nactus essēs, quī tuō arbitriō tribūnātum gereret, dēferre possēs. Et aspēxit mē illīs quidem oculīs, quibus tum solēbat, cum omnibus omnia minābātur. Movet mē quippe lūmen cūriae.

13. Quid? tū mē tibi īrātum, Sexte, putās, cuius tū inimīcissimum multō crūdēlius etiam pūnītus es, quam erat hūmānitātis meae postulāre? Tū P. Clōdī cruentum cadāver ēiēcistī domō, tū in pūblicum abiēcistī, tū spoliātum imāginibus, exsequiīs, pompā, laudātione, īnfēlīcissimīs lignīs sēmiūstilātum nocturnīs canibus dilaniandum relīquistī. Quā rē, etsī nefāriē fēcistī, tamen, quoniam in meō inimīcō crūdēlitātem exprōmpsistī tuam, laudāre nōn possum, īrāscī certē nōn dēbeō.

2. *Milo would not be benefited by the death of Clodius.* (34.)

34. Audīstis, iūdicēs, quantum Clōdī interfuerit occīdī Milōnem: convertite animōs nunc vicissim ad Milōnem. Quid Milōnis intererat interficī Clōdium? quid erat cūr

Milō nōn dīcam admitteret, sed optāret? 'Obstābat in spē cōnsulātūs Milōnī Clōdius.' At eō repugnante fiēbat, immō vērō eō fiēbat, magis, nec mē suffrāgātōre meliōre ūtēbātur quam Clōdiō. Valēbat apud vōs, iūdicēs, Milōnis ergā mē remque pūblicam meritōrum memoria, valēbant precēs et lacrimae nostrae, quibus ego tum vōs mīrificē movērī sentiēbam, sed plūs multō valēbat perīculōrum impendentium timor. Quis enim erat cīvium quī sibi solūtam P. Clōdī praetūram sine maximō rērum novārum metū prōpōneret? Solūtam autem fore vidēbātis, nisi esset is cōnsul, quī eam audēret possetque cōnstringere. Eum Milōnem ūnum esse cum sentīret ūniversus populus Rōmānus, quis dubitāret suffrāgiō suō sē metū, perīculō rem pūblicam līberāre? At nunc, Clōdiō remōtō, ūsitātīs iam rēbus ēnītendum est Milōnī, ut tueātur dignitātem suam; singulāris illa et huic ūnī concessa glōria, quae cotīdiē augēbātur frangendīs furōribus Clōdiānīs, iam Clōdī morte cecidit. Vōs adeptī estis, nē quem cīvem metuerētis; hīc exercitātiōnem virtūtis, suffrāgātiōnem cōnsulātūs, fontem perennem glōriae suae perdidit. Itaque Milōnis cōnsulātus, quī vīvō Clōdiō labefactārī nōn poterat, mortuō dēnique temptārī coeptus est. Nōn modo igitur nihil prōdest, sed obest etiam Clōdī mors Milōnī.

3. *Milo had no cause to hate Clodius; Clodius had every reason for hating Milo.* (35.)

35. 'At valuit odium, fēcit īrātus, fēcit inimīcus, fuit ultor iniūriae, pūnītor dolōris suī.' Quid? sī haec nōn dicō maiōra fuērunt in Clōdiō quam in Milōne, sed in illō maxima, nūlla in hōc, quid voltis amplius? Quid enim ōdisset Clōdium Milō, segetem ac māteriam suae glōriae, praeter hoc cīvīle odium, quō omnīs improbōs ōdimus? Ille erat ut ōdisset prīmum dēfēnsōrem salūtis meae, deinde vexātōrem furōris, domitōrem armōrum suōrum, postrēmō

etiam accūsātōrem suum. Quō tandem animō hoc tyrannum illum tulisse crēditis? quantum odium illīus et in homine iniūstō quam etiam iūstum fuisse?

4. *Consider the conduct of the accused and the accuser. Clodius' life has been one of violence. Milo has employed violence only when the laws have failed. Milo has let slip all chances to kill Clodius. Milo killed Clodius just when he had no interest in doing so.* (36–43.)

14. 36. Reliquum est ut iam illum nātūra ipsīus cōnsuētūdōque dēfendat, hunc autem haec eadem coarguant. 'Nihil per vim umquam Clōdius, omnia per vim Milō.' Quid? ego, iūdicēs, cum maerentibus vōbīs urbe cessī, iūdiciumne timuī, nōn servōs, nōn arma, nōn vim? Quae fuisset igitur iūsta causa restituendī meī, nisi fuisset iniūsta ēiciendī? Diem mihi, crēdō, dīxerat, multam inrogārat, āctiōnem perduelliōnis intenderat, et mihi vidēlicet in causā aut malā aut meā, nōn et praeclārissimā et vestrā, iūdicium timendum fuit. Servōrum et egentium et facinorōsōrum armīs meōs cīvīs, meīs cōnsiliīs perīculīsque servātōs, prō mē obicī nōluī. 37. Vīdī enim, vidī hunc ipsum Q. Hortēnsium, lūmen et ōrnāmentum reī pūblicae, paene interficī servōrum manū, cum mihi adesset; quā in turbā C. Vibiēnus senātor, vir optimus, cum hōc cum esset ūnā, ita est mulcātus, ut vītam āmīserit. Itaque quandō illīus posteā sīca illa, quam ā Catilīnā accēperat, conquiēvit? Haec intenta nōbīs est, huic ego vōs obicī prō mē nōn sum passus, haec īnsidiāta Pompēiō est, haec viam Appiam, monumentum suī nōminis, nece Papīrī cruentāvit, haec eadem longō intervāllō conversa rūrsus est in mē; nūper quidem, ut scītis, mē ad rēgiam paene cōnfēcit. 38. Quid simile Milōnis? cuius vīs omnis haec semper fuit, nē P. Clōdius, cum in iūdicium dētrahī nōn posset, vī oppressam cīvitātem tenēret. Quem sī interficere voluisset, quantae quotiēns

occāsiōnēs, quam praeclārae fuērunt! Potuitne, cum domum ac deōs penātīs suōs illō oppugnante dēfenderet, iūre

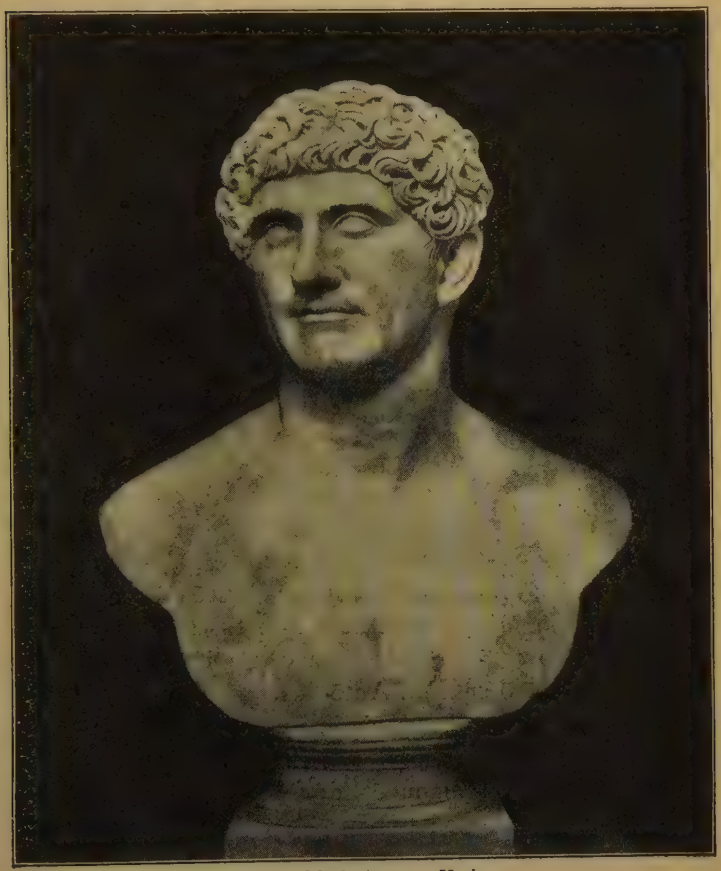


Fig. 26. Mark Antony, Vatican.

sē ulcīscī, potuitne cīvī ēgregiō et virō fortissimō, P. Sēstiō, conlēgā suō, volnerātō, potuitne Q. Fabriciō, virō optimō, cum dē reditū meō lēgem ferret, pulsō, crūdēlissimā in forō

caede factā, potuitne L. Caecilī, iūstissimī fortissimīque praetōris, oppugnātā domō, potuitne illō diē, quō est lāta lēx dē mē, cum tōtius Ītaliae concursus, quem mea salūs concitārat, facti illīus glōriam libēns āgnōvisset, ut, etiam sī id Milō fēcisset, cūncta cīvitās eam laudem prō suā vindicāret?

15. 39. At quod erat tempus? Clārissimus et fortissimus vir cōnsul, inimīcus Clōdiō, P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illīus, prōpugnātor senātūs, dēfēnsor vestrae voluntātis, patrōnus pūblicī cōnsēnsūs, restitūtor salūtis meae; septem praetōrēs, octō tribūnī plēbeī illīus adversāriī, dēfēnsōrēs meī; Cn. Pompēius, auctor et dux meī reditūs, illīus hostis, cuius sententiam senātus omnis dē salūte meā gravissimam et ōrnātissimam secūtus est, quī populum Rōmānum est cohortātus; quī cum dēcrētum dē mē Capuae fēcisset, ipse cūnctae Ītaliae cupientī et eius fidem implōrantī sīgnum dedit, ut ad mē restituendum Rōmam concurreret; omnia dēnique in illum odia cīvium ārdēbant dēsīderiō meī, quem quī tum interēmisset, nōn dē impūnitāte eius, sed dē praemiīs cōgitārētur. 40. Tum sē Milō continuit et P. Clōdium in iūdicium bis, ad vim numquam vocāvit. Quid? prīvātō Milōne et reō ad populum accūsante P. Clōdiō, cum in Cn. Pompēium prō Milōne dīcentem impetus factus est, quae tum nōn modo occāsiō, sed etiam causa illīus opprimendī fuit? Nūper vērō cum M. Antōnius summam spem salūtis bonīs omnibus attulisset gravissimamque adulēscēns nōbilissimus reī pūblicae partem fortissimē suscēpisset, atque illam bēluam, iūdicī laqueōs dēclīnantem, iam inrētītam tenēret, quī locus, quod tempus illud, dī immortālēs, fuit! Cum sē ille fugiēns in scālārum tenebrās abdidisset, magnum Milōnī fuit cōnficere illam pestem nūllā suā invidiā, M. vērō Antōnī maximā glōriā? 41. Quid? comitiīs in campō quotiēns potestās fuit! cum ille in saepta inrūpisset, gladiōs dēstringendōs, lapidēs iaciendōs

cūrāsset, dein subitō voltū Milōnis perterritus fugeret ad Tiberim, vōs et omnēs bonī vōta facerētis, ut Milōnī ūtī virtūte suā libēret.

16. Quem igitur cum omnium grātiā nōluit, hunc voluit cum aliquōrum querēlā, quem iūre, quem locō, quem tempore, quem impūne nōn est ausus, hunc iniūriā, inīquō locō, aliēnō tempore, perīculō capitis nōn dubitāvit occīdere? 42. praesertim, iūdicēs, cum honōris amplissimī contentiō et diēs comitiōrum subesset, quō quidem tempore — sciō enim quam timida sit ambitiō quantaque et quam sollicita sit cupiditās cōnsulātūs — omnia, nōn modo quae reprehendī palam, sed etiam quae obscūrē cōgitārī possunt, timēmus, rūmōrem, fabulam falsam fictam levem perhorrēscimus, ōra omnium atque oculōs intuēmur. Nihil est enim tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile quam voluntās ergā nōs sēnsusque cīvium, quī nōn modo improbitātī īrāscuntur candidātōrum, sed etiam in rēctē factīs saepe fastīdiunt. 43. Hunc igitur diem campī spērātum atque exoptātum sibi prōpōnēns Milō, cruentīs manibus scelus et facinus prae sē ferēns et cōnfitēns ad illa augusta centuriārum auspicia veniēbat? Quam hoc nōn crēdibile est in hōc, quam idem in Clōdiō nōn dubitandum, quī sē ipse interfectō Milōne rēgnātūrum putāret! Quid? quod caput est, audāciae, iūdicēs, quis īgnōrat maximam inlecebram esse peccandī impūnitātis spem? In utrō igitur haec fuit? in Milōne, quī etiam nunc reus est factī aut praeclārī aut certē necessāriī, an in Clōdiō, quī ita iūdicia poenamque contempserat, ut eum nihil dēlectāret quod aut per nātūram fās esset aut per lēgēs licēret?

5. *Clodius has declared that at a certain time Milo would be dead; the date corresponds with the fact.* (44.)

44. Sed quid ego argūmentor, quid plūra disputō? Tē, Q. Petīlī, appellō, optimum et fortissimum cīvem; tē,

M. Catō, testor, quōs mihi dīvīna quaedam sors dedit iūdicēs. Vōs ex M. Favōniō audīstis Clōdium sibi dīxisse, et audīstis vīvō Clōdiō, peritūrum, Milōnem trīduō. Post diem tertium gesta rēs est quam dīxerat. Cum ille nōn dubitārit aperīre quid cōgitāret, vōs potestis dubitāre quid fēcerit?

6. *Clodius knew the day on which Milo was to leave Rome.* (45.)

17. 45. Quem ad modum igitur eum diēs nōn fefellit? Dīxī equidem modo. Dictātōris Lānuvīnī stata sacrificia nōsse negōtī nihil erat. Vīdit necesse esse Milōnī proficīscī Lānuvium illō ipsō quō est profectus diē: itaque antevertit. At quō diē? Quō, ut ante dīxī, fuit īnsānissima cōntiō ab ipsīus mercennāriō tribūnō plēbis concitāta: quem diem ille, quam cōntiōnem, quōs clāmōrēs, nisi ad cōgitātum facinus approperāret, numquam relīquisset. Ergō illī nē causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendī; Milōnī manendī nūlla facultās, exeundī nōn sōlum causa, sed etiam necessitās fuit. Quid, sī, ut ille scīvit, Milōnem fore eō diē in viā, sīc Clōdium Milō nē suspicārī quidem potuit?

7. *Milo could not suspect that Clodius would be on a journey on that day.* (46–48.)

46. Prīmum quaerō quī potuerit? quod vōs īdem in Clōdiō quaerere nōn potestis. Ut enim nēminem alium nisi T. Patinam, familiārissimum suum, rogāsset, scīre potuit illō ipsō diē Lānuvī ā dictātōre Milōne prōdī flāminem necesse esse. Sed erant permultī aliī, ex quibus id facillimē scīre posset. Milō dē Clōdī reditū unde quaesīvit? Quaesierit — vidēte quid vōbīs largiar —, servum etiam, ut Q. Arrius, amīcus meus, dīxit, corrūperit. Legite testimōnia testium vestrōrum. Dīxit C. Causinius Schola, Interamnanus, familiārissimus et īdem comes Clōdī, P. Clōdium illō diē in Albānō mānsūrum fuisse, sed subitō

eī esse nūntiātum Cȳrum architectum esse mortuum, itaque repente Rōmam cōnstituisse proficīscī. Dīxit hoc item comes P. Clōdī, C. Clōdius.

18. 47. Vidēte, iūdicēs, quantae rēs hīs testimōniīs sint cōnfectae. Prīmum certē līberātur Milō nōn eō cōnsiliō profectus esse, ut īnsidiārētur in viā Clōdiō: quippe, sī ille obvius eī futūrus omnīnō nōn erat. Deinde — nōn enim videō cūr nōn meum quoque agam negōtium — scītis, iūdicēs, fuisse quī in hāc rogātiōne suādendā dīceret Milōnis manū caedem esse factam, cōnsiliō vērō maiōris alicuius. Mē vidēlicet latrōnem ac sīcārium abiectī hominēs et perditī dēscrībēbant. Iacent suīs testibus, respīrāvī, līberātus sum; nōn vereor nē, quod nē suspicārī quidem potuerim, videar id cōgitasse. 48. Nunc persequar cētera; nam occurrit illud: 'Igitur nē Clōdius quidem dē īnsidiīs cōgitāvit, quoniam fuit in Albānō mānsūrus.' Sī quidem exitūrus ad caedem ē vīllā nōn fuisset. Videō enim illum, quī dīcātur dē Cȳrī morte nūntiāsse, nōn id nūntiāsse, sed Milōnem appropinquāre. Nam quid dē Cȳrō nūntiāret, quem Clōdius Rōmā proficīscēns relīquerat morientem? Testāmentum simul obsignāvī, ūnā fuī; testāmentum autem palam fēcerat et illum hērēdem et mē scrīpserat. Quem prīdiē hōrā tertiā animam efflantem relīquisset, eum mortuum postrīdiē hōrā decimā dēnique eī nūntiābātur?

8. *No avowed motive explains the return of Clodius to Rome.* (49.)

19. 49. Age, sit ita factum: quae causa fuit cūr Rōmam properāret, cūr in noctem sē coniceret? Quid adferēbat fēstinātiōnis, quod hērēs erat? Prīmum nihil erat cūr properātō opus esset; deinde sī quid esset, quid tandem erat quod eā nocte cōnsequī posset, āmitteret autem, sī postrīdiē māne Rōmam vēnisset? Atquī ut illī nocturnus ad urbem adventus vītandus potius quam expetendus fuit, sīc Milōnī,

cum īnsidiātor esset, sī illum ad urbem noctū accessūrum sciēbat, subsīdendum atque exspectandum fuit. Noctū occīdisset.

9. *If Milo had any idea of attacking Clodius, he chose the hour of action badly.* (50–51.)

50. Nēmō eī negantī nōn crēdidisset. Īnsidiōsō et plēnō latrōnum in locō occīdisset. Nēmō eī negantī nōn crēdidisset, quem esse omnēs salvum etiam cōnfitentem volunt. Sustinuisset crīmen prīmum ipse ille latrōnum occultātor et receptor locus, tum neque mūta sōlitūdō indicāsset neque caeca nox ostendisset Milōnem; deinde multī ab illō violātī, spoliātī, bonīs expulsī, multī haec etiam timentēs in suspīciōnem caderent, tōta dēnique rea citārētur Etrūria. 51. Atque illō diē certē Arīciā rediēns dēvertit Clōdius ad sē in Albānum. Quod ut scīret Milō, illum Arīciae fuisse, suspicārī tamen dēbuit eum, etiam sī Rōmam illō diē revertī vellet, ad vīllam suam, quae viam tangeret, dēversūrum. Cūr nec ante occurrit, nē ille in vīllā residēret, nec eō in locō subsēdit, quō ille noctū ventūrus esset?

10. *The argument summed up.* (52.)

52. Videō adhūc cōnstāre, iūdicēs, omnia: Milōnī etiam ūtile fuisse Clōdium vīvere, illī ad ea, quae concupierat, optātissimum interitum Milōnis; odium fuisse illīus in hunc acerbissimum, nūllum huius in illum; cōnsuētūdinem illīus perpetuam in vī īnferendā, huius tantum in repellendā; mortem ab illō Milōnī dēnūntiātam et praedicātam palam, nihil umquam audītum ex Milōne; profectiōnis huius diem illī nōtum, reditum illīus huic īgnōtum fuisse; huius iter necessārium, illīus etiam potius aliēnum; hunc prae sē tulisse sē illō diē exitūrum, illum eō diē sē dissimulāsse redi-

tūrum; hunc nūllīus reī mūtāsse cōnsilium, illum causam mūtandī cōnsilī finxisse; huic, sī īnsidiārētur, noctem prope urbem exspectandam, illī, etiam sī hunc nōn timēret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

11. *The scene of the combat is favorable to Clodius and altogether unfavorable to Milo.* (53.)

12. *The conveyance of Clodius is that of a man ready to engage in a conflict; that of Milo has nothing warlike.* (53–54.)

20. 53. Videāmus nunc id, quod caput est, locus ad īnsidiās ille ipse, ubi congressī sunt, utrī tandem fuerit aptior.

FIG. 27. Departing Traveler, wearing the *Paenula*, reckoning with the Hostess of his Inn.

Id vērō, iūdicēs, etiam dubitandum et diūtius cōgitandum est? Ante fundum Clōdī, quō in fundō propter insānās illās substrūctiōnēs facile hominum mīlle versābātur valentium, ēditō adversārīī atque excelsō locō superiōrem sē fore putābat Milō, et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimum ēlēgerat, an in eō locō est potius exspectātus ab eō, quī ipsīus locī spē facere impetum cōgitārat? Rēs loquitur

ipsa, iūdicēs, quae semper valet plūrimum. 54. Sī haec nōn gesta audīrētis, sed pīcta vidērētis, tamen appārēret uter esset īnsidiātor, uter nihil malī cōgitāret, cum alter veherētur in raedā paenulātus, ūnā sedēret uxor. Quid hōrum nōn impedītissimum? vestītus an vehiculum an comes? quid minus prōmptum ad pugnam, cum paenulā inrētītus, raedā impedītus, uxōre paene cōnstrīctus esset? —Vidēte nunc illum, prīmum ēgredientem ē vīllā subitō: cūr? vesperī: quid necesse est? tardē: quī convenit, praesertim id temporis? 'Dēvertit in vīllam Pompēī.' Pompēium ut vidēret? sciēbat in Alsiēnsī esse; vīllam ut perspiceret? mīlliēns in eā fuerat. Quid ergō erat? mora et tergiversātiō: dum hīc venīret, locum relinquere nōluit.

13. *If the better armed of the adversaries succumbed, the reasons are natural ones.* (55–56.)

21. 55. Age nunc iter expedītī latrōnis cum Milōnis impedīmentīs comparāte. Semper ille anteā cum uxōre, tum sine eā; numquam nisi in raedā, tum in equō; comitēs Graeculī, quōcumque ībat, etiam cum in castra Etrūsca properābat, tum nūgārum in comitātū nihil. Milō, quī numquam, tum cāsū puerōs symphōniacōs uxōris dūcēbat et ancillārum gregēs; ille, quī semper sēcum scorta, semper exolētōs, semper lupās dūceret, tum nēminem, nisi ut virum ā virō lēctum esse dīcerēs. Cūr igitur victus est? Quia nōn semper viātor ā latrōne, nōn numquam etiam latrō ā viātōre occīditur; quia, quamquam parātus in imparātōs Clōdius, ipse Clōdius tamen mulier inciderat in virōs. 56. Nec vērō sīc erat umquam nōn parātus Milō contrā illum ut nōn satis ferē esset parātus. Semper ipse et quantum interesset P. Clōdiī sē interīre et quantō illī odiō esset et quantum ille audēret cōgitābat. Quam ob rem vītam suam, quam maximīs praemiīs prōpositam et

paene addictam sciēbat, numquam in perīculum sine praesidiō et sine custōdiā prōiciēbat. Adde cāsūs, adde incertōs exitūs pugnārum Mārtemque commūnem, quī saepe spoliantem iam et exsultantem ēvertit et perculit ab abiectō; adde īnscītiam prānsī, pōtī, ōscitantis ducis, quī cum ā tergō hostem interclūsum relīquisset, nihil dē eius extrēmīs comitibus cōgitāvit, in quōs incēnsōs īrā vītamque dominī dēspērantīs cum incidisset, haesit in eīs poenīs, quās ab eō servī fidēlēs prō dominī vītā expetīvērunt. Cūr igitur eōs manū mīsit?

14. *There is no occasion to assume a trap set by Milo. His freeing his slaves has no such significance* (57–58), *nor should the testimony of Clodius' slaves, who are in the power of the accuser, be considered.* (59–60.)

57. Metuēbat scīlicet nē indicārētur, nē dolōrem perferre nōn possent, nē tormentīs cōgerentur occīsum esse ā servīs Milōnis in Appiā viā P. Clōdium cōnfitērī. Quid opus est terrōre? quid quaeris? Occīderitne? occīdit. Iūre an iniūriā? Nihil ad tortōrem: factī enim in eculeō quaestiō est, iūris in iūdiciō.

22. Quod igitur in causā quaerendum est, id agāmus hīc; quod tormentīs invenīrī vīs, id fatēmur. Manū vērō cūr mīserit, sī id potius quaeris, quam cūr parum amplīs adfēcerit praemiīs, nescīs inimīcī factum reprehendere. 58. Dīxit enim hīc īdem, quī semper omnia cōnstanter et fortiter, M. Catō, et dīxit in turbulentā cōntiōne, quae tamen huius auctōritāte plācāta est, nōn lībertāte sōlum, sed etiam omnibus praemiīs dignissimōs fuisse, quī dominī caput dēfendissent. Quod enim praemium satis magnum est tam benevolīs, tam bonīs, tam fidēlibus servīs, propter quōs vīvit? Etsī id quidem nōn tantī est, quam quod propter eōsdem nōn sanguine et volneribus suīs crūdēlissimī inimīcī mentem oculōsque satiāvit. Quōs nisi manū mīsisset, tormentīs

etiam dēdendī fuērunt cōnservātōrēs dominī, ultōrēs sceleris, dēfēnsōrēs necis. Hīc vērō nihil habet in hīs malīs quod minus molestē ferat, quam, etiam sī quid ipsī accidat, esse tamen illīs meritum praemium persolūtum.

59. Sed quaestiōnēs urgent Milōnem, quae sunt habitae nunc in ātriō Lībertātis. Quibusnam dē servīs? 'Rogās? dē P. Clōdī.' Quis eōs postulāvit? 'Appius.' Quis prōdūxit? 'Appius.' Unde? 'ab Appiō.' Dī bonī! quid potest agī sevērius? Proximē deōs Clōdius accessit, prōpius quam tum, cum ad ipsōs penetrārat, cuius dē morte tamquam dē caerimōniis violātīs quaeritur. Sed tamen maiōrēs nostrī in dominum quaerī nōluērunt, nōn quia nōn posset vērum invenīrī, sed quia vidēbātur indignum et dominis morte ipsā trīstius: in reum dē servō accūsātōris cum quaeritur, vērum invenīrī potest? 60. Age vērō, quae erat aut quālis quaestiō? 'Heus tū, Rūfiō,' verbī causā, 'cavē sīs mentiāre: Clōdius īnsidiās fēcit Milōnī?' 'Fēcit;' certa crux. 'Nūllās fēcit:' spērāta lībertās. Quid hāc quaestiōne certius? Subitō adreptī in quaestiōnem tamen sēparantur ā cēterīs et in arcās coniciuntur, nē quis cum eīs conloquī possit: hīc centum diēs penes accūsātōrem cum fuissent, ab eō ipsō accūsātōre prōductī sunt. Quid hāc quaestiōne dīcī potest integrius, quid incorruptius?

15. *The tranquil return of Milo to Rome testifies to his innocence. He was believed to be ready for anything in order to escape condemnation; he gives the lie to this suspicion.* (61–64.)

23. 61. Quod sī nōndum satis cernitis, cum rēs ipsa tot tam clārīs argūmentīs sīgnīsque lūceat, pūrā mente atque integrā Milōnem, nūllō scelere imbūtum, nūllō metū perterritum, nūllā cōnscientiā exanimātum Rōmam revertisse, recordāminī, per deōs immortālīs, quae fuerit celeritās reditūs eius, quī ingressus in forum ārdente cūriā, quae

magnitūdō animī, quī voltus, quae ōrātiō. Neque vērō sē populō sōlum, sed etiam senātuī commīsit, neque senātuī modo, sed etiam pūblicīs praesidiīs et armīs, neque hīs tantum, vērum etiam eius potestātī, cui senātus tōtam rem pūblicam, omnem Ītaliae pūbem, cūncta populī Rōmānī arma commīserat: cui numquam sē hīc profectō trādidisset, nisi causae suae cōnfīderet, praesertim omnia audientī, magna metuentī, multa suspicantī, nōn nūlla crēdentī. Magna vīs est cōnscientiae, iūdicēs, et magna in utramque partem, ut neque timeant quī nihil commīserint et poenam semper ante oculōs versārī putent quī peccārint. 62. Neque vērō sine ratiōne certā causa Milōnis semper ā senātū probāta est; vidēbant sapientissimī hominēs factī ratiōnem, praesentiam animī, dēfēnsiōnis cōnstantiam. An vērō oblītī estis, iūdicēs, recentī illō nūntiō necis Clōdiānae nōn modo inimīcōrum Milōnis sermōnēs et opīniōnēs, sed nōn nūllōrum etiam imperītōrum? Negābant eum Rōmam esse reditūrum. 63. Sīve enim illud animō īrātō ac perditō fēcisset, ut incēnsus odiō trucīdāret inimīcum, arbitrābantur eum tantī mortem P. Clōdī putāsse, ut aequō animō patriā carēret, cum sanguine inimīcī explēsset odium suum; sīve etiam illīus morte patriam līberāre voluisset, nōn dubitātūrum fortem virum quīn, cum suō perīculō salūtem populō Rōmānō attulisset, cēderet aequō animō lēgibus, sēcum auferret glōriam sempiternam, vōbīs haec fruenda relinqueret, quae ipse servāsset. Multī etiam Catilīnam atque illa portenta loquēbantur: 'Ērumpet, occupābit aliquem locum, bellum patriae faciet.' Miserōs interdum cīvīs optimē dē rē pūblicā meritōs, in quibus hominēs nōn modo rēs praeclārissimās oblīvīscuntur, sed etiam nefāriās suspicantur! 64. Ergō illa falsa fuērunt, quae certē vēra exstitissent, sī Milō admīsisset aliquid, quod nōn posset honestē vērēque dēfendere.

16. *The event proves that all the evil designs attributed to Milo are imaginary.* (64–66.)

24. Quid? quae posteā sunt in eum congesta, quae quamvīs etiam mediocrium dēlictōrum cōnscientiam perculissent, ut sustinuit, dī immortālēs! sustinuit? immō vērō ut contempsit ac prō nihilō putāvit, quae neque maximō animō nocēns neque innocēns nisi fortissimus vir neglegere potuisset! Scūtōrum, gladiōrum, pīlōrum, frēnōrum etiam multitūdō dēprehendī posse indicābātur; nūllum in urbe vīcum, nūllum angiportum esse dīcēbant in quō nōn Milōnī conducta esset domus; arma in villam Ocriculānam dēvecta Tiberī, domus in clīvō Capitōlīnō scūtīs referta, plēna omnia malleolōrum ad urbis incendia comparātōrum: haec nōn dēlāta sōlum, sed paene crēdita, nec ante repudiāta sunt quam quaesīta.

65. Laudābam equidem incrēdibilem dīligentiam Cn. Pompēī, sed dīcam, ut sentiō, iūdicēs. Nimis multa audīre cōguntur neque aliter facere possunt eī, quibus commissa tōta rēs pūblica est. Quīn etiam audiendus popa Licinius nescio quī dē circō maximō, servōs Milōnis apud sē ēbriōs factōs sibi cōnfessōs sē dē interficiendō Cn. Pompēiō conīūrāsse, dein posteā sē gladiō percussum esse ab ūnō dē illīs, nē indicāret. Pompēiō nūntiātur in hortōs; arcessor in prīmīs; dē amīcōrum sententiā rem dēfert ad senātum. Nōn poteram in illīus meī patriaeque custōdis tantā suspīciōne nōn metū exanimārī, sed mīrābar tamen crēdī popae, cōnfessiōnem servōrum audīrī, volnus in latere, quod acū pūnctum vidērētur, prō ictū gladiātōris probārī. 66. Vērum ut intellegō, cavēbat magis Pompēius quam timēbat, nōn ea sōlum, quae timenda erant, sed omnia, nē vōs aliquid timērētis. Oppugnāta domus C. Caesaris, clārissimī ac fortissimī virī, multās noctis hōrās nūntiābātur: nēmō audierat tam celebrī locō, nēmō sēnserat; tamen audiēbatur. Nōn

poteram Cn. Pompēium, praestantissimā virtūte virum, timidum suspicārī; diligentiam prō tōtā rē pūblica susceptā nimiam nūllam putābam. Frequentissimō senātū nūper in Capitōliō senātor inventus est quī Milōnem cum tēlō esse dīceret. Nūdāvit sē in sānctissimō templō, quoniam vīta tālis et cīvīs et virī fidem nōn faciēbat, ut eō tacente rēs ipsa loquerētur. Omnia falsē atque invidiōsē fícta comperta sunt.

17. *Existing prejudice is due to the defiant attitude of Pompey.* (67.)

18. *This attitude is not justified either by the feelings of Milo or by the situation of Pompey — sole consul and strong enough to be without fears.* (68–69.)

25. 67. Nōn tamen, sī metuitur etiam nunc Milō, nōn iam hoc Clōdiānum crīmen timēmus, sed tuās, Cn. Pompēī — tē enim appellō et eā vōce, ut mē exaudīre possīs — tuās, inquam, suspīciōnēs perhorrēscimus. Sī Milōnem timēs, sī hunc dē tuā vītā nefāriē aut nunc cōgitāre aut mōlītum aliquandō aliquid putās, sī Ītaliae dīlēctus, ut nōn nūllī conquīsītōrēs tuī dictitārunt, sī haec arma, sī Capitōlīnae cohortēs, sī excubiae, sī vigiliae, sī dēlēcta iuventūs, quae tuum corpus domumque custōdit, contrā Milōnis impetum armāta est, atque illa omnia in hunc ūnum cōnstitūta, parāta, intenta sunt, magna in hōc certē vīs et incrēdibilis animus et nōn ūnius virī vīrēs atque opēs iūdicantur, sī quidem in hunc ūnum et praestantissimus dux ēlēctus et tōta res pūblica armāta est. 68. Sed quis nōn intellegit omnīs tibi reī pūblicae partīs aegrās et lābantīs, ut eās hīs armīs sānārēs et cōnfīrmārēs, esse commissās? Quod sī locus Milōnī datus esset, probāsset profectō tibi ipsī, nēminem umquam hominem hominī cāriōrem fuisse quam tē sibi; nūllum sē umquam perīculum prō tuā dignitāte fūgisse, cum illā ipsā taeterrimā peste sē saepissimē prō tuā glōriā

contendisse; tribūnātum suum ad salūtem meam, quae tibi cārissima fuisset, cōnsiliīs tuīs gubernātum; sē ā tē posteā dēfēnsum in perīculō capitis, adiūtum in petītiōne praetūrae; duōs sē habēre semper amīcissimōs spērāsse, tē tuō beneficiō, mē suō. Quae sī nōn probāret, sī tibi ita penitus inhaesisset ista suspīciō, ut nūllō ēvellī posset modō, sī dēnique Ītalia ā dīlēctū, urbs ab armīs sine Milōnis clāde numquam esset conquiētūra, nē ipse haud dubitāns cessisset patriā, is quī ita nātus est et ita cōnsuēvit; tē, Magne, tamen ante testārētur, quod nunc etiam facit.

26. 69. Vidēs quam sit varia vītae commūtābilisque ratiō, quam vaga volūbilisque fortūna, quantae īnfidēlitātēs in amīcitiīs, quam ad tempus aptae simulātiōnēs, quantae in perīculīs fugae proximōrum, quantae timiditātēs. Erit, erit illud profectō tempus et inlūcēscet ille aliquandō diēs, cum tū salvīs, ut spērō, rēbus tuīs, sed fortasse mōtū aliquō commūnium temporum, quī quam crēbrō accidat expertī scīre dēbēmus, et amīcissimī benevolentiam et gravissimī hominis fidem et ūnīus post hominēs natōs fortissimī virī magnitūdinem animī dēsīderēs.

19. *The fact that Milo was simply summoned before a court proves that he was not so dangerous as was thought.* (70.)

70. Quamquam quis hoc crēdat, Cn. Pompēium, iūris pūblicī, mōris maiōrum, reī dēnique pūblicae perītissimum, cum senātus eī commīserit ut vidēret nē quid rēs pūblica dētrīmentī caperet, quō ūnō versiculō satis armātī semper cōnsulēs fuērunt etiam nūllīs armīs datīs, hunc exercitū, hunc dīlēctū datō, iūdicium exspectātūrum fuisse in eius cōnsiliīs vindicandīs quī vī iūdicia ipsa tolleret? Satis iūdicātum est ā Pompēiō, satis, falsō ista cōnferrī in Milōnem, quī lēgem tulit quā, ut ego sentiō, Milōnem absolvī ā vōbīs oportēret, ut omnēs cōnfitentur, licēret.

20. *The precautions taken by the consul had no other aim than the independence of the jurors.* (71.)

71. Quod vērō in illō locō atque illīs pūblicōrum praesidiōrum cōpiīs circumfūsus sedet, satis dēclārat sē nōn terrōrem īnferre vōbīs — quid enim minus illō dignum quam cōgere, ut vōs eum condemnētis, in quem animadvertere ipse et mōre maiōrum et suō iūre posset? —, sed praesidiō esse, ut intellegātis contrā hesternam illam cōntiōnem licēre vōbīs quod sentiātis līberē iūdicāre.

B. *pars adsumptiva extra causam.* (72–91.)

1. *Enumeration of the crimes of Clodius. The form is prosopopeia.* (72–75.)

27. 72. Nec vērō mē, iūdicēs, Clōdiānum crīmen movet, nec tam sum dēmēns tamque vestrī sēnsūs īgnārus atque expers, ut nesciam quid dē morte Clōdī sentiātis. Dē quā sī iam nōllem ita dīluere crīmen, ut dīluī, tamen impūne Milōnī palam clāmāre ac mentīrī glōriōsē licēret: 'Occīdī, occīdī, nōn Sp. Maelium, quī annōnā levandā iactūrīsque reī familiāris, quia nimis amplectī plēbem vidēbātur, in suspīciōnem incidit rēgnī appetendī, nōn Ti. Gracchum, quī conlēgae magistrātum per sēditiōnem abrogāvit, quōrum interfectōrēs implērunt orbem terrārum nōminis suī glōriā, sed eum — audēret enim dīcere, cum patriam perīculō suō līberāsset —, cuius nefandum adulterium in pulvīnāribus sānctissimīs nōbilissimae fēminae comprehendērunt; 73. eum, cuius suppliciō senātus sollemnīs religiōnēs expiandās saepe cēnsuit; eum, quem cum sorōre germānā nefārium stuprum fēcisse L. Lūcullus iūrātus sē quaestiōnibus habitīs dīxit comperisse; eum, quī cīvem, quem senātus, quem populus Rōmānus, quem omnēs gentēs urbis ac vītae cīvium cōnservātōrem iūdicārant, servōrum armīs exterminā vit; eum,

quī rēgna dedit, adēmit, orbem terrārum quibuscum voluit partītus est; eum, quī plūrimīs caedibus in forō factīs singulārī virtūte et glōriā cīvem domum vī et almīs compulit; eum, cui nihil unquam nefās fuit nec in facinore nec in libīdine; eum, quī aedem Nymphārum incendit, ut memoriam pūblicam recēnsiōnis tabulīs pūblicīs impressam exstingueret; eum dēnique, 74. cui iam nūlla lēx erat, nūllum cīvīle iūs, nūllī possessiōnum terminī, quī nōn calumniā lītium, nōn iniūstīs vindiciīs ac sacrāmentīs aliēnōs fundōs, sed castrīs exercitū, sīgnīs īnferendīs petēbat; quī nōn sōlum Etrūscōs — eōs enim penitus contempserat —, sed hunc P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum cīvem, iūdicem nostrum, pellere possessiōnibus armīs castrīsque cōnātus est, quī cum architectīs et decempedīs vīllās multōrum hortōsque peragrābat, quī Iāniculō et Alpibus spem possessiōnum terminăret suārum, quī cum ab equite Rōmānō splendidō et fortī, M. Pacōniō, nōn impetrāsset, ut sibi īnsulam in lacū Prīliō vēnderet, repente lintribus in eam īnsulam māteriem, calcem, caementa, harēnam convexit dominōque trāns rīpam īnspectante nōn dubitāvit aedificium exstruere in aliēnō; quī huic T. Furfāniō, cui virō dī immortālēs! — 75. quid enim ego dē mulierculā Scantiā, quid dē adulēscente P. Apōniō dīcam? quōrum utrīque mortem est minitātus, nisi sibi hortōrum possessiōne cessissent —; sed ausum esse T. Furfāniō dīcere, sī sibi pecūniam, quantam posceret, nōn dedisset, mortuum sē in domum eius inlātūrum, quā invidiā huic esset tālī virō cōnflagrandum; quī Appium frātrem, hominem mihi coniūnctum fīdissimā grātiā, absentem dē possessiōne fundī dēiēcit; quī parietem sīc per vestibulum sorōris īnstituit dūcere, sīc agere fundāmenta, ut sorōrem nōn modo vestibulō prīvāret, sed omnī aditū et limine.'

2. *If Clodius had lived, worse might have been expected; his death saved Rome from threatened danger.* (76–79.)

28. 76. Quamquam haec quidem iam tolerābilia vidēbantur, etsī aequābiliter in rem pūblicam, in prīvātōs, in longinquōs, in propinquōs, in aliēnōs, in suōs inruēbat, sed nesciō quō modō ūsū iam obdūruerat et percalluerat cīvitātis incrēdibilis patientia: quae vērō aderant iam et impendēbant, quōnam modō ea aut dēpellere potuissētis aut ferre? Imperium ille sī nactus esset, omittō sociōs exterās nātiōnēs, rēgēs, tetrarchās; vōta enim facerētis, ut in eōs sē potius immitteret quam in vestrās possessiōnēs, vestra tēcta, vestrās pecūnias: pecūniās dīcō? ā līberīs, mē dīus fidius, et ā coniugibus vestrīs numquam ille effrēnātās suās libīdinēs cohibuisset. Fingī haec putātis, quae patent, quae nōta sunt omnibus, quae tenentur, servōrum exercitūs illum in urbe cōnscrīptūrum fuisse, per quōs tōtam rem pūblicam rēsque prīvātās omnium possidēret? 77. Quam ob rem sī cruentum gladium tenēns clāmāret T. Annius: 'Adeste, quaesō, atque audīte, cīvēs! P. Clōdium interfēcī, eius furōrēs, quōs nūllīs iam lēgibus, nūllīs iūdiciīs frēnāre poterāmus, hōc ferrō et hāc dexterā ā cervīcibus vestrīs reppulī, per mē ut ūnum iūs aequitās lēgēs lībertās, pudor pudīcitia manēret,' esset vērō timendum, quōnam modō id ferret cīvitās! Nunc enim quis est, quī nōn probet, quī nōn laudet, quī nōn ūnum post hominum memoriam T. Annium plūrimum reī pūblicae prōfuisse, maximā laetitiā populum Rōmānum, cūnctam Ītaliam, nātiōnēs omnīs adfēcisse et dīcat et sentiat? Nōn queō vetera illa populī Rōmānī gaudia quanta fuerint iūdicāre: multās tamen iam summōrum imperātōrum clārissimās victōriās aetās nostra vīdit, quārum nūlla neque tam diūturnam laetitiam attulit nec tantam. 78. Mandāte hoc memoriae, iūdicēs. Spērō multa vōs līberōsque vestrōs in rē pūblicā bona esse vīsūrōs: in eīs singulīs ita semper

exīstimābitis, vīvō P. Clōdiō nihil eōrum vōs vīsūrōs fuisse. In spem maximam et, quem ad modum cōnfidō vērissimam sumus adductī, hunc ipsum annum, hōc summō virō cōnsule, compressā hominum licentiā cupiditātibus cōnfrāctīs, lēgibus et iūdiciīs cōnstitūtīs, salūtārem cīvitātī fore. Num quis igitur est tam dēmēns quī hoc P. Clōdiō vīvō contingere potuisse arbitrētur? Quid? ea, quae tenētis privāta atque vestra, dominante homine furiōsō quod iūs perpetuae possessiōnis habēre potuissent?

29. Nōn timeō, iūdicēs, nē odiō meārum inimīcitiārum īnflammātus libentius haec in illum ēvomere videar quam vērius. Etenim sī praecipuum esse dēbēbat, tamen ita commūnis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in commūnī odiō paene aequāliter versārētur odium meum. Nōn potest dīcī satis, nē cōgitārī quidem, quantum in illō sceleris, quantum exitī fuerit. Quīn sīc attendite, iūdicēs. 79. Fingite animīs — līberae enim sunt nostrae cōgitātiōnēs et quae volunt sīc intuentur, ut ea cernimus, quae vidēmus — fingite igitur cōgitātiōne imāginem huius condiciōnis meae, sī possīmus efficere Milōnem ut absolvātis, sed ita, sī P. Clōdius revīxerit — quid voltū extimuistis? quōnam modō ille vōs vīvus adficeret, quōs mortuus inānī cōgitātiōne percussit? Quid? sī ipse Cn. Pompēius, quī eā virtūte ac fortūnā est, ut ea potuerit semper quae nēmō praeter illum, sī is, inquam, potuisset aut quaestiōnem dē morte P. Clōdī ferre aut ipsum ab īnferīs excitāre, utrum putātis potius factūrum fuisse? Etiam sī propter amīcitiam vellet illum ab īnferīs ēvocāre, propter rem pūblicam nōn fēcisset. Eius igitur mortis sedētis ultōrēs, cuius vītam sī putētis per vōs restituī posse, nōlītis, et dē eius nece lāta quaestiō est, quī sī lēge eādem revīviscere posset, ista lēx numquam lāta esset. Huius ergō interfector sī esset, in cōnfitendō ab eīsne poenam timēret, quōs līberavisset?

3. *Milo asks no return for the service which he has rendered except that he be not punished.* (80–82.)

80. Graecī hominēs deōrum honōrēs tribuunt eīs virīs, quī tyrannōs necāvērunt — quae ego vīdī Athēnīs, quae in aliīs urbibus Graeciae! quās rēs dīvīnās tālibus īnstitūtās virīs, quōs cantūs, quae carmina! prope ad immortālitātis et religiōnem et memoriam cōnsecrantur — vōs tantī cōnservātōrem populī, tantī sceleris ultōrem nōn modo honōribus nūllīs adficiētis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapī patiēminī? Cōnfitērētur, cōnfitērētur, inquam, sī fēcisset, et magnō animō et libenter, sē fēcisse lībertātis omnium causā, quod esset nōn cōnfitendum modo, sed etiam vērē praedicandum.

30. 81. Etenim sī id nōn negat, ex quō nihil petit nisi ut īgnōscātur, dubitāret id fāterī, ex quō etiam praemia laudis essent petenda? nisi vērō grātius putat esse vōbīs suī sē capitis quam vestrī dēfēnsōrem fuisse; cum praesertim in tālī cōnfessiōne, sī grātī esse vellētis, honōrēs adsequerētur amplissimōs. Sīn factum vōbīs nōn probārētur — quamquam quī poterat salūs sua cuiquam nōn probārī? — sed tamen sī minus fortissimī virī virtūs cīvibus grāta cecidisset, magnō animō cōnstantīque cēderet ex ingrātā cīvitāte. Nam quid esset ingrātius quam laetārī cēterōs, lūgēre eum sōlum, propter quem cēterī laetārentur? 82. Quamquam hōc animō semper fuimus omnēs in patriae prōditōribus opprimendīs, ut, quoniam futūra esset nostra glōria, perīculum quoque et invidiam nostram putārēmus. Nam quae mihi tribuenda ipsī laus esset, cum tantum in cōnsulātū meō prō vōbīs ac līberīs vestrīs ausus essem, sī id quod cōnābar sine maximīs dīmicātiōnibus meīs mē esse ausūrum arbitrārer? Quae mulier interficere scelerātum ac perniciōsum cīvem nōn audēret, sī perīculum nōn timēret? Prōpositā invidiā, morte, poenā quī nihilō sēgnius rem pūblicam dēfendit, is vir vērē putandus est. Populī grātī est praemiīs adficere

bene meritōs dē rē pūblicā cīvīs, virī fortis nē suppliciīs quidem movērī ut fortiter fēcisse paeniteat.

4. *Still, gratitude is due to the gods alone, who have directed all things, and who alone were strong enough to withstand Clodius.* (83–91.)

83. Quam ob rem ūterētur eādem cōnfessiōne T. Annius, quā Ahāla, quā Nāsīca, quā Opīmius, quā Marius, quā nōsmet ipsī, et, sī grāta rēs pūblica esset, laetārētur; sī ingrāta, tamen in gravī fortūnā cōnscientiā suā nīterētur.

Sed huius beneficī grātiam, iūdicēs, Fortūna populī Rōmānī et vestra fēlicitās et dī immortālēs sibi dēbērī putant. Nec vērō quisquam aliter arbitrārī potest, nisi quī nūllam vim esse dūcit nūmenque dīvīnum, quem neque imperī nostrī magnitūdō neque sōl ille nec caelī sīgnōrumque mōtūs nec vicissitūdinēs rērum atque ōrdinēs movent neque, id quod maximum est, maiōrum nostrōrum sapientia, quī sacra, quī caerimōniās, quī auspicia et ipsī sānctissimē coluērunt et nōbīs suīs posterīs prōdidērunt.

31. 84. Est, est illa vīs profectō, neque in hīs corporibus atque in hāc imbēcillitāte nostrā inest quiddam quod videat et sentiat, nōn inest in hōc tantō nātūrae tamque praeclārō mōtū. Nisi forte idcircō nōn putant, quia nōn appāret nec cernitur, proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, quā sapimus, quā prōvidēmus, quā haec ipsa agimus ac dīcimus, vidēre ac plānē quālis aut ubi sit sentīre possīmus. Ea vīs igitur, quae saepe incrēdibilīs huic urbī fēlīcitātēs atque opēs attulit, aliam perniciem exstīnxit ac sustulit, cui prīmum mentem iniēcit, ut vī inrītāre ferrōque lacessere fortissimum virum audēret vincerēturque ab eō, quem sī vīcisset, habitūrus esset impūnitātem et licentiam sempiternam. 85. Nōn est hūmānō cōnsiliō, nē mediocrī quidem, iūdicēs, deōrum immortālium cūrā rēs illa perfecta. Regiōnēs mē hercule ipsae, quae

illam bēluam cadere vīdērunt, commōsse sē vidēntur et iūs in illō suum retinuisse. Vōs enim iam, Albānī tumulī atque lūcī, vōs, inquam, implōrō atque testor, vōsque, Albānōrum obrutae ārae, sacrōrum populī Rōmānī sociae et aequālēs, quās ille praeceps āmentiā caesīs prōstrātīsque sānctissimīs lūcīs substrūctiōnum īnsānīs mōlibus oppresserat; vestrae tum religiōnēs viguērunt, vestra vīs valuit, quam ille omnī scelere polluerat; tūque ex tuō ēditō monte Latiārī, sāncte Iuppiter, cuius ille lacūs, nemora fīnīsque saepe omnī nefāriō stuprō et scelere maculārat, aliquandō ad eum pūniendum oculōs aperuistī: vōbīs illae, vōbīs vestrō in cōnspectū sērae, sed iūstae tamen et dēbitae poenae solūtae sunt. 86. Nisi forte hōc etiam cāsū factum esse dīcēmus, ut ante ipsum sacrārium Bonae deae, quod est in fundō T. Sertī Gallī, in prīmīs honestī et ōrnātī adulēscentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam deam, cum proelium commīsisset, prīmum illud volnus acciperet, quō taeterrimam mortem obīret, ut nōn absolūtus iūdiciō illō nefāriō vidērētur, sed ad hanc īnsīgnem poenam reservātus.

32. Nec vērō nōn eadem īra deōrum hanc eius satellitibus iniēcit āmentiam, ut sine imāginibus, sine cantū atque lūdīs, sine exsequiīs, sine lāmentīs, sine laudātiōnibus, sine fūnere, oblitus cruōre et lutō, spoliātus illīus suprēmī diēī celebritāte, cui cēdere inimīcī etiam solent, ambūrerētur abiectus. Nōn fuisse crēdō fās clārissimōrum virōrum fōrmās illī taeterrimō parricīdae aliquid decoris adferre, neque ūllō in locō potius mortem eius lacerārī quam in quō vīta esset damnāta. 87. Dūra, mē dīus fidius, mihi iam fortūna populī Rōmānī et crūdēlis vidēbātur, quae tot annōs illum in hanc rem pūblicam īnsultāre paterētur. Pollūerat stuprō sānctissimās religiōnēs, senātūs gravissima dēcrēta perfrēgerat, pecūniā sē ā iūdicibus palam redēmerat, vexārat in tribūnātū senātum, omnium ōrdinum cōnsēnsū

prō salūte reī pūblicae gesta rescīderat, mē patriā expulerat, bona diripuerat, domum incenderat, līberōs, coniugem meam vexārat, Cn. Pompēiō nefārium bellum indixerat, magistrātuum prīvātōrumque caedīs effēcerat, domum meī frātris incenderat, vāstārat Etrūriam, multōs sēdibus ac fortūnīs ēiēcerat; īnstābat, urgēbat; capere eius āmentiam cīvitās, Ītalia, prōvinciae, rēgna nōn poterant; incīdēbantur iam domī lēgēs, quae nōs servīs nostrīs addīcerent; nihil erat cuiusquam, quod quidem ille adamāsset, quod nōn hōc annō suum fore putāret. 88. Obstābat eius cōgitātiōnibus nēmō praeter Milōnem. Illum ipsum, quī poterat obstāre, novō reditū in grātiam sibi dēvīnctum arbitrābātur; Caesaris potentiam suam esse dīcēbat; bonōrum animōs in meō cāsū contempserat; Milō ūnus urgēbat.

33. Hīc dī immortālēs, ut suprā dīxī, mentem illī perditō ac furiōsō dedērunt, ut huic faceret īnsīdiās. Aliter perīre pestis illa nōn potuit; numquam illum rēs pūblica suō iūre esset ulta. Senātus, crēdō, praetōrem eum circumscrīpsisset. Nē cum solēbat quidem id facere, in prīvātō eōdem hōc aliquid prōfēcerat. 89. An cōnsulēs in praetōre coercendō fortēs fuissent? Primum Milōne occīsō habuisset suōs cōnsulēs; deinde quis in eō praetōre cōnsul fortis esset, per quem tribūnum virtūtem cōnsulārem crūdēlissimē vexātam esse meminisset? Oppressisset omnia, possidēret, tenēret; lēge novā servōs nostrōs lībertōs suōs effēcisset; postrēmō, nisi eum dī immortālēs in eam mentem impulissent, ut homō effēminātus fortissimum virum cōnārētur occīdere, hodiē rem pūblicam nūllam habērētis. 90. An ille praetor, ille vērō cōnsul, sī modo haec templa atque ipsa moenia stāre eō vīvō tam diū et cōnsolātum eius exspectāre potuissent, ille dēnique vīvus malī nihil fēcisset, cui mortuō ūnus ex suīs satellitibus cūriam incenderit? Quō quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid lūctuōsius vīdimus? templum

sānctitātis, amplitūdinis, mentis, cōnsilī pūblicī, caput urbis, āram sociōrum, portum omnium gentium, sēdem ab ūniversō populō concessam ūnī ōrdinī, īnflammārī, exscindī, fūnestārī, neque id fierī ā multitūdine imperītā, quamquam esset miserum id ipsum, sed ab ūnō? Quī cum tantum ausus sit ustor prō mortuō, quid sīgnifer prō vīvō nōn esset ausūrus? In cūriam potissimum abiēcit, ut eam mortuus incenderet, quam vīvus ēverterat. 91. Et sunt quī dē viā Appiā querantur, taceant dē cūriā, et quī ab eō spīrante forum putent potuisse dēfendī, cuius nōn restiterit cadāverī cūria? Excitāte, excitāte ipsum, sī potestis, ab īnferīs: frangētis impetum vīvī, cuius vix sustinētis furiās īnsepultī? Nisi vērō sustinuistis eōs, quī cum facibus ad cūriam concurrērunt, cum fascibus ad Castoris, cum gladiīs tōtō forō volitāvērunt. Caedī vīdistis populum Rōmānum, cōntiōnem gladiīs disturbārī, cum audīrētur silentiō M. Caelius, tribūnus plēbis, vir et in rē pūblicā fortissimus, in susceptā causā fīrmissimus, et bonōrum voluntātī, auctōritātī senātūs dēditus, et in hāc Milōnis sīve invidiā sīve fortūnā singulārī, dīvīnā, incrēdibilī fidē.

Conclusio

This peroration does not contain the customary appeal to pity. Milo had assumed a defiant attitude which forbade this. Cicero shows great adroitness in extricating himself and his client from the difficulty.

1. *The firmness, courage, and resignation of Milo are recalled. Sympathy is evoked by pathetic language and by taking the jurors into the speaker's confidence.* (92–98.)

34. 92. Sed iam satis multa dē causā, extrā causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat nisi ut ōrem obtesterque vōs, iūdicēs, ut eam misericordiam tribuātis fortissimō virō, quam ipse nōn implōrat, ego etiam repugnante

hōc et implōrō et exposcō? Nōlīte, sī in nostrō omnium flētū nūllam lacrimam aspexistis Milōnis, sī voltum semper eundem, sī vōcem, sī ōrātiōnem stabilem ac nōn mūtātam vidētis, hōc minus eī parcere: haud sciō an multō etiam sit adiuvandus magis. Etenim sī in gladiātōriīs pugnīs et in īnfimī generis hominum condiciōne atque fortūnā timidōs et supplicēs et ut vīvere liceat obsecrantīs etiam ōdisse solēmus, fortīs et animōsōs et sē ācriter ipsōs mortī offer-

FIG. 28. Gladiator appealing to the Spectators for his Life.

entīs servārī cupimus, eōrumque nōs magis miseret, quī nostram misericordiam nōn requīrunt, quam quī illam efflāgitant, quantō hoc magis in fortissimīs cīvibus facere dēbēmus! 93. Mē quidem, iūdicēs, exanimant et interimunt hae vōcēs Milōnis, quās audiō adsiduē et quibus intersum cotīdiē. 'Valeant,' inquit 'valeant cīvēs meī; sint incolumēs, sint flōrentēs, sint beātī; stet haec urbs praeclāra mihique patria cārissima, quōquō modō erit merita dē mē; tranquillā rē pūblicā meī cīvēs, quoniam mihi cum illīs nōn licet, sine mē ipsī, sed propter mē tamen perfruantur. Ego cēdam atque abībō. Sī mihi bonā rē pūblicā fruī nōn licuerit, at

carēbō malā, et quam prīmum tetigerō bene mōrātam et līberam cīvitātem, in eā conquiēscam. 94. Ō frūstrā' inquit 'meī susceptī labōrēs, ō spēs fallācēs, cōgitātiōnēs inānēs meae! Ego cum tribūnus plēbis rē pūblicā oppressā mē senātuī dedissem, quem exstīnctum accēperam, equitibus Rōmānīs, quōrum vīrēs erant dēbilēs, bonīs virīs, quī omnem auctōritātem Clōdiānīs armīs abiēcerant, mihi umquam bonōrum praesidium dēfutūrum putārem? Ego cum tē' — mēcum enim saepissimē loquitur — 'patriae reddidissem, mihi putārem in patriā nōn futūrum locum? Ubi nunc senātus est, quem secūtī sumus, ubi equitēs Rōmānī illī, illī' inquit 'tuī? ubi studia mūnicipiōrum, ubi Ītaliae vōcēs, ubi dēnique tua, M. Tullī, quae plūrimis fuit auxiliō, vōx atque dēfēnsiō? Mihine ea sōlī, quī prō tē totiēns mortī mē obtulī, nihil potest opitulārī?'

35. 95. Nec vērō haec, iūdicēs, ut ego nunc, flēns, sed hōc eōdem illō loquitur voltū quō vidētis. Negat enim sē, negat ingrātīs cīvibus fēcisse quae fēcerit, timidīs et omnia perīcula circumspicientibus nōn negat. Plēbem et īnfimam multitūdinem, quae P. Clōdiō duce fortūnīs vestrīs imminēbat, eam, quō tūtior esset vestra vīta, suam sē fecisse commemorat, ut nōn modo virtūte flecteret, sed etiam tribus suīs patrimoniīs dēlēnīret, nec timet nē, cum plēbem mūneribus plācārit, vōs nōn conciliārit meritīs in rem pūblicam singulāribus. Senātūs ergā sē benevolentiam temporibus hīs ipsīs saepe esse perspectam, vestrās vērō et vestrōrum ōrdinum occursātiōnēs, studia, sermōnēs, quemcumque cursum fortūna cēperit, sēcum sē ablātūrum esse dīcit. 96. Meminit etiam vōcem sibi praecōnis modo dēfuisse, quam minimē dēsīderārit, populī vērō cūnctīs suffrāgiīs, quod ūnum cupierit, sē cōnsulem dēclārātum; nunc dēnique, sī haec arma contrā sē sint futūra, sibi facinoris suspīciōnem, nōn factī crīmen obstāre. Addit haec, quae

certē vēra sunt, fortīs et sapientīs virōs nōn tam praemia sequī solēre rēctē factōrum quam ipsa rēctē facta; sē nihil in vītā nisi praeclārissimē fēcisse, sī quidem nihil sit praestābilius virō quam perīculīs patriam līberāre. 97. Beātōs esse, quibus ea rēs honōrī fuerit ā suīs cīvibus, nec tamen eōs miserōs, quī beneficiō cīvīs suōs vīcerint. Sed tamen ex omnibus praemiīs virtūtis, sī esset habenda ratiō praemiōrum, amplissimum esse praemium glōriam; esse hanc ūnam, quae brevitātem vītae posteritātis memoriā cōnsōlārētur, quae efficeret ut absentēs adessēmus, mortuī vīverēmus. Hanc dēnique esse cuius gradibus etiam in caelum hominēs vidērentur ascendere. 98. 'Dē mē' inquit 'semper populus Rōmānus, semper omnes gentēs loquentur, nūlla umquam obmūtēscet vetustās. Quīn hōc tempore ipsō, cum omnēs ā meīs inimīcīs facēs invidiae meae subiciantur, tamen omnī in hominum coetū grātiīs agendīs et grātulātiōnibus habendīs et omnī sermōnē celebrāmur. Omittō Etrūriae festōs et āctōs et īnstitūtōs diēs. Centēsima lūx est haec ab interitū P. Clōdī et, opīnor, altera. Quā fīnēs imperī populī Rōmānī sunt, eā nōn sōlum fāma iam dē illō, sed etiam laetitia peragrāvit. Quam ob rem 'ubi corpus hoc sit nōn' inquit 'labōrō, quoniam omnibus in terrīs et iam versātur et semper hīc habitābit nōminis meī glōria.'

2. *Further, Cicero considers himself the real object of prayers and tears, since the jurors in striking Milo would strike Cicero himself. Here ends the* Pro Milone, *once styled "a* chef-d'œuvre *of eloquence and also a* chef-d'œuvre *of disingenuousness."* (99–105.)

36. 99. Haec tū mēcum saepe hīs absentibus, sed īsdem audientibus haec ego tēcum, Milō: 'Tē quidem, cum istō animō sis, satis laudāre nōn possum, sed, quō est ista magis dīvīna virtūs, eō maiōre ā tē dolōre dīvellor. Nec vērō, sī

mihi ēriperis, reliqua est illa saltem ad cōnsōlandum querēla, ut eīs īrāscī possim, ā quibus tantum volnus accēperō. Non enim inimīcī meī tē mihi ēripient, sed amīcissimī nōn male aliquandō dē mē meritī, sed semper optimē.' Nūllum mihi umquam, iūdicēs, tantum dolōrem inūrētis — tametsī quis potest esse tantus? — sed nē hunc quidem ipsum, ut oblīviscar quantī mē semper fēceritis. Quod sī vōs cēpit oblīviō meī aut sī in mē aliquid offendistis, cūr nōn id in meō capite potius luitur quam Mīlōnis? Praeclārē enim vīxerō, sī quid mihi acciderit prius quam hoc tantum malī vīderō. 100. Nunc mē ūna cōnsōlatiō sustentat, quod tibi, T. Annī, nūllum ā mē amōris, nūllum studī, nūllum pietātis officium dēfuit. Ego inimīcitiās potentium prō tē appetīvī; ego meum saepe corpus et vītam obiēcī armīs inimīcōrum tuōrum; ego mē plūrimīs prō tē supplicem abiēcī; bona, fortūnās meās ac līberōrum meōrum in commūniōnem tuōrum temporum contulī; hōc dēnique ipsō diē, sī qua vīs est parāta, si qua dimicātiō capitis futūra, dēposcō. Quid iam restat? quid habeō quod faciam prō tuīs in mē meritīs nisi ut eam fortūnam, quaecumque erit tua, dūcam meam? Nōn abnuō, nōn recūsō, vōsque obsecrō, iūdicēs, ut vestra beneficia, quae in mē contulistis, aut in huius salūte augeātis aut in eiusdem exitiō occāsūra esse videātis.

37. 101. Hīs lacrimīs nōn commovētur Milō — est quōdam incrēdibilī rōbore animī —: exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtūtī nōn sit locus; mortem nātūrae fīnem esse, nōn poenam. Sit hīc eā mente, quā nātus est: quid? vōs, iūdicēs, quō tandem eritis animō? Memoriam Milōnis retinēbitis, ipsum ēiciētis? Et erit dignior locus ūllus in terrīs quī hanc virtūtem excipiat quam hīc, quī prōcreāvit? Vōs, vōs appellō, fortissimī virī, quī multum prō rē pūblicā sanguinem effūdistis; vōs, inquam, in cīvis invictī perīculō appellō, centuriōnēs, vōsque, mīlitēs: vōbīs

nōn modo īnspectantibus, sed etiam armātīs et huic iūdiciō praesidentibus haec tanta virtūs ex hāc urbe expellētur, exterminābitur, prōiciētur? 102. O mē miserum, ō mē īnfēlicem! Revocāre tū mē in patriam, Milō, potuistī per hōs, ego tē in patriā per eōsdem retinēre nōn poterō? Quid respondēbō līberīs meīs, quī tē parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Quīnte frāter, quī nunc abes, cōnsortī mēcum temporum illōrum? mēne nōn potuisse Milōnis salūtem tuērī per eōsdem, per quōs nostram ille servāsset? At in quā causā nōn potuisse? Quae est grāta omnibus gentibus. Ā quibus nōn potuisse? Ab eīs, quī maximē P. Clōdī morte adquiērunt. Quō dēprecante? Mē. 103. Quodnam ego concēpī tantum scelus aut quod in mē tantum facinus admīsī, iūdicēs, cum illa indicia commūnis exitī indāgāvī patefēcī, prōtulī, exstīnxī? Omnēs mihi meīsque redundant ex fonte illō dolōrēs. Quid mē reducem esse voluistis? an ut īnspectante mē expellerentur eī, per quōs essem restitūtus? Nōlīte, obsecrō vōs, acerbiōrem mihi patī reditum esse, quam fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam quī possum putāre mē restitūtum esse, sī distrahor ab hīs, per quōs restitūtus sum?

38. Vtinam dī immortālēs fēcissent — pāce tuā, patria, dīxerim: metuō enim nē scelerātē dīcam in tē quod prō Milōne dīcam piē — utinam P. Clōdius nōn modo viveret, sed etiam praetor, cōnsul, dictātor esset potius quam hoc spectāculum vidērem! 104. Ō dī immortālēs! fortem et ā vōbīs, iūdicēs, cōnservandum virum! 'Minimē, minimē'; inquit 'immō vērō poenās ille dēbitās luerit: nōs subeāmus, sī ita necesse est, nōn dēbitās.' Hīcine vir patriae nātus usquam nisi in patriā moriētur, aut, sī forte, prō patriā? huius vōs animī monumenta retinēbitis, corporis in Ītaliā nūllum sepulcrum esse patiēminī? hunc suā quisquam sententiā ex hāc urbe expellet, quem omnēs urbēs expulsum ā vōbīs ad sē

vocābunt? 105. Ō terram illam beātam, quae hunc virum excēperit, hanc ingrātam, sī ēiēcerit, miseram, sī āmīserit! Sed fīnis sit; neque enim prae lacrimīs iam loquī possumus, et hīc sē lacrimīs dēfendī vetat. Vōs ōrō obtestorque, iūdicēs, ut in sententiīs ferendīs, quod sentiētis, id audeātis. Vestram virtūtem, iūstitiam, fidem, mihi crēdite, is maxime comprobābit, quī in iūdicibus legendīs optimum et sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque ēlēgit.

PRO M. MARCELLO ORATIO

FOR MARCELLUS (46 B.C.)

Introduction

This title is inexact, since the oration is not in behalf of Marcellus, but an epideictic speech praising Caesar for pardoning Marcellus. A more apt title for the group of speeches (the Ligarius, the Deiotarus and the Marcellus) of which this is one, is Caesarian Speeches. They were addressed to Caesar and praised his clemency.

Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51, was a cultured Roman of noble birth. He hated Caesar and was the author in the senate of measures intended to deprive him of his Gallic laurels. He was not a member of the Pompeian party, but when hostilities had begun, he went to Macedonia with Pompey and was present at Pharsalus.

After Pompey's defeat Marcellus went to Mitylene, and could not be persuaded to sue for Caesar's pardon. Finally, without his consent, his relative Gaius Marcellus, in the meeting of the senate, begged Caesar to pardon Marcus. Caesar consented and then Cicero, a lifelong friend of Marcellus, thanked Caesar in a speech, the written form of which follows.

Marcellus could not gracefully decline the pardon, and therefore obeyed the call for his return. On the way toward home he was assassinated at the Piraeus.

Exordium

Cicero, because of the pardon of Marcellus, speaks after a long silence. This pardon presages good for the state. (1–3.)

1. 1. Diutūrnī silentī, patrēs cōnscrīptī, quō eram hīs temporibus ūsus, nōn timōre aliquō, sed partim dolōre,

FIG. 29. Julius Caesar, Parma.

partim verēcundiā, fīnem hodiernus diēs attulit, īdemque initium quae vellem quaeque sentīrem meō prīstinō mōre dīcendī. Tantam enim mānsuētūdinem, tam inūsitātam inaudītamque clēmentiam, tantum in summā potestāte rērum omnium modum, tam dēnique incrēdibilem sapientiam ac paene dīvīnam tacitus praeterīre nūllō modō possum. 2. M. enim Mārcellō vōbīs, patrēs cōnscrīptī, reīque pūblicae redditō nōn illīus sōlum, sed etiam meam vōcem et auctōritātem vōbīs et reī pūblicae restitūtam putō. Dolēbam enim, patrēs cōnscrīptī, et vehementer angēbar virum tālem, cum in eādem causā in quā ego fuisset, nōn in eādem esse fortūnā, nec mihi persuādēre poteram nec fās esse dūcēbam versārī mē in nostrō vetere curriculō illō aemulō atque imitātōre studiōrum ac labōrum meōrum quasi quōdam sociō ā mē et comite distractō. Ergō et mihi meae prīstinae vītae cōnsuētūdinem, C. Caesar, intercīūsam aperuistī et hīs omnibus ad bene de rē pūblicā spērandum quasi sīgnum aliquod sustulistī. 3. Intellēctum est enim mihi quidem in multīs et maximē in mē ipsō, sed paulō ante omnibus, cum M. Mārcellum senātuī reīque pūblicae concessistī, commemorātīs praesertim offēnsiōnibus, tē auctōritātem huius ōrdinis dignitātemque reī pūblicae tuīs vel dolōribus vel suspīciōnibus anteferre. Ille quidem frūctum omnis ante āctae vītae hodiernō diē maximum cēpit, cum summō cōnsēnsū senātūs tum iūdiciō tuō gravissimō et maximō. Ex quō profectō intellegis quanta in datō beneficiō sit laus, cum in acceptō sit tanta glōria.

Caesar has been a glorious victor in war, but others have gained victories. In clemency to the conquered Caesar has gained unique distinction. There is no one to attempt the life of him who either slays his foes or converts them into friends. Still, precaution should be taken, for he alone can bring back peace after civil strife. He may not care for longer life, but he should live for the state, now in confusion,

but at the beginning of reforms. He will be immortal only if he reconstructs the state. There will hereafter be a union of citizens to protect Caesar. (4–32.)

4. Est vērō fortūnātus, cuius ex salūte nōn minor paene ad omnīs, quam ad illum ventūra sit laetitia pervēnerit: quod quidem meritō atque optimō iūre contigit. Quis enim est illō aut nōbilitāte aut probitāte aut optimārum artium studiō aut innocentiā aut ūllō in laudis genere praestantior?

Demonstratio

2. Nūllius tantum flūmen est ingenī, nūlla dīcendī aut scrībendī tanta vīs, tantaque cōpia, quae nōn dīcam exōrnāre, sed ēnārrāre, C. Caesar, rēs tuās gestās possit. Tamen hoc adfīrmō et pācē dīco tuā, nūllam in hīs esse laudem ampliōrem quam eam, quam hodiernō diē consecūtus es. 5. Soleō saepe ante oculōs pōnere idque libenter crēbrīs ūsūrpāre sermōnibus, omnīs nostrōrum imperātōrum, omnīs exterārum gentium potentissimōrumque populōrum, omnīs rēgum clārissimōrum rēs gestās cum tuīs nec contentiōnum magnitūdine nec numerō proeliōrum nec varietāte regiōnum nec celeritāte cōnficiendī nec dissimilitūdine bellōrum posse cōnferrī, nec vērō disiūnctissimās terrās citius passibus cuiusquam potuisse peragrārī quam tuīs nōn dīcam cursibus, sed victōriīs lūstrātae sunt. 6. Quae quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cuiusquam mēns aut cōgitātiō capere possit, āmēns sim; sed tamen sunt alia maiōra. Nam bellicās laudēs solent quīdam extenuāre verbīs eāsque dētrahere ducibus, commūnicāre cum multīs, nē propriae sint imperātōrum. Et certē in armīs mīlitum virtūs, locōrum opportūnitās, auxilia sociōrum, classēs commeātūs multum iuvant, maximam vērō partem quasi suō iūre Fortūno sibi vindicat et, quicquid

est prōsperē gestum, id paene omne dūcit suum. 7. At vērō huius glōriae, C. Caesar, quam es paulō ante adeptus, socium habēs nēminem: tōtum hoc, quantumcumque est, quod certē maximum est, tōtum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex istā laude centuriō, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma dēcerpit; quīn etiam illa ipsa rērum hūmānārum domina, Fortūna, in istius sē societātem glōriae nōn offert: tibi cēdit, tuam esse tōtam et propriam fatētur. Numquam enim temeritās cum sapientiā commiscētur nec ad cōnsilium cāsus admittitur.

3. 8. Domuistī gentīs immānitāte barbarās, multitūdine innumerābilīs, locīs īnfīnītās, omnī cōpiārum genere abundantīs: ea tamen vīcistī, quae et nātūram et condiciōnem ut vincī possent habēbant. Nūlla est enim tanta vīs quae nōn ferrō et vīribus dēbilitārī frangīque possit. Animum vincere, īrācundiam cohibēre, victō temperāre, adversārium nōbilitāte, ingeniō, virtūte praestantem nōn modo extollere iacentem, sed etiam amplificāre eius prīstinam dignitātem, haec quī faciat, nōn ego eum cum summīs virīs comparō, sed simillimum deō iūdicō. 9. Itaque, C. Caesar, bellicae tuae laudēs celebrābuntur illae quidem nōn sōlum nostrīs, sed paene omnium gentium litterīs atque linguīs, neque ūlla umquam aetās dē tuīs laudibus conticēscet; sed tamen eius modī rēs nesciō quō modō etiam cum leguntur, obstrepī clāmōre mīlitum videntur et tubārum sonō. At vērō cum aliquid clēmenter, mānsuētē, iūstē, moderātē, sapienter factum, in īrācundiā praesertim, quae est inimīca cōnsiliō, et in victōriā, quae nātūrā īnsolēns et superba est, audīmus aut legimus, quō studiō incendimur, nōn modo in gestīs rēbus, sed etiam in fictīs, ut eōs saepe, quōs numquam vīdimus, dīligāmus! 10. Tē vērō, quem praesentem intuēmur, cuius mentem sēnsūsque et ōs cernimus, ut, quicquid bellī fortūna reliquum reī pūblicae fēcerit, id esse salvum

velis, quibus laudibus efferēmus, quibus studiīs prōsequēmur, quā benevolentiā complectēmur? Parietēs, mē dius fidius, ut mihi vidētur, huius cūriae tibi grātiās agere gestiunt, quod brevī tempore futūra sit illa auctōritās in hīs maiōrum suōrum et suīs sēdibus.

4. Equidem cum C. Mārcellī, virī optimī et commemorābilī pietāte praeditī lacrimās modo vōbiscum vidērem, omnium Mārcellōrum meum pectus memoria offūdit, quibus tū etiam mortuīs M. Mārcellō cōnservātō dignitātem suam reddidistī nōbilissimamque familiam iam ad paucōs redāctam paene ab interitū vindicāstī. 11. Hunc tū diem tuīs maximīs et innumerābilibus grātulātiōnibus iūre antepōnis. Haec enim rēs ūnius est propria C. Caesaris; cēterae duce tē gestae magnae illae quidem, sed tamen multō magnōque comitātū. Huius autem reī tū īdem dux es et comes: quae quidem tanta est, ut tropaeīs et monumentīs tuīs adlātūra fīnem sit aetās — nihil est enim opere et manū factum, quod nōn cōnficiat et cōnsūmat vetustās — 12. at haec tua iūstitia et lēnitās flōrēscet cotidiē magis. Ita quantum operibus tuīs diūturnitās dētrahet, tantum adferet laudibus. Et cēterōs quidem omnīs victōrēs bellōrum cīvīlium iam anteā aequitāte et misericordiā vīcerās: hodiernō vērō diē tē ipse vīcistī. Vereor ut hoc, quod dīcam, perinde intellegī possit audītū atque ipse cōgitāns sentiō: ipsam victōriam vīcisse vidēris, cum ea, quae erant adempta, victīs remīsistī. Nam cum ipsīus victōriae iūre omnēs victī occidissēmus, clēmentiae tuae iūdiciō cōnservātī sumus. Rēctē igitur ūnus invictus es, ā quō etiam ipsīus victōriae condiciō vīsque dēvicta est.

5. 13. Atque hoc C. Caesaris iūdicium, patrēs cōnscriptī, quam lātē pateat attendite. Omnēs enim, quī ad illa arma fātō sumus nesciō quō reī pūblicae miserō fūnestōque compulsī, etsī aliquā culpā tenēmur errōris hūmānī, ab scelere

certē līberātī sumus. Nam cum M. Mārcellum dēprecantibus vōbīs reī pūblicae cōnservāvit, mē aut mihi et item reī pūblicae, nūllō dēprecante, reliquōs amplissimōs virōs et sibi ipsōs et patriae reddidit, quōrum et frequentiam et dignitātem hōc ipsō in cōnsessū vidētis, nōn ille hostīs indūxit in cūriam, sed iūdicāvit ā plērīsque īgnōrātiōne potius et falsō atque inānī metū quam cupiditāte aut crūdēlitāte bellum esse susceptum. 14. Quō quidem in bellō semper dē pāce audiendum putāvī semperque doluī nōn modo pācem, sed etiam ōrātiōnem cīvium pācem flāgitantium repudiārī. Neque enim ego illa nec ūlla umquam secūtus sum arma cīvīlia semperque mea cōnsilia pācis et togae socia, nōn bellī atque armōrum fuērunt. Hominem sum secūtus prīvātō officiō, nōn pūblicō, tantumque apud mē grātī animī fidēlis memoria valuit, ut nūlla nōn modo cupiditāte, sed nē spē quidem prūdēns et sciēns tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntārium. 15. Quod quidem meum cōnsilium minimē obscūrum fuit. Nam et in hōc ōrdine integrā rē multa dē pāce dīxī et in ipsō bellō eadem etiam cum capitis meī perīculō sēnsī. Ex quō nēmō erit tam iniūstus rērum exīstimātor quī dubitet quae Caesaris dē bellō voluntās fuerit, cum pācis auctōrēs conservandōs statim cēnsuerit, cēterīs fuerit īrātior. Atque id minus mīrum fortasse tum, cum esset incertus exitus et anceps fortūna bellī: quī vērō victor pācis auctōrēs dīligit, is profectō dēclārat māluisse sē nōn dīmicāre quam vincere.

6. 16. Atque huius quidem reī M. Mārcellō sum testis. Nostrī enim sēnsūs ut in pāce semper, sīc tum etiam in bellō congruēbant. Quotiēns ego eum et quantō cum dolōre vīdī, cum īnsolentiam certōrum hominum tum etiam ipsius victōriae ferōcitātem extimēscentem! Quō grātior tua līberālitās, C. Caesar, nōbīs, quī illa vīdimus, dēbet esse. Nōn enim iam causae sunt inter sē, sed victō-

riae comparandae. 17. Vīdimus tuam victōriam proeliōrum exitū terminātam: gladium vāgīnā vacuum in urbe nōn vīdimus. Quōs āmīsimus cīvīs, eōs vīs Mārtis perculit, nōn īra victōriae, ut dubitāre dēbeat nēmō quīn multōs, sī posset, C. Caesar ab īnferīs excitāret, quoniam ex eādem aciē cōnservat quōs potest. Alterius vērō partis nihil amplius dīcō quam, id quod omnēs verēbāmur, nimis īrācundam futūram fuisse victōriam. 18. Quīdam enim nōn modo armātīs, sed interdum etiam ōtiōsīs minābantur, nec quid quisque sēnsisset, sed ubi fuisset cōgitandum esse dīcēbant; ut mihi quidem videantur dī immortālēs, etiam sī poenās ā populō Rōmānō ob aliquod dēlictum expetīvērunt, quī cīvīle bellum tantum et tam lūctuōsum excitāvērant, vel plācātī iam vel satiātī aliquandō omnem spem salūtis ad clēmentiam victōris et sapientiam contulisse.

19. Quā rē gaudē tuō istō tam excellentī bonō et fruere cum fortūnā et glōriā tum etiam nātūrā et mōribus tuīs; ex quō quidem maximus est frūctus iūcunditāsque sapientī. Cētera cum tua recordābere, etsī persaepe virtūtī, tamen plērumque fēlīcitātī tuae grātulābere: dē nōbīs, quōs in rē pūblicā tēcum simul esse voluistī, quotiēns cōgitābis, totiēns dē maximīs tuīs beneficiīs, totiēns dē incrēdibilī līberālitāte, totiēns dē singulārī sapientiā cōgitābis: quae nōn modo summa bona, sed nīmīrum audēbō vel sōla dīcere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude vērā, tanta in magnitūdine animī et cōnsilī dignitās, ut haec ā Virtūte dōnāta, cētera ā Fortūnā commodāta esse videantur. 20. Nōlī igitur in cōnservandīs virīs bonīs dēfatīgārī, nōn cupiditāte praesertim aliquā aut prāvitāte lāpsīs, sed opīniōne officī stultā fortasse, certē nōn improbā, et speciē quādam reī pūblicae. Nōn enim tua ūlla culpa est, sī tē aliquī timuērunt, contraque summa laus, quod minimē timendum fuisse sēnsērunt.

7. 21. Nunc veniō ad gravissimam querēlam et atrōcis-

simam suspīciōnem tuam, quae nōn tibi ipsī magis quam cum omnibus cīvibus, tum maximē nōbis, quī ā tē cōnservātī sumus, prōvidenda est: quam etsī spērō falsam esse, numquam tamen extenuābō, tua enim cautiō nostra cautiō est. Quod sī in alterutrō peccandum sit, mālim vidērī nimis timidus quam parum prūdēns. Sed quisnam est iste tam dēmēns? dē tuīsne?—tametsī quī magis sunt tuī quam quibus tū salūtem īnspērantibus reddidisti?—anne ex eō numerō, quī ūnā tēcum fuērunt? Nōn est crēdibilis tantus in ūllō furor, ut quō duce omnia summa sit adeptus, huius vītam nōn antepōnat suae. An sī nihil tuī cōgitant sceleris, cavendum est nē quid inimīcī? Quī? omnēs enim, quī fuērunt, aut suā pertināciā vītam āmīsērunt aut tuā misericordiā retinuērunt, ut aut nūllī supersint dē inimīcīs aut quī fuērunt sint amīcissimī. 22. Sed tamen cum in animīs hominum tantae latebrae sint et tantī recessūs, augeāmus sānē suspīciōnem tuam: simul enim augēbimus dīligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam īgnārus rērum, tam rudis in rē pūblicā, tam nihil umquam nec dē suā nec dē commūnī salūte cōgitāns quī nōn intellegat tuā salūte continērī suam et ex ūnīus tuā vītā pendēre omnium? Equidem dē tē diēs noctēsque, ut dēbeō, cōgitāns cāsūs dumtaxat hūmānōs et incertōs ēventūs valētūdinis et nātūrae commūnis fragilitātem extimēscō, doleōque, cum rēs pūblica immortālis esse dēbeat, eam in ūnīus mortālis animā cōnsistere. 23. Sī vērō ad hūmānōs cāsūs incertōsque mōtūs valētūdinis sceleris ētiam accēdit īnsidiārumque cōnsēnsiō, quem deum, sī cupiat, posse opitulārī reī pūblicae crēdimus?

8. Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, ūnī, quae iacēre sentīs bellī ipsīus impetū, quod necesse fuit, perculsa atque prōstrāta: cōnstituenda iūdicia, revocanda fidēs, comprimendae libīdinēs, prōpāganda subolēs, omnia, quae dīlāpsa

iam diffluxērunt, sevērīs lēgibus vincienda sunt. 24. Nōn fuit recūsandum in tantō cīvilī bellō, tantō animōrum ārdōre et armōrum, quīn quassāta rēs pūblica, quīcumque bellī ēventus fuisset, multa perderet et ōrnāmenta dignitātis et praesidia stabilitātis suae, multaque uterque dux faceret armātus, quae īdem togātus fierī prohibuisset. Quae quidem tibi nunc omnia bellī volnera sānanda sunt, quibus praeter tē medērī nēmō potest. 25. Itaque illam tuam praeclārissimam et sapientissimam vōcem invītus audīvī: 'Satis diū vel nātūrae vīxī vel glōriae.' Satis, sī ita vīs, fortasse nātūrae, addam etiam, sī placet, glōriae: at, quod maximum est, patriae certē parum. Quā rē omitte, quaesō, istam doctōrum hominum in contemnendā morte prūdentiam: nōlī nostrō perīculō esse sapiēns. Saepe enim venit ad meās aurīs tē idem istud nimis crēbrō dīcere, satis tē vīxisse. Crēdō, sed tum id audīrem, sī tibi sōlī viverēs aut sī tibi etiam sōlī nātus essēs. Omnium salūtem cīvium cūnctamque rem pūblicam rēs tuae gestae complexae sunt; tantum abes ā perfectiōne maximōrum operum, ut fundāmenta nōndum quae cōgitās iēceris. Hīc tū modum vītae tuae nōn salūte reī pūblicae, sed aequitāte animī dēfīniēs? Quid, sī istud nē glōriae quidem satis est? cuius tē esse avidissimum, quamvīs sīs sapiēns, nōn negābis. 26. Parumne, inquiēs, magna relinquēmus? Immō vērō aliīs quamvīs multīs satis, tibi ūnī parum. Quicquid est enim, quamvīs amplum sit, id est parum tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quod sī rērum tuārum immortālium, C. Caesar, hīc exitus futūrus fuit, ut dēvictīs adversāriīs rem pūblicam in eō statū relinquerēs, in quō nunc est, vidē, quaesō, nē tua dīvīna virtūs admīrātiōnis plūs sit habitūra quam glōriae; sī quidem glōria est inlūstris et pervagāta magnōrum vel in suōs cīvīs vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fāma meritōrum.

9. 27. Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est; hīc restat āctus, in hōc ēlabōrandum est, ut rem pūblicam cōnstituās, eāque tū in prīmīs summā tranquillitāte et ōtiō perfruāre: tum tē, sī volēs, cum et patriae quod dēbēs solveris et nātūram ipsam explēveris satietāte vīvendī, satis diū vīxisse dīcitō. Quid enim est omnīnō hoc ipsum diū, in quō est aliquid extrēmum? Quod cum vēnit, omnis voluptās praeterita pro nihilō est, quia posteā nūlla est futūra. Quamquam iste tuus animus numquam hīs angustiīs, quās nātūra nōbīs ad vīvendum dedit, contentus fuit, semper immortālitātis amōre flagrāvit.

28. Nec vērō haec tua vīta dūcenda est, quae corpore et spīritū continētur: illa, inquam, illa vīta est tua, quae vigēbit memoriā saeculōrum omnium, quam posteritās alet, quam ipsa aeternitās semper tuēbitur. Huic tū īnserviās, huic tē ostentēs oportet, quae quidem quae mirētur iam prīdem multa habet; nunc etiam quae laudet exspectat. Obstupēscent posterī certē imperia, prōvinciās, Rhēnum, Ōceanum, Nīlum, pugnās innumerābilīs, incrēdibilīs victōriās, monumenta, mūnera, triumphōs audientēs et legentēs tuōs.

29. Sed nisi haec urbs stabilīta tuīs cōnsiliīs et īnstitūtīs erit, vagābitur modo tuum nōmen longē atque lātē, sēdem stabilem et domicilium certum nōn habēbit. Erit inter eōs etiam, quī nāscentur, sīcut inter nōs fuit, magna dissēnsiō, cum aliī laudibus ad caelum rēs tuās gestās efferent, aliī fortasse aliquid requīrent, idque vel maximum, nisi bellī cīvīlis incendium salūte patriae restīnxeris, ut illud fātī videātur, hoc cōnsilī. Servī igitur eīs iūdicibus, quī multīs post saeculīs dē tē iūdicābunt et quidem haud sciō an incorruptius quam nōs; nam et sine amōre et sine cupiditāte et rūrsus sine odiō et sine invidiā iūdicābunt. 30. Id autem etiam sī tum ad tē, ut quīdam falsō putant, nōn pertinēbit,

nunc certē pertinet esse tē tālem, ut tuās laudēs obscūrātūra nūlla umquam sit oblīviō.

10. Dīversae voluntātēs cīvium fuērunt distractaeque sententiae. Nōn enim cōnsiliīs sōlum et studiīs, sed armīs etiam et castrīs dissidēbāmus. Erat obscūritās quaedam, erat certāmen inter clārissimōs ducēs; multī dubitābant quid optimum esset, multī quid sibi expedīret, multī quid decēret, nōn nūllī etiam quid licēret. 31. Perfūncta rēs pūblica est hōc miserō fātālique bellō: vīcit is, quī nōn fortūnā īnflammāret odium suum, sed bonitāte lēnīret; neque omnīs, quibus īrātus esset, eōsdem etiam exsiliō aut morte dignōs iūdicāret. Arma ab aliīs posita, ab aliīs ērepta sunt. Ingrātus est iniūstusque cīvis, quī armōrum perīculō līberātus animum tamen retinent armātum, ut etiam ille melior sit quī in aciē cecidit, quī in causā animam prōfūdit. Quae enim pertinācia quibusdam, eadem aliīs cōnstantia vidērī potest. 32. Sed iam omnis frācta dissēnsiō est armīs, exstīncta aequitāte victōris: restat ut omnēs ūnum velint, quī habent aliquid nōn sapientiae modo, sed etiam sānitātis. Nisi tē, C. Caesar, salvō et in istā sententiā, quā cum anteā tum hodiē maximē ūsus es, manente salvī esse nōn possumus. Quā rē omnēs tē, quī haec salva esse volumus, et hortāmur et obsecrāmus, ut vītae, ut salūtī tuae cōnsulās, omnēsque tibi, ut prō aliīs etiam loquar quod dē mē ipsō sentiō, quoniam subesse aliquid putās quod cavendum sit, nōn modo excubiās et cūstōdiās, sed etiam laterum nostrōrum oppositūs et corporum pollicēmur.

Peroratio

All citizens praise Caesar for the pardon of Marcellus and for the prospect of a restored republic. Cicero himself, as Marcellus' friend, thanks Caesar with especial heartiness. (33–34.)

11. 33. Sed ut, unde est ōrsa, in eōdem terminētur ōrātiō, maximās tibi omnēs grātiās agimus, C. Caesar, maiōrēs

etiam habēmus. Nam omnēs idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium precibus et lacrimīs sentīre potuistī. Sed quia nōn est omnibus stantibus necesse dīcere, ā mē certē dicī volunt, cui necesse est quōdam modō, et quod fierī decet M. Mārcello ā tē huic ōrdinī populōque Rōmānō et reī pūblicae redditō, fierī id intellegō. Nam laetārī omnīs nōn ut dē ūnīus sōlum, sed ut dē omnium salūte sentiō. 34. Quod autem summae benevolentiae est, quae mea ergā illum omnibus nōta semper fuit, ut vix C. Mārcellō, optimō et amantissimō frātrī, praeter eum quidem cēderem nēminī, cum id sollicitūdine, cūrā, labōre tam diū praestiterim, quam diū est dē illīus salūte dubitātum, certē hōc tempore magnīs cūrīs, molestiīs, dolōribus līberātus praestāre dēbeō. Itaque, C. Caesar, sīc tibi grātiās agō, ut mē omnibus rēbus ā tē nōn cōnservātō sōlum, sed etiam ōrnātō, tamen ad tua in mē ūnum innumerābilia merita, quod fierī iam posse nōn arbitrābar, magnus hōc tuō factō cumulus accesserit.

PRO Q. LIGARIO ORATIO

ORATION FOR LIGARIUS (46 B.C.)

Introduction

Quintus Ligarius was a legate in Africa on the staff of the governor, Gaius Considius Longus. At the close of 50 Considius returned to Rome, and Ligarius was left in charge of the province. There were friends of Pompey in Africa, and at the beginning of the war between Caesar and Pompey the Pompeians there urged Ligarius to head their forces, but he refused. Lucius Aemilius Tubero was appointed governor of Africa by the senate, and sailed to Utica, but was not allowed to land, and was compelled to depart, although his son Quintus Tubero was sick at the time. They joined Pompey in Macedonia and staid with him until the battle of Pharsalus, when they were pardoned by Caesar. Ligarius served with Publius Attius Varus, who had fled to Africa and, organizing two legions, assumed control of the province. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Thapsus. His life was spared by Caesar, but he remained in Africa an exile. Quintus Tubero brought a formal accusation against Ligarius, probably because Ligarius, acting under the orders of Varus, had not permitted the Tuberos to land in Africa. The case was argued in the Forum before Caesar. Ligarius was pardoned, but later on joined the plot to kill Caesar.

Exordium

The charge that Ligarius was in Africa is a strange one, for Ligarius freely admits it, and Tubero, who makes it, must plead guilty to it. (1.)

1. 1. Novum crīmen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem nōn audītum propinquus meus ad tē Q. Tūberō dētulit, Q. Ligā-

rium in Āfricā fuisse, idque C. Pānsa, praestantī vir ingeniō, frētus fortasse familiāritāte eā, quae est eī tēcum, ausus est cōnfitērī. Itaque quō mē vertam nesciō. Parātus enim vēneram, cum tū id neque per tē scīrēs neque audīre aliunde potuissēs, ut īgnōrātiōne tuā ad hominis miserī salūtem abūterer. Sed quoniam dīligentiā inimīcī investīgātum est quod latēbat, cōnfitendum est, opīnor, praesertim cum meus necessārius Pānsa fēcerit, ut id integrum iam nōn esset, omissāque contrōversiā omnis ōrātiō ad misericordiam tuam cōnferenda est, quā plūrimī sunt cōnservātī, cum ā tē nōn līberātiōnem culpae, sed errātī veniam impetrāvissent.

Before war was ever thought of, Ligarius, who was a legatus *in Africa, was left in charge of that province against his will. The war came upon him, and with reluctance he was made to act as leader of the Pompeians there.* (2–5.)

2. Habēs igitur, Tūberō, quod est accūsātōrī maximē optandum, cōnfitentem reum, sed tamen hoc cōnfitentem, sē in eā parte fuisse quā tē, quā virum omnī laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius dē vestrō dēlictō cōnfiteāminī necesse est, quam Ligārī ūllam culpam reprehendātis.

Q. enim Ligārius, cum esset nūlla bellī suspiciō, lēgātus in Āfricam C. Cōnsidiō profectus est, quā in lēgātiōne et cīvibus et sociīs ita sē probāvit, ut dēcēdēns Cōnsidius prōvinciā satis facere hominibus nōn posset, sī quemquam alium prōvinciae praefēcisset. Itaque Ligārius, cum diū recūsāns nihil prōfēcisset, prōvinciam accēpit invītus; cui sīc praefuit in pāce, ut et cīvibus et sociīs grātissima esset eius integritās et fidēs. 3. Bellum subitō exārsit, quod quī erant in Āfricā ante audiērunt gerī quam parārī. Quō audītō partim cupiditāte incōnsīderātā, partim caecō quōdam timōre prīmō salūtis post etiam studī suī quaerēbant aliquem ducem, cum Ligārius domum spectāns, ad suōs

redīre cupiēns, nūllō sē implicārī negōtiō passus est. Interim P. Attius Vārus, quī tum praetor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam vēnit. Ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille nōn mediocrī cupiditāte adripuit imperium, sī illud imperium esse potuit, quod ad prīvātum clāmōre multitūdinis imperītae, nūllō pūblicō cōnsiliō dēferēbātur. 4. Itaque Ligārius, quī omne tāle negōtium fugeret, paulum adventū Vārī conquiēvit.

Confirmatio

2. Adhūc, C. Caesar, Q. Ligārius omnī culpā vacat. Domō est ēgressus nōn modo nūllum ad bellum, sed nē ad mīnimam quidem suspīciōnem bellī; lēgātus in pāce profectus in prōvinciā pācātissimā ita sē gessit, ut eī pācem esse expedīret. Profectiō certē animum tuum nōn dēbet offendere: num igitur remānsiō? Multō minus. Nam profectiō voluntātem habuit nōn turpem, remānsiō necessitātem etiam honestam. Ergō haec duo tempora carent crīmine: ūnum, cum est lēgātus profectus, alterum, cum efflāgitātus ā prōvinciā praepositus Āfricae est. 5. Tertium tempus, quod post adventum Vārī in Āfricā restitit, sī est crīminōsum, necessitātis crīmen est, nōn voluntātis. An ille, sī potuisset illinc ūllō modō ēvādere, Uticae quam Rōmae, cum P. Attiō quam cum concordissimīs frātribus, cum aliēnīs esse quam cum suīs māluisset? Cum ipsa lēgātiō plēna dēsīderī ac sollicitūdinis fuisset propter incrēdibilem quendam frātrum amōrem, hīc aequō animō esse potuit bellī dīscidiō distrāctus ā frātribus?

What irony of fate that I should be pleading for him! Ligarius opposed Caesar because he could not help himself, but I did so of my own free will. My actions deserved harsher treatment, yet Caesar freely forgave me. (6–7.)

6. Nūllum igitur habēs, Caesar, adhūc in Q. Ligāriō sīgnum aliēnae ā tē voluntātis; cuius ego causam ani-

madverte, quaesō, quā fidē dēfendam: prōdō meam. Ō clēmentiam admīrābilem atque omnium laude, praedicātiōne, litterīs monumentīsque decorandam! M. Cicerō apud tē dēfendit alium in eā voluntāte nōn fuisse, in quā sē ipsum cōnfitētur fuisse, nec tuās tacitās cōgitātiōnēs extimēscit nec quid tibi dē aliō audientī dē sē occurrat reformīdat.

3. Vidē quam nōn reformīdem; vidē quanta lūx līberālitātis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud tē dīcentī oboriātur: quantum poterō vōce contendam, ut hoc populus Rōmānus exaudiat: 7. Susceptō bellō, Caesar, gestō etiam ex parte magnā, nūllā vī coāctus, iūdiciō ac voluntāte ad ea arma profectus sum, quae erant sūmpta contrā tē. Apud quem igitur hoc dīcō? Nempe apud eum, quī, cum hoc scīret, tamen mē, ante quam vīdit, reī pūblicae reddidit; quī ad mē ex Aegyptō litterās mīsit, ut essem īdem quī fuissem; quī mē, cum ipse imperātor in tōtō imperiō populī Rōmānī ūnus esset, esse alterum passus est; ā quō hōc ipsō C. Pānsā mihi hunc nūntium perferente concessōs fascīs laureātōs tenuī, quoad tenendōs putāvī; quī mihi tum dēnique salūtem sē putāvit dare, sī eam nūllīs spoliātam ōrnāmentīs dedisset.

Tubero accuses Ligarius because he was in Africa, yet it was Ligarius alone who kept Tubero from landing there. Neither Tubero nor his father seem to realize the cruel conditions of their prosecution. Tubero is publicly trying to undo all that I have sought from Caesar in private. Caesar's kindness is all that saves us, since even his former enemies demand such cruel punishments. (8–16.)

8. Vidē, quaesō, Tūberō, ut, quī dē meō factō nōn dubitem, dē Ligārī audeam dīcere. Atque haec propterea dē mē dīxī, ut mihi Tūberō, cum dē sē eadem dīcerem, īgnōsceret; cuius ego industriae glōriaeque faveō vel propter propinquam cōgnātiōnem, vel quod eius ingeniō studiīsque

dēlector, vel quod laudem adulēscentis propinquī exīstimō etiam ad meum aliquem frūctum redundāre. 9. Sed hoc quaerō: Quis putat esse crīmen fuisse in Āfricā? Nempe is, quī et ipse in eādem prōvinciā esse voluit et prohibitum sē ā Ligāriō queritur, et certē contrā ipsum Caesarem est congressus armātus. Quid enim, Tūberō, tuus ille dēstrictus in aciē Pharsālicā gladius agēbat? cuius latus ille mucrō petēbat? quī sēnsus erat armōrum tuōrum? quae tua mēns, oculī, manūs, ārdor animī? quid cupiēbās, quid optābās? Nimis urgeō; commovērī vidētur adulēscēns.

4. 10. Ad mē revertar. Īsdem in armīs fuī. Quid autem aliud ēgimus, Tūberō, nisi ut quod hīc potest nōs possēmus? Quōrum igitur impūnitās, Caesar, tuae clēmentiae laus est, eōrum ipsōrum ad crūdēlitātem tē acuet ōrātiō? Atque in hāc causā nōn nihil equidem, Tūberō, etiam tuam, sed multō magis patris tuī prūdentiam dēsīderō, quod homō cum ingeniō tum etiam doctrīnā excellēns genus hoc causae quod esset nōn vīderit. Nam sī vīdisset, quōvīs profectō quam istō modō ā tē agī māluisset. Arguis fatentem. Nōn est satis: accūsās eum, quī causam habet aut, ut ego dīcō meliōrem quam tū aut, ut tū vīs, parem. 11. Haec admīrābilia, sed prōdigī simile est, quod dīcam. Nōn habet eam vim ista accūsātiō, ut Q. Ligārius condemnētur, sed ut necētur. Hoc ēgit cīvis Rōmānus ante tē nēmō: externī sunt istī mōrēs aut levium Graecōrum aut immānium barbarōrum. Nam quid agis aliud? ut Rōmae nē sit, ut domō careat, nē cum optimīs frātribus, nē cum hōc T. Brocchō avunculō, nē cum eius fīliō cōnsōbrīnō suō, nē nōbīscum vīvat, nē sit in patriā? Num est, num potest magis carēre hīs omnibus quam caret? Ītaliā prohibētur, exsulat. Nōn tū hunc ergō patriā prīvāre, quā caret, sed vītā vīs. 12. At istud nē apud eum quidem dictātōrem, quī omnīs quōs ōderat morte multābat, quisquam ēgit istō modō. Ipse

iubēbat occīdī nūllō postulante, praemiīs invītābat; quae tamen crūdēlitās ab hōc eōdem aliquot annīs post, quem tū nunc crūdēlem esse vīs, vindicāta est.

5. 'Ego vērō istud nōn postulō' inquiēs. Ita mē hercule existimō, Tūberō. Nōvī enim tē, nōvī patrem, nōvī domum nōmenque vestrum; studia generis ac familiae vestrae virtūtis, hūmānitātis, doctrīnae, plūrimārum artium atque optimārum nōta mihi sunt. 13. Itaque certō sciō vōs nōn petere sanguinem, sed parum attenditis. Rēs enim eō spectat, ut eā poenā, in quā adhūc Q. Ligārius sit, nōn videāminī esse contentī. Quae est igitur alia praeter mortem? Sī enim est in exsiliō sīcutī est, quid amplius postulātis? an, nē īgnōscātur? Hōc vērō multō acerbius multōque dūrius. Quodne nōs petimus precibus ac lacrimīs, strātī ad pedēs, nōn tam nostrae causae fīdentēs quam huius hūmānitātī, id nē impetrēmus pugnābis, et in nostrum flētum inrumpēs, et nōs iacentīs ad pedēs supplicum vōce prohibēbis? 14. Sī, cum hoc domī facerēmus, quod et fēcimus et, ut spērō, nōn frūstrā fēcimus, tū repente inruissēs et clāmāre coepissēs 'C. Caesar, cavē īgnōscās, cavē tē frātrum prō frātris salūte obsecrantium misereat,' nōnne omnem hūmānitātem exuissēs? Quantō hoc dūrius, quod nōs domī petimus, id ā tē in forō oppugnārī et in tālī miseriā multōrum perfugium misericordiae tollī? Dīcam plānē, Caesar, quod sentiō. 15. Sī in tantā tuā fortūnā lēnitās tanta nōn esset, quam tū per tē, per tē, inquam, obtinēs—intellegō quid loquar—, acerbissimō lūctū redundāret ista victōria. Quam multī enim essent dē victōribus quī tē crūdēlem esse vellent, cum etiam dē victīs reperiantur! quam multī quī cum ā tē īgnōscī nēminī vellent, impedīrent clēmentiam tuam, cum hī, quibus ipsīs īgnōvistī, nōlint tē esse in aliōs misericordem! 16. Quod sī probāre Caesarī possēmus in Āfricā Ligārium omninō nōn fuisse, sī honestō et miseri-

cordī mendāciō salūtī cīvī calamitōsō esse vellēmus, tamen hominis nōn esset in tantō discrīmine et perīculō cīvis refellere et coarguere nostrum mendācium, et, sī esset alicuius, eius certē nōn esset, quī in eādem causā et fortūnā fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errāre Caesarem nōlle, aliud est nōlle miserērī. Tum dīcerēs: 'Caesar, cavē crēdās: fuit in Āfricā, tulit arma contrā tē.' Nunc quid dīcis? 'Cavē īgnōscās.' Haec nec hominis nec ad hominem vōx est. Quā quī apud tē C. Caesar, ūtētur, suam citius abiciet hūmānitātem quam extorquēbit tuam.

No one, aside from Tubero, calls this deed a crime. Pompey and others should not be called criminals. They, as well as Caesar, were sincere in their beliefs. (17–19.)

6. 17. Ac prīmus aditus et postulātiō Tūberōnis haec, ut opīnor, fuit, velle sē dē Q. Ligārī scelere dīcere. Nōn dubitō quīn admīrātus sīs, vel quod nūllō dē aliō quisquam, vel quod is, quī in eādem causā fuisset, vel quidnam novī sceleris adferret. 'Scelus' tū illud vocās, Tūberō? cūr? istō enim nōmine illa adhūc causa caruit. Aliī errōrem appellant, aliī timōrem; quī dūrius, spem, cupiditātem, odium, pertināciam; quī gravissimē, temeritātem: scelus praeter tē adhūc nēmō. Ac mihi quidem, sī proprium et vērum nōmen nostrī malī quaeritur, fātālis quaedam calamitās incidisse vidētur et imprōvidās hominum mentīs occupāvisse, ut nēmō mīrārī dēbeat hūmāna cōnsilia dīvīnā necessitāte esse superāta. 18. Liceat esse miserōs — quamquam hōc victōre esse nōn possumus; sed nōn loquor dē nōbīs, dē illīs loquor, quī occidērunt — fuerint cupidī, fuerint īrātī, fuerint pertinācēs: sceleris vērō crīmine furōris, parricīdī liceat Cn. Pompēiō mortuō, liceat multīs aliīs carēre. Quandō hoc ex tē quisquam, Caesar, audīvit, aut tua quid aliud arma voluērunt nisi ā tē contumēliam

prōpulsāre? Quid ēgit tuus invictus exercitus, nisi utī suum iūs tuērētur et dignitātem tuam? Quid? tū cum pācem esse cupiēbās, idne agēbās, ut tibi cum scelerātīs an ut cum bonīs cīvibus convenīret? 19. Mihi vērō, Caesar, tua in mē maxima merita tanta certē nōn vidērentur, sī mē ut scelerātum ā tē cōnservātum putārem. Quō modō autem tū dē rē pūblicā bene meritus essēs, cum tot scelerātōs incolumī dignitāte esse voluissēs? Sēcessiōnem tū illam exīstimāvistī, Caesar, initiō, nōn bellum, nec hostīle odium, sed cīvīle dīscidium, utrīsque cupientibus rem pūblicam salvam, sed partim cōnsiliīs, partim studiīs ā commūnī ūtilitāte aberrantibus. Prīncipum dignitās erat paene pār, nōn pār fortasse eōrum, quī sequēbantur; causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utrāque parte, quod probārī posset; nunc melior ea iūdicanda est, quam etiam dī adiūvērunt. Cōgnitā vērō clēmentiā tuā quis nōn eam victōriam probet, in quā occiderit nēmō nisi armātus?

Had Tubero landed in Africa he might have found himself accused of a very serious crime, — disobedience to the senate, — and he would openly have showed his enmity to Caesar. He should thank Ligarius for preventing this being the case. (20–25.)

7. 20. Sed, ut omittam commūnem causam, veniāmus ad nostram. Utrum tandem exīstimās facilius fuisse, Tūberō, Ligāriō ex Āfricā exīre an vōbīs in Āfricam nōn venīre? 'Poterāmusne,' inquiēs, 'cum senātus cēnsuisset?' Sī mē cōnsulis nūllō modō; sed tamen Ligārium senātus īdem lēgāverat. Atque ille eō tempore pāruit, cum pārēre senātuī necesse erat; vōs tum pāruistis, cum pāruit nēmō, quī nōluit. Reprehendō igitur? Minimē vērō. Neque enim licuit aliter vestrō generī, nōminī, familiae, disciplīnae. Sed hoc nōn concēdō, ut, quibus rēbus glōriēminī in vōbīs, eāsdem in aliīs reprehendātis. 21. Tūberōnis sors coniecta

est ex senātūs cōnsultō, cum ipse nōn adesset, morbō etiam impedīrētur: statuerat excūsārī. Haec ego nōvī propter omnīs necessitūdinēs, quae mihi sunt cum L. Tūberōne: domī ūnā ērudītī, mīlitiae contubernālēs, post adfīnēs, in omnī vītā familiārēs; magnum etiam vinculum, quod īsdem studiīs semper ūsī sumus. Sciō Tūberōnem domī manēre voluisse: sed ita quīdam agēbant, ita reī pūblicae sānctissimum nōmen oppōnēbant, ut, etiam sī aliter sentiret, virōrum tamen ipsōrum pondus sustinēre nōn posset. 22. Cessit auctōritātī amplissimī virī vel potius pāruit: ūnā est profectus cum eīs, quōrum erat ūna causa. Tardius iter fēcit; itaque in Āfricam vēnit iam occupātam. Hinc in Ligārium crīmen oritur vel īra potius. Nam sī crīmen est voluisse, nōn minus magnum est vōs Āfricam, arcem omnium prōvinciārum, nātam ad bellum contrā hanc urbem gerendum, obtinēre voluisse quam aliquem sē māluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligārius nōn fuit: Vārus imperium sē habēre dīcēbat; fascīs certē habēbat. 23. Sed quōquō modō sē illud habet, haec querēla, Tūberō, vestra quid valet? 'Receptī in prōvinciam nōn sumus.' Quid, sī essētis? Caesarīne eam trāditūrī fuistis an contrā Caesarem retentūrī?

8. Vidē quid licentiae, Caesar, nōbīs tua līberālitās det vel potius audāciae. Sī responderit Tūberō, Āfricam, quō senātus eum sorsque mīserat, tibi patrem suum trāditūrum fuisse, nōn dubitābō apud ipsum tē, cūius id eum facere interfuit, gravissimīs verbīs eius cōnsilium reprehendere. Nōn enim, sī tibi ea rēs grāta fuisset, esset etiam eadem probāta. 24. Sed iam hoc tōtum omittō, nōn ultrā offendam tuās patientissimās aurīs quam nē Tūberō quod numquam cōgitāvit factūrus fuisse videātur. Veniēbātis igitur in prōvinciam, ūnam ex omnibus huic victōriae maximē īnfēnsam, in quā rēx potentissimus inimīcus huic causae, aliēna voluntās conventūs fīrmī atque magnī. Quaerō:

Quid factūrī fuistis? quamquam quid factūrī fueritis dubitem, cum videam quid fēceritis? Prohibitī estis in prōvinciā vestrā pedem pōnere et prohibitī summā cum iniūriā. 25. Quō modō id tulistis? acceptae iniūriae querēlam ad quem dētulistis? Nempe ad eum, cuius auctōritātem secūtī in societātem bellī venerātis. Quod sī Caesaris causā in prōvinciam veniēbātis, ad eum profectō exclūsī prōvinciā vēnissētis. Vēnistis ad Pompēium. Quae est ergō apud Caesarem querēla, cum eum accūsētis, ā quō querāminī prohibitōs vōs contrā Caesarem gerere bellum? Atque in hōc quidem vel cum mendāciō, sī voltis, glōriēminī per mē licet, vōs prōvinciam fuisse Caesarī trāditūrōs. Etiam sī ā Vārō et ā quibusdam aliīs prohibitī estis, ego tamen cōnfitēbor culpam esse Ligārī, quī vōs tantae laudis occāsiōne prīvāverit.

Even Pompey was not enthusiastic over Tubero, but this did not dampen Tubero's ardor. (26–28.)

9. 26. Sed vidē, quaesō, Caesar, cōnstantiam ōrnātissimī virī L. Tūberōnis, quam ego, quamvīs ipse probārem ut probō, tamen nōn commemorārem, nisi ā tē cōgnōvissem in prīmīs eam virtūtem solēre laudārī. Quae fuit igitur umquam in ūllō homine tanta cōnstantia? Cōnstantiam dīcō; nesciō an melius patientiam possim dīcere. Quotus enim istud quisque fēcisset, ut, ā quibus partibus in dissēnsiōne cīvīlī nōn esset receptus, essetque etiam cum crūdēlitāte rēiectus, ad eās ipsās partīs redīret? Magnī cuiusdam animī atque eius virī, quem dē susceptā causā prōpositāque sententiā nūlla contumēlia, nūlla vīs, nūllum perīculum possit dēpellere. 27. Ut enim cētera paria Tūberōnī cum Vārō fuissent, honōs, nōbilitās, splendor, ingenium, quae nēquāquam fuērunt, hoc certē praecipuum Tūberōnis, quod iūstō cum imperiō ex senātūs cōnsultō in prōvinciam

suam vēnerat. Hinc prohibitus nōn ad Caesarem, nē īrātus, nōn domum, nē iners, nōn aliquam in regiōnem, nē condemnāre causam illam, quam secūtus esset, vidērētur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeī castra vēnit, in eam ipsam causam, ā quā erat rēiectus iniūriā. 28. Quid? cum ista rēs nihil commōvisset eius animum, ad quem vēnerātis, languidiōre, crēdō, studiō in causā fuistis; tantum modo in praesidiīs erātis, animī vērō ā causā abhorrēbant: an, ut fit in cīvīlibus bellīs — nec in vōbīs magis quam in reliquīs; omnēs enim vincendī studiō tenēbāmur. Pācis equidem semper auctor fuī, sed tum sērō; erat enim āmentis, cum aciem vidērēs, pācem cōgitāre. Omnēs, inquam, vincere volēbāmus; tū certē, quī in eum locum vēnissēs, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vīcissēs. Quamquam, ut nunc sē rēs habet, nōn dubitō quīn hanc salūtem antepōnās illī victōriae.

Deprecatio

Caesar is far from sharing personal hatred. To plead before him thus is more like speaking with a father than with a judge. He decides cases on their merits. Then this throng of friends and these brothers of Ligarius should move Caesar. Here again he may show that kind-heartedness, which is the finest of his qualities. (29–33.)

10. 29. Haec ego nōn dīcerem, Tūberō, sī aut vōs cōnstantiae vestrae aut Caesarem beneficī suī paenitēret. Nunc quaerō utrum vestrās iniūriās an reī pūblicae persequāminī. Sī reī pūblicae, quid dē vestrā in illā causā persevērantiā respondēbitis? sī vestrās, vidēte nē errētīs, quī Caesarem vestrīs inimīcīs īrātum fore putētis, cum īgnōverit suīs.

Itaque num tibi videor in causā Ligārī esse occupātus, num dē eius factō dīcere? Quicquid dīxī, ad ūnam summam referrī volō vel hūmānitātis vel clēmentiae vel miseri-cordiae tuae. 30. Causās, Caesar, ēgī multās equidem tēcum, dum tē in forō tenuit ratiō honōrum tuōrum, certē

numquam hōc modō: 'Īgnōscite, iūdicēs; errāvit, lapsus est, nōn putāvit; sī umquam posthāc.' Ad parentem sīc agī solet, ad iūdicēs: 'Nōn fēcit, nōn cōgitāvit; falsī testēs, fictum crīmen.' Dīc tē, Caesar, dē factō Ligārī iūdicem esse; quibus in praesidiīs fuerit quaere: taceō, nē haec quidem conligō, quae fortasse valērent etiam apud iūdicem: 'Lēgātus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pāce, bellō oppressus, in eō ipsō nōn acerbus, tōtus animō et studiō tuus.' Ad iūdicem sīc, sed ego apud parentem loquor: 'Errāvī, temere fēci, paenitet; ad clēmentiam tuam cōnfugiō, dēlictī veniam petō, ut īgnōscātur ōrō.' Sī nēmō impetrāvit, adroganter: sī plūrimī, tū īdem fer opem, quī spem dedistī.

31. An spērandī de Ligāriō causa nōn erit, cum mihi apud tē locus sit etiam prō alterō dēprecandī? Quamquam nec in hāc ōrātiōne spēs est posita causae nec in eōrum studiīs, quī ā tē prō Ligāriō petunt, tuī necessāriī.

11. Vīdī enim et cōgnōvī quid maximē spectārēs, cum prō alicūius salūte multī labōrārent: causās apud tē rogantium grātiōsiōrēs esse quam voltūs, neque tē spectāre quam tuus esset necessārius is, quī tē ōrāret, sed quam illīus, prō quō labōrāret. Itaque tribuis tū quidem tuīs ita multa, ut mihi beātiōrēs illī videantur interdum, quī tuā līberālitāte fruantur, quam tū ipse, quī illīs tam multa concēdās; sed videō tamen apud tē, ut dīxī, causās valēre plūs quam precēs, ab eīsque tē movērī maximē, quōrum iūstissimum videās dolōrem in petendō.

32. In Q. Ligāriō cōnservandō multīs tū quidem grātum faciēs necessāriīs tuīs, sed hoc, quaesō, cōnsīderā, quod solēs. Possum fortissimōs virōs, Sabīnōs, tibi probātissimōs, tōtumque agrum Sabīnum, flōrem Ītaliae ac rōbur reī pūblicae, prōpōnere; nōstī optimē hominēs. Animadverte hōrum omnium maestitiam et dolōrem; huius T. Brocchī, dē quō nōn dubitō quid exīstimēs, lacrimās squālōremque ipsīus et

fīlī vidēs. 33. Quid dē frātribus dīcam? Nōlī, Caesar, putāre dē ūnīus capite nōs agere: aut trēs Ligāriī retinendī in civitāte sunt aut trēs ex civitāte exterminandī. Quodvīs exsilium hīs est optātius quam patria, quam domus, quam dī penātēs, illō ūnō exsulante. Sī frāternē, sī piē, sī cum dolōre faciunt, moveant tē hōrum lacrimae, moveat pietas, moveat germānitās; valeat tua vōx illa, quae vīcit. Tē enim dīcere audiēbāmus nōs omnīs adversāriōs putāre, nisi quī nōbīscum essent; tē omnīs, quī contrā tē nōn essent, tuōs. Vidēsne igitur hunc splendōrem omnem, hanc Brocchōrum domum, hunc L. Mārcium, C. Caesētium, L. Cōrfidium, hōs omnīs equitēs Rōmānōs, quī adsunt veste mūtātā, nōn sōlum nōtōs tibi, vērum etiam probātōs virōs. Atque hīs īrāscēbāmur, hōs requirēbāmus, hīs nōn nūllī etiam minābantur. Cōnservā igitur tuīs suōs, ut, quem ad modum cētera, quae dicta sunt ā tē, sīc hoc vērissimum reperiātur.

Peroratio

12. 34. Quod sī penitus perspicere possēs concordiam Ligāriōrum, omnīs fratrēs tēcum iūdicārēs fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitāre quīn, sī Q. Ligārius in Ītaliā esse potuisset, in eādem sententiā futūrus fuerit, in quā frātrēs fuērunt? Quis est quī hōrum cōnsēnsum cōnspīrantem et paene cōnflātum in hāc prope aequālitāte frāternā nōverit, quī hoc nōn sentiat, quidvīs prius futūrum fuisse, quam ut hī frātrēs dīversās sententiās fortūnāsque sequerentur? Voluntāte igitur omnēs tēcum fuērunt: tempestāte abreptus est ūnus, quī sī cōnsiliō id fēcisset, esset eōrum similis, quōs tū tamen salvōs esse voluistī. 35. Sed ierit ad bellum, dissēnserit nōn ā tē sōlum, vērum etiam ā frātribus: hī tē ōrant tuī. Equidem, cum tuīs omnibus negōtiīs interessem, memoriā teneō quālis T. Ligārius quaestor urbānus fuerit ergā tē et dignitātem tuam. Sed parum est mē hoc meminisse: spērō

etiam, tē, quī oblīviscī nihil solēs nisi iniūriās — cum hoc est animī, tum etiam ingenī tuī — tē aliquid dē huius illō quaestōriō officiō, etiam dē aliīs quibusdam quaestōribus reminiscentem recordārī. 36. Hic igitur T. Ligārius, quī tum nihil ēgit aliud — neque enim haec dīvīnābat — nisi ut tuī sē studiōsum et bonum virum iūdicārēs, nunc ā tē supplex frātris salūtem petit. Quam huius admonitus officiō cum utrīsque hīs dederis, trīs frātrēs optimōs et integerrimōs nōn sōlum sibi ipsōs neque hīs tot tālibus virīs neque nōbīs necessāriīs tuīs, sed etiam reī pūblicae condōnāveris. 37. Fac igitur, quod dē homine nōbilissimō et clārissimō fēcistī nūper in curiā, nunc idem in forō dē optimīs et huic omnī frequentiae probātissimīs frātribus. Ut concessistī illum senātuī, sīc dā hunc populō, cuius voluntātem cārissimam semper habuistī, et, sī ille diēs tibi glōriōsissimus, populō Rōmānō grātissimus fuit, nōlī, obsecrō, dubitāre, C. Caesar, similem illī glōriae laudem quam saepissimē quaerere. Nihil est tam populāre quam bonitās, nūlla dē virtutibus tuīs plūrimīs nec admīrābilior nec grātior misericordiā est. 38. Hominēs enim ad deōs nūllā rē propius accēdunt quam salūtem hominibus dandō. Nihil habet nec fortūna tua maius quam ut possīs, nec natūra melius quam ut velīs servāre quam plūrimōs. Longiōrem ōrātiōnem causa forsitan postulet, tua certē nātūra breviōrem. Quā rē cum ūtilius esse arbitrer tē ipsum quam aut mē aut quemquam loquī tēcum, fīnem iam faciam: tantum tē admonēbō, sī illī absentī salūtem dederis, praesentibus tē hīs datūrum.

SELECTIONS FROM CICERO'S LETTERS

Cicero's public life proper began when he was thirty-six years old, with the prosecution of Verres. A year later he was made aedile. Excepting for some translations from the Greek, he had contributed up to this time only one treatise (*De Inventione Rhetorica*) to literature. His correspondence, as it has come down to us, commences in B.C. 68. Cicero was then thirty-eight years old. The following letters, being chosen here and there, are not arranged in any particular order; they are simply specimens of a voluminous series of letters.

LETTER I

TO ATTICUS AT ATHENS. ROME, 67. CICERO'S AGE, 38

Concerning the death of his cousin, Lucius Cicero; the state of affairs between his brother Quintus and Quintus' wife, sister to Atticus; the cessation of letters; the Acutilian affairs; condoning the offense of Lucceius; the Tadian matter; the Epirotic purchase of Atticus; adorning Tusculum; the health of Terentia; her affection for Atticus and his family.

CICERO ATTICO SAL

1. Quantum dolōrem accēperim et quantō frūctū sim prīvātus et forēnsī et domesticō Lūcī frātris nostrī morte, in prīmīs prō nostrā cōnsuetūdine tū exīstimāre potes. Nam mihi omnia quae iūcunda ex hūmānitāte alterius et mōribus hominī accidere possunt ex illō accidēbant. Quā rē nōn dubitō quīn tibi quoque id molestum sit cum et meō dolōre moveāre et ipse omnī virtūte officiōque ōrnātissimum tuīque et suā sponte et meō sermōne amantem adfīnem amīcumque āmīseris.

2. Quod ad mē scrībis dē sorōre tuā, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi cūrae fuerit ut Quīntī frātris animus in eam esset is quī esse dēbēret. Quem cum esse offēnsiōrem arbitrārer, eās litterās ad eum mīsī, quibus et plācārem ut frātrem et monērem ut minōrem et obiūrgārem ut errantem. Itaque ex iīs, quae posteā saepe ab eō ad mē scrīpta sunt, cōnfīdō ita esse omnia, ut et oporteat et velīmus.

3. Dē litterārum missiōne sine causā abs tē accūsor. Numquam enim ā Pompōniā nostrā certior sum factus esse cui dare litterās possem, porrō autem neque mihi accidit ut habērem quī in Ēpīrum proficīscerētur nequedum tē Athēnīs esse audiēbāmus. 4. Dē Acutiliānō autem negōtiō quod mihi mandārās, ut prīmum ā tuō dīgressū Rōmam vēnī, cōnfēceram; sed accidit, ut et contentiōne nihil opus esset et ut ego, quī in tē satis cōnsilī statuerim esse, māllem Pedūcaeum tibi cōnsilium per litterās quam mē dare. Etenim cum multōs diēs aurīs meās Acutiliō dedissem, cuius sermōnis genus tibi nōtum esse arbitror, nōn mihi grave dūxī scrībere ad tē dē illīus querimōniīs, cum eās audīre, quod erat subodiōsum, leve putāssem. Sed abs tē ipsō quī mē accūsās ūnās mihi scītō litterās redditās esse, cum et ōtī ad scrībendum plūs et facultātem dandī maiōrem habueris.

5. Quod scrībis, etiam sī cuius animus in tē esset offēnsior, ā mē recolligī oportēre, *teneō* quid dīcās neque id neglēxī, sed est mīrō quōdam modō adfectus. Ego autem quae dīcenda fuērunt dē tē, nōn praeteriī; quid autem contendendum esset ex tuā putābam voluntāte mē statuere oportēre. Quam sī ad mē perscrīpseris, intellegēs mē neque dīligentiōrem esse voluisse quam tū essēs neque neglegentiōrem fore quam tū velīs.

6. Dē Tadiānā rē mēcum Tadius locūtus est tē ita scrīpsisse, nihil esse iam quod labōrārētur, quoniam hērēditās

ūsū capta esset. Id mīrābāmur tē īgnōrāre, dē tūtēlā lēgitimā, in quā dīcitur esse puella, nihil ūsū capī posse. Ēpīrōticam ēmptiōnem gaudeō tibi placēre. 7. Quae tibi mandāvī et quae tū intellegēs convenīre nostrō Tusculānō velim, ut scrībis, cūrēs, quod sine molestiā tuā facere poteris. Nam nōs ex omnibus molestiīs et labōribus ūnō illō in locō conquiēscēmus. 8. Quīntum frātrem cotīdiē exspectāmus. Terentia magnōs artículōrum dolōrēs habet. Et tē et sorōrem tuam et mātrem maximē dīligit salūtemque tibi plūrimam ascrībit et Tulliola, dēliciae nostrae. Cūrā ut valeās et nōs amēs et tibi persuādeās tē ā mē frāternē amārī.

LETTER II

ROME, 61. CICERO'S AGE, 45

Marcus Cicero talks of the quarrel between Atticus and Cicero's brother Quintus. Keeping the cause of the quarrel for disclosure at a private conference, he asserts his own great love for Atticus. Also, he speaks of the condition of the state, and of the all but broken alliance of the senate and the knights. He speaks of his own plans for controlling affairs, and of the candidacy of Lucceius and others for the consulship.

CICERO ATTICO SAL

1. Magna mihi varietās voluntātis et dissimilitūdō opīniōnis ac iūdicī Quīntī frātris meī dēmōnstrāta est ex litterīs tuīs in quibus ad mē epistulārum illīus exempla mīsistī. Quā ex rē et molestiā sum tantā adfectus, quantam mihi meus amor summus ergā utrumque vestrum adferre dēbuit, et admīrātiōne quidnam accidisset quod adferret Quīntō frātrī meō aut offēnsiōnem tam gravem aut commūtātiōnem tantam voluntātis. Atque illud ā mē iam ante intellegēbātur, quod tē quoque ipsum discēdentem ā nōbīs suspicārī vidēbam, subesse nesciō quid opīniōnis incommodae sauciumque

esse eius animum et insēdisse quāsdam odiōsās suspiciōnēs. Quibus ego medērī cum cuperem anteā saepe et vehementius etiam post sortītiōnem prōvinciae, nec tantum intellegēbam eī esse offēnsiōnis quantum litterae tuae dēclārārant, nec tantum prōficiēbam quantum volēbam. 2. Sed tamen hōc mē ipse cōnsōlābar quod nōn dubitābam quīn tē ille aut Dyrrachī aut in istīs locīs uspiam vīsūrus esset; quod cum accidisset, cōnfīdēbam ac mihi persuāseram fore ut omnia placārentur inter vōs nōn modo sermōne ac disputātiōne, sed cōnspectū ipsō congressūque vestrō. Nam quanta sit in Quīntō frātre meō cōmitās, quanta iūcunditās, quam mollis animus et ad accipiendam et ad dēpōnendam offēnsiōnem, nihil attinet mē ad tē quī ea nōstī scrībere. Sed accidit perincommodē, quod eum nusquam vīdistī. Valuit enim plūs quod erat illī nōn nūllōrum artificiīs inculcātum quam aut officium aut necessitūdō aut amor vester ille prīstīnus, quī plūrimum valēre dēbuit. 3. Atque huius incommodī culpa ubi resideat facilius possum exīstimāre quam scrībere; vereor enim nē dum dēfendam meōs nōn parcam tuīs. Nam sīc intellegō ut nihil ā domesticīs vulneris factum sit, illud quidem quod erat eōs certē sānāre potuisse. Sed huiusce reī tōtius vitium, quod aliquantō etiam lātius patet quam vidētur, praesentī tibi commodius expōnam. 4. Dē iīs litterīs, quās ad tē Thessalonicā mīsit et dē sermōnibus quōs ab illō et Rōmae apud amīcōs tuōs et in itinere habitōs putās, ecquid tantum causae sit, īgnōrō, sed omnis in tuā posita est hūmānitāte mihi spēs huius levandae molestiae. Nam sī ita statueris, et inrītābilēs animōs esse optimōrum saepe hominum et eōsdem plācābilēs et esse hanc agilitātem, ut ita dīcam, mollitiamque nātūrae plērumque bonitātis et, id quod caput est, nōbīs inter nōs nostra sive incommoda sive vitia sive iniūriās esse tolerandās, facile haec, quem ad modum spērō, mītigābuntur; quod ego ut faciās tē ōrō.

Nam ad mē quī tē ūnicē dīligō maximē pertinet nēminem esse meōrum quī aut tē nōn amet aut abs tē nōn amētur.

5. Illa pars epistulae tuae minimē fuit necessāria in quā expōnis quās facultātēs aut prōvinciālium aut urbānōrum commodōrum et aliīs temporibus et mē ipsō cōnsule praetermīseris. Mihi enim perspecta est et ingenuitās et magnitūdō animī tuī; neque ego inter mē atque tē quicquam interesse umquam dūxī praeter voluntātem īnstitūtae vītae, quod mē ambitiō quaedam ad honōrum studium, tē autem alia minimē reprehendenda ratiō ad honestum ōtium dūxit. Vērā quidem laude probitātis, dīligentiae, religiōnis neque mē tibi neque quemquam antepōnō, amōris vērō ergā mē, cum ā frāternō amōre domesticōque discessī, tibi prīmās dēferō. 6. Vīdī enim, vīdī penitusque perspēxī in meīs variīs temporibus et sollicitūdinēs et laetitiās tuās. Fuit mihi saepe et laudis nostrae grātulātiō tua iūcunda et tīmōris cōnsōlātiō grāta. Quīn mihi nunc tē absente nōn sōlum cōnsilium quō tū excellis, sed etiam sermōnis commūnicātiō quae mihi suāvissima tēcum solet esse, maximē dēest — quid dīcam? in pūblicāne rē, quō in genere mihi neglegentī esse nōn licet, an in forēnsī labōre, quem anteā propter ambitiōnem sustinēbam, nunc ut dignitātem tuērī grātiā possim, an *in* ipsīs domesticīs negōtiīs, in quibus ego cum anteā tum vērō post discessum frātris tē sermōnēsque nostrōs dēsiderō? Postrēmō nōn labor meus, nōn requiēs, nōn negōtium, nōn ōtium, nōn forēnsēs rēs, nōn domesticae, *nōn pūblicae*, nōn prīvātae carēre diūtius tuō suāvissimō atque amantissimō cōnsiliō ac sermōne possunt.

7. Atque hārum rērum commemorātiōnem verēcundia saepe impedīvit utrīusque nostrum; nunc autem ea fuit necessāria propter eam partem epistulae tuae, per quam tē ac mōrēs tuōs mihi pūrgātōs ac probātōs esse voluistī. Atque in istā incommoditāte aliēnātī illīus animī et offēnsī illud

inest tamen commodī, quod et mihi et cēterīs amīcīs tuīs nōta fuit et abs tē aliquantō ante testificāta tua voluntās omittendae prōvinciae, ut quod ūnā nōn estis nōn dissēnsiōne ac discidiō vestrō, sed voluntāte ac iūdiciō tuō factum esse videātur. Quā rē et illa quae violāta expiābuntur, et haec nostra quae sunt sānctissimē cōnservāta suam religiōnem obtinēbunt.

8. Nōs hīc in rē pūblicā īnfīrmā miserā commūtābilīque versāmur. Crēdō enim tē audīsse nostrōs equitēs paene ā senātū esse dīiūnctōs; quī prīmum illud valdē graviter tulērunt, prōmulgātum ex senātūs cōnsultō fuisse ut dē eīs quī ob iūdicandum accēpissent quaererētur. Quā in rē dēcernendā cum ego cāsū nōn adfuissem sēnsissemque id equestrem ōrdinem ferre molestē neque apertē dīcere, ob iūrgāvī senātum, ut mihi vīsus sum, summā cum auctōritāte et in causā nōn verēcundā admodum gravis et cōpiōsus fuī.

9. Ecce aliae dēliciae equitum vix ferendae! quās egō nōn sōlum tulī sed etiam ōrnāvī. Asiam quī dē cēnsōribus condūxērunt, questī sunt in senātū sē cupiditāte prōlapsōs nimium magnō condūxisse, ut indūcerētur locātiō, postulāvērunt. Ego prīnceps in audiūtoribus atque adeō secundus; nam ut illī audērent hōc postulāre Crassus eōs impulit. Invidiōsa rēs, turpis postulātiō et cōnfessiō temeritātis. Summum erat perīculum nē, sī nihil impetrāssent, plānē alienārentur ā senātū. Huic quoque reī subventum est maximē ā nōbīs perfectumque ut frequentissimō senātū et līberālissimō ūterentur, multaque ā mē dē ōrdinum dignitāte et concordiā dicta sunt Kal. Decembr. et postrīdiē. Neque adhūc rēs cōnfecta est, sed voluntās senātūs perspecta; ūnus enim contrā dīxerat Metellus cōnsul dēsīgnātus, atque erat dictūrus, ad quem propter diēī brevitātem perventum nōn est, hērōs ille noster Catō.

10. Sīc ego cōnservāns ratiōnem īnstitūtiōnemque nostram tueor, ut possum, illam

ā mē conglūtinātam concordiam. Sed tamen quoniam ista sunt tam īnfīrma, mūnītur quaedam nōbīs ad retinendās opēs nostrās tūta, ut spērō, viā; quam tibi litterīs satis explicāre nōn possum, significātiōne parvā ostendam tamen. Ūtor Pompēiō familiārissimē. Videō quid dīcās. Cavēbō quae sunt cavenda, ac scrībam aliās ad tē dē meīs cōnsiliīs capessendae reī pūblicae plūra.

II. Luccēium scītō cōnsulātum habēre in animō statim petere. Duo enim sōlī dīcuntur petitūrī. Caesar cum eō coīre per Arrium cōgitat et Bibulus cum hōc sē putat per C. Pīsōnem posse coniungī. Rīdēs? Nōn sunt haec rīdicula, mihi crēde. Quid aliud scrībam ad tē, quid? Multa sunt, sed in aliud tempus. Si exspectāre velīs, cūrēs ut sciam. Iam illud modestē rogō, quod maximē cupiō, ut quam primum veniās. Nōnīs Decembribus.

LETTER III

To Atticus, returning to Rome, 56. Cicero's Age, 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL

Perīūcundus mihi Cincius fuit ante diem III Kal. Febr. ante lūcem; dīxit enim mihi tē esse in Ītaliā sēsēque ad tē puerōs mittere. Quōs sine meīs litterīs īre nōluī, nōn quō habērem quod tibi, praesertim iam prope praesentī, scrīberem sed ut hoc ipsum significārem, mihi tuum adventum suāvissimum exspectātissimumque esse. Quā rē advolā ad nōs eō animō ut nōs amēs, tē amārī sciās. Cētera cōram agēmus. Haec properantēs scrīpsimus. Quō diē veniēs, utique cum tuīs apud mē sīs.

LETTER IV

To His Family in Rome. Brundisium, 58. Cicero's Age, 48

Marcus Tullius writes to his wife, Terentia, that he is setting out from Brundisium for Cyzicus through Macedonia, and is anxious about her and the children. He writes also about manumission of slaves, about consolation for his sorrow, and about the fidelity of his freedmen.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIAE ET CICERONI SUIS

1. Ego minus saepe dō ad vōs litterās quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vērō, cum aut scribō ad vōs aut vestrās legō, cōnficior lacrimīs sīc ut ferre nōn possim. Quod utinam minus vītae cupidī fuissēmus! certē nihil aut nōn multum in vītā malī vīdissēmus. Quod sī nōs ad aliquam alicuius commodī aliquandō reciperandī spem fortūna reservāvit, minus est errātum ā nōbīs; sī haec mala fixa sunt, ego vērō tē quam prīmum, mea vīta, cupiō vidēre et in tuō conplexū ēmorī, quoniam neque diī, quōs tū castissimē coluistī, neque hominēs, quibus ego semper servīvī, nōbīs grātiam rettulērunt.

2. Nōs Brundisī apud M. Laenium Flaccum diēs XIII fuimus, virum optimum, quī periculum fortūnārum et capitis suī prae meā salūte neglēxit neque lēgis improbissimae poenā dēductus est quō minus hospitī et amīcitiae iūs officiumque praestāret. Huic utinam aliquandō grātiam referre possīmus! habēbimus quidem semper. 3. Brundisiō profectī sumus a. d. II K. Māī.; per Macedoniam Cȳzicum petēbāmus.

O mē perditum, ō adflictum! Quid nunc rogem tē ut veniās, mulierem aegram et corpore et animō cōnfectam? Nōn rogem? sine tē igitur sim? Opinor, sīc agam: Sī est spēs nostrī reditūs, eam cōnfirmēs et rem adiuvēs; sīn, ut

ego metuō, trānsāctum est, quōquō modō potes ad me ..o veniās. Unum hoc scītō: Sī tē habēbō, nōn mihi vidēbor plānē perīsse. Sed quid Tulliolā meā fiet? Iam id vōs vidēte; mihi dēest cōnsiliūm. Sed certē, quōquō modō sē rēs habēbit, illīus misellae et mātrimōniō et fāmae serviendum est. Quid? Cicerō meus quid aget? Iste vērō sit in sinū semper et complexū meō. Nōn queō plūra iam scrībere; inpedit maeror. Tū quid ēgeris nesciō; utrum aliquid teneās an, quod metuō, plānē sīs spoliāta. 4. Pīsōnem, ut scrībis, spērō fore semper nostrum. Dē familiā līberātā nihil est quod tē moveat. Prīmum tuīs ita prōmissum est, tē factūram esse, ut quisque esset meritus; est autem in officiō adhūc Orpheus, praetereā magnō opere nēmō; cēterōrum servōrum ea causa est ut, sī rēs ā nōbīs abīsset, līberī nostrī essent, sī obtinēre potuissent; sīn ad nōs pertinērent, servīrent praeterquam oppidō paucī. Sed haec minōra sunt.

5. Tū quod mē hortāris ut animō sim magnō et spem habeam reciperandae salūtis, id velim sit eius modī, ut rēctē spērāre possīmus. Nunc miser quandō tuās iam litterās accipiam? quis ad mē perferet? Quās ego exspectāssem Brundisī, sī esset licitum per nautās, quī tempestātem praetermittere nōluērunt. Quod reliquum est, sustentā tē, mea Terentia, ut potes honestissimē. Vīximus, flōruimus; nōn vitium nostrum sed virtūs nostra nōs adflīxit; peccātum est nūllum, nisi quod nōn ūnā animam cum ōrnāmentīs āmīsimus. Sed sī hoc fuit līberīs nostrīs grātius nōs vīvere, cētera, quamquam ferenda nōn sunt ferāmus. Atque ego, quī tē cōnfīrmō, ipse mē nōn possum. 6. Clōdium Philhetaerum, quod valētūdine oculōrum impediēbātur, hominem fidēlem, remīsī. Sallustius officiō vincit omnēs. Pescennius est perbenevolus nōbīs; quem semper spērō tuī fore observantem. Sicca dixerat sē mēcum fore sed Brundisiō

discessit. Cūrā, quod potes, ut valeās at sīc exīstimēs, mē vehementius tuā miseriā quam meā commovērī. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea cārissima fīliola et spēs reliqua nostra, Cicerō, valēte. Pr. K. Māī. Brundisiō.

LETTER V

To Quintus in Rome. Thessalonica, 58. Cicero's Age, 48

Marcus Cicero makes excuses to his brother Quintus for sending a slave without a letter. He complains of the hardship of exile, but expresses gratitude for the facilities offered him. He warns Quintus regarding the fidelity of certain persons and commends to him his friends.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM

1. Mī frāter, mī frāter, mī frāter, tūne id veritus es, nē ego īrācundiā aliquā adductus puerōs ad tē sine litterīs mīserim aut etiam nē tē vidēre nōluerim? Ego tibi īrāscerer, tibi ego possem īrāscī? Scīlicet, tū enim mē adflīxistī, tuī mē inimīcī, tua mē invidia ac nōn ego tē miserē perdidī. Meus ille laudātus cōnsulātus mihi tē, līberōs, patriam, fortūnās, tibi velim nē quid ēripuerit praeter ūnum mē. Sed certē ā tē mihi omnia semper honesta et iūcunda cecidērunt, ā mē tibi lūctus meae calamitātis, metus tuae, dēsīderium, maeror, solitūdō. Ego tē vidēre nōluerim? Immō vērō mē ā tē vidērī nōluī. Nōn enim vīdissēs frātrem tuum, nōn eum quem relīquerās, nōn eum quem nōrās, nōn eum quem flēns flentem, prōsequentem prōficīscēns dīmīserās, nē vēstīgium quidem eius nec simulācrum sed quandam effigiem spīrantis mortuī. Atque utinam mē mortuum prius vīdissēs aut audissēs, utinam tē nōn sōlum vītae sed etiam dignitātis meae superstitem relīquissem! 2. Sed testor omnīs deōs mē hāc ūnā vōce ā morte esse revocātum, quod omnēs in meā vītā partem aliquam tuae vītae repositam esse dīcēbant; quā in rē peccāvī scelerātēque fēcī. Nam

sī occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietātem amōremque in tē facile dēfenderet; nunc commīsī, ut mē vīvō carērēs, vīvō mē aliīs indigērēs, mea vox in domesticīs perīculīs potissimum occideret, quae saepe aliēnissimīs praesidiō fuisset. Nam quod ad tē puerī sine litterīs vēnērunt, quoniam vidēs nōn fuisse īrācundiam causam, certē pigritia fuit et quaedam īnfīnīta vīs lacrimārum et dolōrum. 3. Haec ipsa mē quō flētū putās scrīpsisse? Eōdem quō tē legere certō sciō. An ego possum aut nōn cōgitāre aliquandō dē tē aut umquam sine lacrimīs cōgitāre? Cum enim tē dēsīderō, frātrem sōlum dēsīderō? Ego vērō suāvitāte frātrem prope aequālem, obsequiō fīlium, cōnsiliō parentem. Quid mihi sine tē umquam aut tibi sine mē iūcundum fuit? Quid, quod eōdem tempore dēsīderō fīliam? quā pietāte, quā modestiā, quō ingeniō! effigiem ōris, sermōnis, animī meī. Quid fīlium venustissimum mihique dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus ē complexū dīmīsī meō, sapientiōrem puerum quam vellem; sentiēbat enim miser iam, quid agerētur. Quid vērō tuum fīlium, imāginem tuam, quem meus Cicerō et amābat ut frātrem et iam ut maiōrem frātrem verēbātur? Quid, quod mulierem miserrimam, fidēlissimam coniugem, mē prōsequī nōn sum passus, ut esset quae reliquiās commūnis calamitātis, commūnīs līberōs tuerētur? 4. Sed tamen, quōquō modō potuī, scrīpsī et dedī litterās ad tē Philogonō, lībertō tuō, quās crēdō tibi posteā redditās esse; in quibus idem tē hortor et rogō, quod puerī tibi verbīs meīs nūntiārunt, ut Rōmam prōtinus pergās et properēs. Prīmum enim tē in praesidiō esse voluī, sī quī essent inimīcī quōrum crūdēlitās nōndum esset nostrā calamitāte satiāta; deinde congressūs nostrī lāmentātiōnem pertimuī; dīgressum vērō nōn tulissem atque etiam id ipsum quod tū scrībis metuēbam nē ā mē distrahī nōn possēs. Hīs dē causīs hoc maximum malum quod tē nōn vīdī, quō nihil

amantissimīs et coniūnctissimīs frātribus acerbius, miserius vidētur accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum fuit quam fuisset cum congressiō tum vērō dīgressiō nostra. 5. Nunc sī potes, id quod ego quī tibi semper fortis vidēbar nōn possum, ērige tē et confirmā, sī qua subeunda dīmicātiō erit. Spērō, sī quid mea spēs habet auctōritātis, tibi et integritātem tuam et amōrem in tē cīvitātis et aliquid etiam misericordiam nostrī praesidī lātūram; sīn eris ab istō perīculō vacuus, agēs scīlicet sī quid agī posse dē nōbīs putābis. Dē quō scrībunt ad mē quidem multī multa et sē spērāre dēmōnstrant; sed ego quod spērem nōn dīspiciō, cum inimicī plūrimum valeant, amīcī partim dēseruerint me, partim etiam prōdiderint; quī in meō reditū fortasse reprehēnsiōnem suī sceleris pertimēscunt. Sed ista quālia sint tū velim perspiciās mihique dēclārēs. Ego tamen quam diū tibi opus erit, sī quid perīculī subeundum vidēbis, vīvam. Diūtius in hāc vītā esse nōn possum. Neque enim tantum vīrium habet ūlla aut prūdentia aut doctrīna ut tantum dolōrem possit sustinēre. 6. Sciō fuisse et honestius moriendī tempus et ūtilius; sed nōn hoc sōlum, multa alia praetermīsī, quae sī querī velim praeterita, nihil agam nisi ut augeam dolōrem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est nec fierī potest, mē diūtius quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spēs postulābit in tam miserā tamque turpī vītā commorārī, ut quī modo frātre fuerim līberīs, coniuge, cōpiīs, genere ipsō pecūniae beātissimus, dignitāte, auctōritāte, exīstimātiōne, grātiā nōn īnferior quam quī umquam fuērunt amplissimī, is nunc in hāc iam adflictā perditāque fortūnā neque mē neque meōs lūgēre diūtius possim.

7. Quā rē quid ad mē scrīpsistī dē permūtātiōne? Quasi vērō nunc mē nōn tuae facultātēs sustineant, quā in rē ipsā videō miser et sentiō quid sceleris admīserim, cum dē

vīsceribus tuīs et fīlī tuī satis factūrus sīs quibus dēbēs, ego acceptam ex aerāriō pecūniam tuō nōmine frūstrā dissipārim. Sed tamen et M. Antōniō, quantum tū scrīpserās, *et* Caepiōnī tantundem solūtum est; mihi ad id quod cōgitō hoc quod habeō satis est. Sīve enim restituimur sīve dēspērāmur, nihil amplius opus est. Tū sī forte quid erit molestiae, tē ad Crassum et ad Calidium cōnferās cēnseō. Quantum Hortēnsiō crēdendum sit nesciō. 8. Mē summā simulātiōne amōris summāque adsiduitāte cotīdiānā scelerātissimē īnsidiōsissimēque tractāvit adiūnctō Q. Arriō; quōrum ego cōnsiliīs, prōmissīs, praeceptīs dēstitūtus in hanc calamitātem incidī. Sed haec occultābis, nē quid obsint; illud cavētō (et eō putō per Pompōnium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortēnsium) nē ille versus, quī in tē erat conlātus cum aedīlitātem petēbās dē lēge Aurēliā, falsō testimōniō cōnfīrmētur. Nihil enim tam timeō quam nē, cum intellegant hominēs quantum misericordiae nōbīs tuae precēs et tua salūs adlātūra sit, oppūgnent tē vehementius. Messalam tuī studiōsum esse arbitror. 9. Pompēium etiam simulātōrem putō. Sed haec utinam *nē* experiāre! Quod precārer deōs nisi meās precēs audīre dēsīssent. Vērum tamen precor ut hīs īnfīnītīs nostrīs malīs contentī sint; in quibus nōn modo tamen nūllīus inest peccātī īnfāmia, sed omnis dolor est quod optimē factīs poena maxima est cōnstitūta.

10. Fīliam meam et tuam Cicerōnemque nostrum quid ego, mī frāter, tibi commendem? Quīn illud maereō quod tibi nōn minōrem dolōrem illōrum orbitās adferet quam mihi. Sed tē incolumī orbī nōn erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salūs aliqua dētur potestāsque in patriā moriendī, ut mē lacrimae nōn sinunt scrībere! Etiam Terentiam velim tueāre mihique dē omnibus rēbus rescrībās; sīs fortis quoad reī nātūra patiātur. Īdibus Iūniīs Thessalonīcae.

LETTER VI

ARPINUM, 56. CICERO'S AGE, 50

Marcus Cicero, in this letter, written with the greatest skill, asks L. Lucceius, a respectable writer of history, to compose commentaries on the deeds of his consulship, and respecting his exile and return.

M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

1. Cōram mē tēcum eadem haec agere saepe cōnantem dēterruit pudor quīdam paene subrūsticus, quae nunc exprōmam absēns audācius; epistula enim nōn ērubēscit. Ārdeō cupiditāte incrēdibilī neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendendā, nōmen ut nostrum scrīptīs inlūstrētur et celebrētur tuīs. Quod etsī mihi saepe ostendistī tē esse factūrum, tamen īgnōscās velim huic festinātiōnī meae. Genus enim scrīptōrum tuōrum etsī erat semper ā mē vehementer exspectātum, tamen vīcit opīniōnem meam mēque ita vel cēpit vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerrimē rēs nostrās monumentīs commendārī tuīs. Neque enim mē sōlum commemorātiō posteritātis ad spem quandam immortālitātis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditās, ut vel auctōritāte testimōnī tuī vel indiciō benevolentiæ vel suāvitāte ingenī vīvī perfruāmur.

2. Neque tamen, haec cum scrībēbam, eram nescius quantīs oneribus premerēre susceptārum rērum et iam īnstitūtārum; sed, quia vidēbam Ītalicī bellī et cīvīlis historiam iam ā tē paene esse perfectam, dīxerās autem mihi tē reliquās rēs ōrdīrī, deesse mihi nōluī quīn tē admonērem, ut cōgitārēs, coniūnctēne māllēs cum reliquīs rēbus nostra contexere an, ut multī Graecī fēcērunt, Callisthenēs Phōcicum bellum, Tīmaeus Pyrrhī, Polybius Numantinum, quī omnēs ā perpetuīs suīs historiīs ea, quae dīxī, bella sēparāvērunt, tū quoque item cīvīlem coniūrātiōnem ab hostīlibus externīsque bellīs sēiungerēs. Equidem ad nostram laudem nōn multum

videō interesse, sed ad properātiōnem meam quiddam interest nōn tē expectāre, dum ad locum veniās, ac statim causam illam tōtam et tempus arripere; et simul, sī ūnō in argūmentō ūnāque in persōnā mēns tua tōta versābitur, cernō iam animō, quantō omnia ūberiōra atque ōrnātiōra futūra sint. Neque tamen īgnōrō, quam impudenter faciam, quī prīmum tibi tantum oneris impōnam (potest enim mihi dēnegāre occupātiō tua), deinde etiam ut ōrnēs mē postulem. Quid, sī illa tibi nōn tantō opere videntur ōrnanda? 3. Sed tamen, quī semel verēcundiae fīnīs trānsierit, eum bene et nāviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque tē plānē etiam atque etiam rogō, ut et ōrnēs ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentīs, et in eō lēgēs historiae neglegās grātiamque illam, dē quā suāvissimē quōdam in prooemiō scrīpsistī ā quā tē dēflectī nōn magis potuisse dēmōnstrās quam Herculem Xenophontium illum ā Voluptāte eam, sī mē tibi vehementius commendābit, nē āspernēre amōrīque nostrō plūsculum etiam, quam concēdet vēritās, largiāre.

Quod sī tē addūcēmus ut hoc suscipiās, erit, ut mihi persuādeō, māteriēs dignā facultāte et cōpiā tuā. 4. Ā prīncipiō enim coniūrātiōnis usque ad reditum nostrum vidētur mihi modicum quoddam corpus conficī posse, in quō et illā poteris utī cīvīlium commūtātiōnum scientiā vel in explicandīs causīs rērum novārum vel in remediīs incommodōrum, cum et reprehendēs ea, quae vituperanda dūcēs, et quae placēbunt expōnendīs ratiōnibus comprobābis et, sī līberius, ut cōnsuēstī, agendum putābis, multōrum in nōs perfidiam, īnsidiās, prōditiōnem notābis. Multam etiam cāsūs nostrī varietātem tibi in scrībendō suppeditābunt plēnam cuiusdam voluptātis, quae vehementer animōs hominum in legendō tē scrīptōre tenēre possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad dēlectātiōnem lēctōris quam temporum varietātēs fortūnaeque vicissitūdinēs. Quae etsī nōbīs optābilēs in

experiendō nōn fuērunt, in legendō tamen erunt iūcundae; habet enim praeteritī dolōris sēcūra recordātiō dēlectātiōnem; 5. cēterīs vērō nūllā perfūnctīs propriā molestiā, cāsūs autem aliēnōs sine ūllō dolōre intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iūcunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriēns apud Mantinēam Epamīnōndās nōn cum quādam miserātiōne dēlectat? quī tum dēnique sibi ēvellī iubet spīculum, posteā quam eī percontantī dictum est clipeum esse salvum; ut etiam in vulneris dolōre aequō animō cum laude moretur. Cuius studium in legendō nōn ērēctum Themistoclī fuga reditūque retinētur? Etenim ōrdō ipse annālium mediocriter nōs retinet quasi enumerātiōne fāstōrum; at virī saepe excellentis ancipitēs variīque cāsūs habent admīrātiōnem, exspectātiōnem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timōrem; sī vērō exitū notābilī conclūduntur, explētur animus iūcundissimā lēctiōnis voluptāte.

6. Quō mihi acciderit optātius, sī in hāc sententiā fueris ut ā continentibus tuīs scrīptīs, in quibus perpetuam rērum gestārum historiam complecteris, sēcernās hanc quasi fābulam rērum ēventōrumque nostrōrum. Habet enim variōs āctūs mūtātiōnēsque et cōnsiliōrum et temporum. Ac nōn vēreor nē adsentātiunculā quādam aucupārī tuam grātiam videar, cum hoc dēmōnstrem, mē ā tē potissimum ōrnārī celebrārīque velle. Neque enim tū is es quī quid sīs nesciās et quī nōn eōs magis, quī tē nōn admīrentur, invidōs quam eōs quī laudent, adsentātōrēs arbitrēre; neque autem ego sum ita dēmēns, ut me sempiternae glōriae per eum commendārī velim, quī nōn ipse quoque in mē commendandō propriam ingenī glōriam cōnsequātur. 7. Neque enim Alexander ille grātiae causā ab Apelle potissimum pingī et ā Lysippo fingī volēbat, sed quod illōrum artem cum ipsīs tum etiam sibi glōriae fore putābat. Atque illī artificēs corporis simulācra īgnōtīs nōta faciēbant; quae vel sī

nūlla sint, nihilō sint tamen obscūriōrēs clārī virī. Nec minus est Spartiātēs Agēsilāus ille perhibendus, quī neque pictam neque fictam imāginem suam passus est esse, quam quī in eō genere labōrārunt; ūnus enim Xenophontis libellus in eō rēge laudandō facile omnīs imāginēs omnium statuāsque superāvit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animī et ad memoriae dignitātem, sī in tuā scrīptā pervēnerō quam sī in cēterōrum, quod nōn ingenium mihi sōlum suppeditātum fuerit tuum, sīcut Tīmoleonti ā Tīmaeō aut ab Hērodotō Themistoclī, sed etiam auctōritās clārissimī et spectātissimī virī et in reī p. maximīs gravissimīsque causīs cōgnitī atque in prīmīs probātī, ut mihi nōn sōlum praecōnium, quod, cum in Sigēum vēnisset, Alexander ab Homērō Achillī tribūtum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimōnium impertītum clārī hominis magnīque videātur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naeviānus, quī nōn tantum 'laudārī' sē laetātur, sed addit etiam 'ā laudātō virō.'

8. Quod sī ā tē nōn impetrō, hoc est, sī quae tē rēs impedierit (neque enim fās esse arbitror quicquam mē rogantem abs tē nōn impetrāre), cōgar fortasse facere, quod nōn nūllī saepe reprehendunt, scrībam ipse dē mē, multōrum tamen exemplō et clārōrum virōrum. Sed, quod tē nōn fugit, haec sunt in hōc genere vitia: et verēcundius ipsī dē sēsē scrībant necesse est, sī quid est laudandum, et praetereant, sī quid reprehendendum est. Accēdit etiam ut minor sit fidēs, minor auctōritās, multī dēnique reprehendant et dīcant verēcundiōrēs esse praecōnēs lūdōrum gymnicōrum, quī cum cēterīs corōnās imposuerint victōribus eōrumque nōmina magnā vōce prōnūntiārint, cum ipsī ante lūdōrum missiōnem corōnā dōnentur, alium praecōnem adhibeant, nē suā vōce sē ipsī victōres esse praedicent. 9. Haec nōs vītāre cupimus et, sī recipis causam nostram, vītābimus, idque ut facīās rogāmus.

LETTER VII

To the Consul, Metellus Nepos, in Rome. Dyrrachium, 57. Cicero's Age, 49

Marcus Cicero implores the aid of the Consul, Q. Metellus.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. METELLO COS

1. Litterae Quīntī frātris et T. Pompōnī, necessāriī meī, tantum speī dederant, ut in tē nōn minus auxilī quam in tuō conlēgā mihi cōnstitūtum fuerit. Itaque ad tē litterās statim mīsī, per quās, ut fortūna postulābat, et grātiās tibi ēgī et dē reliquō tempore auxilium petiī. Posteā mihi nōn tam meōrum litterae quam sermōnēs eōrum, quī hāc iter faciēbant, animum tuum immūtātum sīgnificābant; quae rēs fēcit ut tibi litterīs obstrepere nōn audērem. 2. Nunc mihi Quīntus frāter meus mītissimam tuam ōrātiōnem, quam in senātū habuissēs, perscrīpsit; quā inductus ad tē scrībere sum conātus et abs tē, quantum tua fert voluntās, petō quaesōque, ut tuōs mēcum servēs potius quam propter adrogantem crūdēlitātem tuōrum mē oppugnēs. Tū, tuās inimīcitiās ut rei p. dōnārēs, tē vīcistī, aliēnās ut contrā rem p. cōnfīrmēs, addūceris? Quod sī mihi tuā clēmentiā opem tuleris, omnibus in rēbus mē fore in tuā potestāte tibi cōnfīrmō. Sī mihi neque magistrātum neque senātum neque populum auxiliārī propter eam vim, quae mē cum rē p. vīcit, licuerit, vidē nē, cum velīs revocāre tempus omnium servandōrum, cum quī servētur nōn erit, nōn possīs.

LETTER VIII

Cicero to Servius Sulpicius. Ficulea, April, 45. Cicero's Age, 61

Cicero answers a letter of Servius Sulpicius, prefect of Achaea. Sulpicius had condoled with him concerning the death of Tullia. Cicero tells him that his letter has been a great solace. Although

no one, Cicero feels, has juster cause for grief, this grief will be lightened by the return and subsequent companionship of Sulpicius.

M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO

1. Ego vērō, Servī, vellem, ut scrībis, in meō gravissimō cāsū adfuissēs; quantum enim praesēns mē adiuvāre potueris et cōnsōlandō et prope aequē dolendō, facile ex eō intellegō, quod litterīs lēctīs aliquantum adquiēvī. Nam et ea scrīpsistī, quae levāre lūctum possent, et in mē cōnsōlandō nōn mediocrem ipse animī dolōrem adhibuistī. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiīs, quae illī temporī tribuī potuērunt, dēclārāvit et quantī ipse mē faceret et quam suum tālem ergā mē animum tibi grātum putāret fore. Cuius officia iūcundiōra scīlicet saepe mihi fuērunt, numquam tamen grātiōra. Mē autem nōn ōrātiō tua sōlum et societās paene aegritūdinis, sed etiam auctōritās cōnsōlātur; turpe enim esse exīstimō mē nōn ita ferre cāsum meum, ut tū tālī sapientiā praeditus ferendum putās. Sed opprimor interdum et vix resistō dolōrī, quod ea mē sōlācia dēficiunt, quae cēterīs, quōrum mihi exempla prōpōnō, similī in fortūnā nōn dēfuērunt. Nam et Q. Maximus, quī fīlium cōnsulārem, clārum virum et magnīs rēbus gestīs, āmīsit, et L. Paulus, quī duo septem diēbus, et vester Gallus et M. Catō, quī summō ingeniō, summā virtūtē fīlium perdidit, iīs temporibus fuērunt, ut eōrum lūctum ipsōrum dignitās cōnsōlārētur ea, quam ex rē pūblicā cōnsequēbantur; 2. Mihi autem āmissīs ōrnāmentīs iīs, quae ipse commemorās, quaeque eram maximīs labōribus adeptus, unum manēbat illud sōlācium, quod ēreptum est. Nōn amīcōrum, negōtiīs, nōn reī pūblicae prōcūrātiōne impediēbantur cōgitātiōnēs meae, nihil in forō agere libēbat, aspicere cūriam nōn poteram, exīstimābam, id quod erat, omnīs mē et industriae meae frūctūs et fortūnae perdidisse. Sed, cum cōgitārem haec

mihi tēcum et cum quibusdam esse commūnia, et cum frangerem iam ipse mē cōgeremque illa ferre toleranter, habēbam quō cōnfugerem, ubi conquiēscerem, cuius in sermōne et suāvitāte omnis cūrās dolōrēsque dēpōnerem. Nunc autem hōc tam gravī vulnere etiam illa, quae cōnsānuisse vidēbantur, recrūdēscunt; nōn enim, ut tum mē ā rē pūblicā maestum domus excipiēbat, quae levāret, sīc nunc domō maerēns ad rem pūblicam cōnfugere possum ut in eius bonīs adquiēscam. Itaque et domō absum et forō, quod nec eum dolōrem, quem dē rē pūblicā capiō, domus iam cōnsōlārī potest nec domesticum rēs pūblica.

3. Quō magis tē exspectō tēque vidēre quam prīmum cupiō; maius mihi sōlācium adferre ratiō nūlla potest quam coniunctiō cōnsuētūdinis sermōnumque nostrōrum; quamquam spērābam tuum adventum (sīc enim audiēbam) appropinquāre. Ego autem cum multīs dē causīs tē exoptō quam prīmum vidēre, tum etiam ut ante commentēmur inter nōs, quā ratiōne nōbīs trādūcendum sit hōc tempus, quod est tōtum ad ūnīus voluntātem accommodandum et prūdentis et līberālis et, ut perspēxisse videor, nec ā mē aliēnī et tibi amīcissimī. Quod cum ita sit, magnae tamen est dēlīberātiōnis, quae ratiō sit ineunda nōbīs nōn agendī aliquid, sed illīus concessū et beneficiō quiēscendī. Valē.

LETTER IX

Quintus Cicero to Tiro, 44

Quintus Cicero accuses Tiro of ceasing to write to him. He wishes letters to be sent to him even if they have no special matter to tell.

QUINTUS TIRONI SUO P. S. D.

1. Verberāvī tē cōgitātiōnis tacitō dumtaxat convīciō, quod fasciculus alter ad mē iam sine tuīs litterīs perlātus

est. Nōn potes effugere huius culpae poenam tē patrōnō; Mārcus est adhibendus, isque diū et multīs lūcubrātiōnibus commentātā ōrātiōne vidē ut probāre possit tē nōn peccāsse. 2. Plānē tē rogō, sīc ut ōlim mātrem nostram facere meminī, quae lagōnās etiam inānīs obsīgnābat, nē dīcerentur inānēs aliquae fuisse quae fūrtim essent exsiccātae, sīc tū etiamsī, quod scrībās nōn habēbis, scrībitō tamen, nē fūrtum cessātiōnis quaesīvisse videāris. Valdē enim mī semper et vēra et dulcia tuīs epistulīs nūntiantur. Amā nōs et valē.

NOTES

H = Harkness, Complete Latin Grammar, references to the Standard in brackets.
L M = Lane-Morgan.
A = Allen and Greenough, New Latin Grammar, references to the old edition in brackets.
G = Gildersleeve-Lodge. B = Bennett. H B = Hale and Buck.

DE IMPERIO POMPEI

Page 56, l. 1. frequens conspectus: 'crowded assembly.'

2. **locus**: Cicero refers to the *rostra*. — **agendum**: *i.e. cum populo*; 'concerning measures (with the people).'

3. **amplissimus**: 'most dignified.' Only the higher magistrates had the privilege of speaking from the *rostra*, although they might extend this privilege to private citizens. *Dicendum* applies to the latter case. — **ornatissimus**: 'most honorable.'

4. **optimo cuique**: after superlatives and ordinals *quisque* is generally rendered by 'all,' 'every.'

5. **rationes**: 'plans,' or translate by a singular, 'scheme.'

6. **ineunte aetate**: 'the beginning of my mature years,' *i.e.* from the time when he put on the *toga virilis*. — **cum**: 'since.'

7. **huius auctoritatem loci**: 'this place of influence.'

10. **temporibus**: 'requirements.' Note the play upon words in *tempus*, *temporibus*. — **neque**: part of this word serves as connective with the preceding sentence. Translate as if it were *non*.

11. **qui . . . defenderent**: relative clause of characteristic. H. 591, 1 (503, 1); L M. 836; A. 535 (320); G. 631, 1; B. 283, 1, 2; H B. 502, 1.

12. **periculis** has especial reference to lawsuits. — **caste integreque**: advocates sometimes took bribes from those interested in the other side of the case, and earned the bribe by conducting the case badly for their clients.

14. **dilationem comitiorum**: if the omens were reported unfavorable, or if a storm came on, the elections were postponed. In the cases referred to in the text, fighting in the streets may have caused the postponement.

15. **praetor primus**: 'praetor first chosen.' — **centuriis cunctis**: there were 194 centuries. The vote of each century was determined by the majority of its members; each century gave one vote.

16. **quid . . . praescriberetis**: *i.e.* the same conduct as Cicero's. It is subjunctive in an indirect question.

17. **auctoritatis**: 'influence.'

18. **ad agendum**: 'to direct public measures.' See note p. 56, l. 2.

Page 57, 1. **forensi usu**: 'practice in the courts.'

4. **potissimum**: 'most of all.' — **ei rei**: *i.e. dicendi facultas.* — **fructum**: 'a wider activity.'

6. **mihi**: dative of agent with the gerundive.

9. **singulari**: 'unrivaled.' — **virtute**: 'merits' (as a general).

13. **ducitur**: 'originates.'

14. **vectigalibus**: here masculine and means 'tributaries.'

15. **relictus**: 'left unconquered.' The context supplies us with the notion 'unconquered.' Mithridates after his defeat by Lucullus fled to Armenia and sought the protection of his son-in-law Tigranes. The Roman army, satisfied with the spoils of Pontus, did not pursue him.

16. **lacessitus**: 'exasperated.' Lucullus defeated the army of Tigranes at Tigranocerta (69 B.C.) and plundered that city. — **occasionem**: there was disaffection in the Roman army, and Glabrio, the successor of Lucullus, had little military prestige. — **Asiam**: this means the Roman province of that name, comprising Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria.

20. **pro necessitudine**: 'in view of the close relation.'

22. **Bithyniae**: this country, south of the Euxine, had been left to the Romans by Nicomedes III on his death in 74.

23. **regnum Ariobarzanis**: Cappadocia.

24. **L. Lucullum discedere**: because of the intrigues in his army, Lucullus began to lose ground and was recalled to Rome.

26. **qui successerit**: M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul in 68. It is subjunctive because it is a dependent clause in indirect discourse. *Huic* is dative after it.

27. **unum**: the reference was so evident that it was not necessary to name Pompey. — **civibus**: *i.e.* resident in the province.

Page 58, 5. **genus est eius belli**: 'the war is of such nature.'

7. **agitur**: 'is at stake.'

8. **cum, tum**: correlatives.

11. **quibus amissis**: ablative absolute expressing condition.

12. **requiretis**: 'you will seek in vain.'

13. **a vobis**: used instead of the dative because the verb *consulere* governs the dative. H. 431, 1 (388, N.); L M. 991; A. 374, a, N. 1 (232, N.); G. 355, R.; B. 189, 1, a; H B. 373, 1, a.

17. **macula**: in 88, Mithridates invaded Asia and massacred Romans and Italians of both sexes and of all ages.

18. **penitus insedit**: 'has become deep-seated' or 'has sunk in.'

20. **significatione**: 'intimation.' Mithridates sent a messenger with a letter addressed to his satraps and governors to kill all Romans and Italians upon a certain day. Eighty thousand were slain.

21. **necandos**: the gerundive in agreement with the object, expressing purpose. H. 622 (544, 2, N. 2); L M. 994; A. 500, 4 (294, d); G. 430; B. 337, 7, b, 2; H B. 612, III.

23. **iam**: note its use with *regnat*.

24. **neque**: 'nor even.'

Page 59, 2. **in Asiae luce**: 'in the full view of Asia.' Mithridates, after the recall of Lucullus, no longer remained in the sequestered parts of Pontus and Cappadocia, but threatened the tributaries of Rome in the open districts of Asia.

4. **reportarent**: 'carried off.'

5. **L. Sulla**: Sulla commanded in the First Mithridatic War (87–84 B.C.). — **L. Murena**: from 83 until 81 a second war was waged against Mithridates, in which Lucius Licinius Murena commanded.

7. **regnaret**: 'still remained king.'

8. **quod egerunt**: 'for what they did.'

10. **res publica . . . revocavit**: the Marian faction had become masters of Rome. Sulla hastened home in order to reëstablish his authority.

11. **non contulit**: 'did not employ.' — **ad oblivionem veteris belli**: 'toward making the old war forgotten.'

13. **qui, etc.**: 'for he,' etc.

16. **simularet**: note the force of the imperfect: 'and was pretending' or 'kept up the pretense.' It is governed by *cum*.

17. **eos duces**: *i.e.* Sertorius and his associates.

19. **binis**: the distributive is used because *copiae* though plural in number is here singular in meaning. H. 164, 3 (174, 2, 3); L M. 1081; A. 137, b (95, b); G. 97, R. 3; B. 81, 4; H B. 247.

20. **de imperio**: 'for empire,' *i.e.* 'for the existence of your empire.'

21. **alterius partis**, etc.: 'in the one direction, that of,' etc.

23. **Cn. Pompei**: Pompey fought against Sertorius and his party in Spain for four years. The assassination of Sertorius ended the war.

25. **initia illa rerum gestarum**: 'those successes at the beginning.'

27. **extrema**: 'recent reverses,' due to disaffection in his army, brought about by the machinations of Glabrio and others.

28. **fortunae**: 'to his misfortune.'

30. **ei**: dative after a verb of 'taking away.' It is to be supplied as indirect object with *adficta*.

32. **exorsus**: 'the first theme.'

Page 60, 2. **iniuriosius**: 'somewhat wrongfully.' See H. 498 (444, 1); L M. 678; A. 291, a (93, a); G. 297, 2; B. 240, 1; H B. 241, 1, 2.

4. **quo animo**: ablative of quality.

5. **superbius**: 'somewhat arrogantly.' The fact seems to be that the Roman ambassadors were openly mocked and then were driven from the assembly. Corinth fell in 146.

7. **legatum consularem**: this was M'. Aquillius, consul with Marius in 101. His mission was to restore Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, who had been dethroned by Mithridates.

8. **excruciatum necavit**: 'tortured and killed'; lit. 'killed, being tortured.'

9. **illi . . . relinquetis**: the repetition of the same thought in other words is called commoratio. — **libertatem imminutam**: 'the diminishing of the liberty.' Here, as in the case of *ereptam*, *violatum*, and *interfectum*, a perfect participle in agreement with a substantive contains the leading idea, and may be translated like an abstract substantive with a dependent genitive.

11. **persecuti sunt**: 'avenged.'

12. **relinquetis**: 'leave unavenged.'

13. **ut, sic**: correlatives.

16. **quid**: a common method of transition. — **quod salus vocatur**: 'the fact that the safety is exposed.' The clause is the object of *ferre*. Translate *in* by 'to.'

21. **cuncta Asia**: the preposition *in* is omitted after the analogy of *tota Asia*. H. 485, 2 (425, 2); L M. 626; A. 429, 2 (254); G. 388; B. 228, 1, b; H B. 436, a.

24. **alium**: Glabrio.

25. **sine summo periculo**: Lucullus and Glabrio were still in Asia and would not be pleased if their subordinates asked for another general.

27. **summa sint omnia**: 'all the highest qualities are found.' — **propter**: 'close at hand.' — **quo . . . aegrius**: 'on which account they are more grieved to be without him.' With *carent* supply *eo*, ablative of separation.

29. **maritimum bellum**: the war against the pirates (68 B.C.).

32. **dignos quorum salutem commendetis**: 'worthy to have their safety intrusted.' H. 591, 7 (503, II, 2); L M. 837; A. 535, f (320, f); G. 631, 1; B. 282, 3; H B. 513, 3.

33. **hoc**: *rogant* is understood.

Page 61, 1. **imperio**: *i.e.* full military command. — **mittimus**: indicative because it is on Cicero's authority.

2. **defendant**: subjunctive by attraction. — **ipsorum**: 'their own.'

3. **audiebant**: 'they used to hear.'

8. **cum Antiocho**, etc.: read Mommsen's History of Rome, vol. II, pp. 233–260. The wars with the Aetolians and with Antiochus covered the period from 192 to 189. In 200 war was declared against Philip V of Macedon in the interest of Athens. The Carthaginians were attacked on behalf of Messina, the war lasting from 264 to 241. A third war with the Carthaginians was begun in aid of King Masinissa of Numidia (150–146 B.C.).

10. **una cum**: 'together with.'

11. **de vectigalibus agatur**: 'your revenues are at stake.' *Agatur* is impersonal.

13. **tanta**: 'only so great.' — **eis contenti**: 'satisfied with them.' *Eis* is ablative with *contenti*. H. 476, 1 (421, III); L M. 645; A. 431, a; G. 401, N. 6; B. 219, 1; H B. 438, 4.

15. **ubertate . . . exportentur**: a tithe of the produce of the earth was collected and was called *decumae;* the public pastures were rented, and the return was called *scriptura;* lit. 'written list.' There were also port duties called *portoria*. *Varietas fructuum* is specially mentioned because there was a tax upon wine, oil, beans, peas, etc.

17. **exportentur**: subjunctive by attraction. — **terris**: dative after a verb compounded with *ante*.

18. **et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem**: 'what is useful in war and dignified in peace.'

Page 62, 11. **exercent atque exigunt**: *i.e.* those who manage the revenues, usually Roman knights, and those who actually collected the taxes. The latter were paid employees (*familiae*).

14. **in salinis**: 'in the salt mines.'

15. **custodiis**: 'coast guards,' to prevent smuggling or illegal landing of goods.

16. **rebus**: ablative with *frui*. H. 477, 1 (421, 1); L M. 646; A. 410 (249); G. 407; B. 218, 1; H B. 429.

17. **fructui**: dative of purpose, accompanied by *vobis*, dative of the person interested.

20. **ac ne illud quidem**, etc.: 'and this too must not,' etc. H. 431 (388); L M. 544; A. 374 (232); G. 354; B. 189, 1; H B. 373, 1.

21. **extremum**: 'as the last consideration.' — **cum essem dicturus**: 'when I began to speak.'

22. **quod . . . pertinet**: 'that it (*bellum*) pertains.' This *quod*-clause is in apposition with *illud*. H. 588, 3 (540, IV, N.); L M. 848; A. 572 (333); G. 525, 2; B. 299, 1, a; H B. 552, 1.

24. **habenda est**: 'ought to be considered.' — **ratio**: 'interests.'

25. **ornatissimi**: 'wealthy.' The modifier *copiis* suggests itself, so that the literal meaning would be: 'furnished with resources.' — **rationes**: 'business ventures.' The idea is that, in order to secure their *vectigalia*, they transferred their interests to the province.

26. **ipsorum per se**: *i.e.* without regard to other interests of the state.

27. **curae**: see note on *fructui*, l. 17, above.

30. **deinde**: this is, in a way, the correlative of *et* before *publicani* in the preceding sentence. — **ceteris ordinibus**: the word *ordinibus* is employed here in the sense of 'classes of merchants.'

32. **partim eorum**: = *alii eorum*.

33. **conlocatas**: 'at interest.' The participle is used instead of the perfect of *conloco*, to imply that the money is still there. Senators could not engage in trade, but could lend money to members of the Equestrian order and hold foreign estates.

Page 63, 1. **humanitatis**: predicate genitive. H. 439, 3 (401, N. 2); L M. 557; A. 343, c (214, d); G. 366; B. 198, 3; H B. 340.

2. **sapientiae** is in the same relation to the sentence as *humanitatis*.

3. **re publica**: 'interests of state.' — **illud parvi refert**: 'there is not much in the objection.' H. 449, 3 (408, III); L M. 581; A. 355, N. 2 (222); G. 381; B. 211, 3, a; H B. 345, b.

5. **redimendi**: the term for bidding at public auction for the farming of the *vectigalia*.

8. **quidem** gives emphasis to *id*, which is the antecedent of *quod*.

11. **solutione impedita**: 'by the stoppage of payment.' — **fidem**: 'credit.'

12. **ut non trahant**: 'without drawing'; lit. '(in such manner) that they do not draw.' A result clause, as is *ut . . . concidant*, below.

15. **haec . . . pecuniarum**: 'the present system of credit and the present system of finance.'

16. **in foro**: the banks were in the forum. — **versatur**: 'exists.'

17. **illa**: neuter, referring to *pecuniis Asiaticis*.

20. **gloria, salus sociorum, vectigalia, fortunae**, recapitulate the heads under which he has considered the question. Note the meaning of *dubito*, when followed by an infinitive.

21. **re publica**: 'the interests of the state.'

24. **belli . . . necessarium**: freely; 'that the war is so necessary in its character.'

26. **in quo**: 'on this point.'

27. **contemnenda**: 'beneath your attention.'

28. **Lucullo**: the introduction, at this point of the speech, of unstinted praise of Lucullus serves to disarm those who, from friendliness to Lucullus, resent the bill as a slight upon that commander. Those who naturally wonder why such achievements did not dispose of the war, will be eager to hear the explanation.

30. **debeatur**: subjunctive in a subordinate clause of indirect discourse. — **dico**: 'I assert.' — **eius adventu**: the date was 74.

31. **Mithridati**: has its genitive in *-is* or *-i*. — **instructas fuisse**: this form denotes that the direct discourse was *instructae erant*. If the direct had been *instruebantur*, the indirect would be *instructas esse*.

Page 64, 4. **ducibus Sertorianis**: Sertorius, the insurgent commander in Spain, was in communication with Mithridates. The phrase is ablative absolute. — **studio**: 'with party zeal.'

8. **Sinopen atque Amisum**: these were two cities on the Pontus Euxinus.

11. **permultas**: construe with *ceteras*.

12. **alios reges**: Tigranes and Machares, and, afterwards, Tigranes and Arsaces.

14. **sociis, vectigalibus**: *i.e.* Lucullus did not levy contributions and destroy revenues.

15. **laudis**: partitive genitive. — **ita**: 'in such manner' may be rendered 'so bestowed.'

16. **nullo** supplies the missing ablative of *nemo*.

17. **obtrectant**: observe that this is an invidious term for 'oppose.'

23. **Medea**: Medea, daughter of Aeëtes, king of Colchis, eloping with Jason, was pursued by her father. When the chances of escape became desperate, she killed her brother Absyrtus and cast his body piecemeal into the sea. The father, stopping to collect the fragments of his son's body, was distanced in the chase. — **illa**: 'that famous.' H. 507, 4 (450, 4); L M. 1055; A. 297, b (195, b); G. 307, 2; B. 246, 3; H B. 274, 1.

24. **se**: the propriety of the reflexive here seems to be due to the speaker's putting himself in the place of Medea. H. 649, 1 (528, 1); L M. 1029; A. 592, 3 (341, d); G. 628; B. 323; H B. 535, 1, a.

25. **eorum conlectio dispersa**: 'the gathering of these scattered fragments.'

29. **bello superiore**: see note on *macula*, page 58.

32. **illum**: *i.e.* Aeëtes. *Illum, hos*: 'the former, the latter.'

Page 65, 1. **rebus suis**: dative with *diffidentem*. H. 426, 1 (385); L M. 530; A. 367 (227); G. 346, R. 2; B. 187, II, a; H B. 362, ft. N. 3 (b).

3. **plures gentes**: the Medes, the Albanians, and others.

6. **neque, neque**: note carefully the negatives here. H. 656, 2 (553, 2); L M. 762; A. 327, 2 (209, a); G. 445; B. 347, 2; H B. 298, 2, a. — **lacessendas, temptandas**: *lacessere* is 'to provoke,' by actually beginning hostilities (*bello*); *temptare* is 'to harass,' by unfair treatment.

7. **gravis atque vehemens**: 'deep and violent.'

8. **fani**: perhaps this was the shrine of the Persian Nanae or Anaitis in Elymais, the modern Luristan, as Mommsen suggests.

12. **urbem ex Tigranis regno**: it has been suggested that *ex regno* is used instead of *regni* to denote the isolated position of Tigranocerta, which was captured, and thus detract from the importance of this success of Lucullus.

13. **usus erat**: 'had fought.' — **longinquitate**, etc.: Cicero glosses over the real reason, which was not so much the distance and longing for their own people as cabals and mutiny.

14. **suorum**: objective genitive.

15. **extremum**: 'the outcome.' — **ut . . . quaereretur**: a substantive clause of result in apposition with *illud*.

20. **fere**: 'almost always.'

21. **multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam**: 'move many powerful men to pity.' This translation removes the synecdoche of the Latin expression. The clause is in apposition with *hoc*.

23. **ut**: 'so that.' — **nomen regale**: 'the name of king.'

25. **est ausus**: we should say 'would have dared.'

27. **ut . . . attingeret**: in apposition with *eo*.

29. **impetum fecit**: Lucullus was engaged in Mesopotamia when Mithridates returned to Pontus and defeated first Fabius and, afterwards, Triarius. These reverses were suffered in 68 and 67.

30. **poetae**: Cn. Naevius (240 B.C.) wrote a poem on the First Punic War, and Ennius (239 B.C.) wrote a poetical history called *Annales*.

32. **ex sermone**: *i.e.* Lucullus heard of the defeat of Triarius from the common talk among the natives, before a messenger arrived.

Page 66, 1. **offensione**: 'reverse.' — **qui . . . potuisset**: a potential subjunctive used as a condition contrary to fact, with the protasis understood. H. 583, 1 (511, 1, N. 3); L M. 942; A. 517, c (308, c); G. 597, R. 3; B. 304, 3, a; H B. 517, 2.

3. **modum**: 'a limit.' — **vetere exemplo** (ablative of cause): laws against prolongation of command had been disregarded. The intrigue of his enemies was the real cause of the recall of Lucullus.

4. **partim, partim**: equivalent to *partem, partem*, by synesis. *Militum* is partitive genitive after *partim*. — **stipendiis confectis erant**: 'had finished their campaigns.' The ablative is that of quality.

6. **coniectura**: 'through inference (from intimations I have given).'

7. **coniungant**: 'undertake in common.' Here Cicero recapitulates the facts that make the outlook serious.

8. **integrae**: 'hitherto inactive.'

9. **imperator**: Glabrio.

11. **esset**: imperfect after *fecisse* by sequence of tenses. H. 548 (495, IV); L M. 809; A. 585, a (336, B, N. 2); G. 518; B. 268, 2; H B. 483.

13. **dicendum esse videatur**: 'it seems necessary to speak.'

14. **Utinam . . . haberetis**: optative subjunctive expressing a wish unfulfilled in present time. H. 558, 1 (483, 1 and 2); L M. 712; A. 441 (267); G. 260, 261; B. 279, 2; H B. 511.

16. **quemnam . . . putaretis**: an indirect question in apposition with *deliberatio*.

19. **antiquitatis memoriam**: 'the still remembered past' or 'the records of the past.'

23. **hoc homine**: Pompeius.

25. **pueritiae disciplinis**: 'the training of boyhood.' — **bello . . . hostibus**: ablative absolute used to express attendant circumstances.

26. **ad patris exercitum** : *i.e.* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo with whom Pompey fought in the Social War, in 89. Pompey was then only seventeen years of age.

Page 67, 3. **concertavit**: this term applies especially to strife in the law courts.

4. **confecit**: 'subdued.'

6. **offensionibus belli**: 'by defeats in war.'

7. **triumphis**: in 81 for victories in Africa and in 71 for victories in Spain. — **est erudita**: 'was trained.'

9. **fortuna**: 'the unhappy fortune.' — **civile**, etc.: the Civil War was that waged between Sulla and Cinna, Carbo and Lepidus, adherents of the Marian party. A remnant of the Marian party fled to Africa and were defeated by Pompey in 81. On his way to Spain Pompey, in 76, defeated the Transalpine Gauls. The Spanish War was waged against Sertorius. The war with the slaves was occasioned by the revolt of Spartacus and other gladiators in 71. Pompey destroyed the pirates in 67.

10. **mixtum ex**: 'involving.'

11. **diversa** perhaps means 'far separated.'

12. **gesta**: 'encountered.'

13. **usu militari**: 'military experience.'

15. **iam vero** shows a transition, 'but further.'

16. **illo**: ablative with *dignum*.

17. **cuiquam**: dative of agent.

19. **labor**: 'energy.'

21. **tanta sunt . . . quanta . . . non fuerunt**: 'are greater than they have been.'

23. **Italia**: the Civil War is mentioned above.

24. **Sicilia**: Pompey, sent by Sulla into Sicily, subdued, in 82, that portion of the Marian party that had fled to that island.

26. **Africa**: the African war is mentioned above.

28. **Gallia . . . Hispaniam**: consult the note on *civile*, line 9 above.

31. **iterum et saepius**: 'once more and again.'

Page 68, 1. **attenuatum**: 'weakened.'

2. **nunc vero iam**: 'now indeed by this time.'

4. **universa**: 'as wholes' may be translated 'all,' but with the meaning 'throughout their extent.'

5. **quis**: H. 511, 1 (454, 1); LM. 286; A. 148, N. (104); G. 106, R.; B. 90, 2, c; HB. 141, a.

8. **cum . . . navigaret**: causal clause. — **referto mari**: 'when the sea was filled.' Ablative absolute. — **praedonum**: H. 453, 5 (399, I, 3); L M. 573; A. 349, a (218, a); G. 374, N. 1; B. 204, 1; H B. 347.

10. **divisum**: 'extended.'

11. **arbitraretur**: H. 554, 3 (485, N. 1; 486, II); L M. 720; A. 444 (268); G. 259; B. 277; H B. 503.

14. **omnibus annis**: 'in all the years' (of their active life).

23. **cui praesidio fuistis**: 'to whom have you been a defense.'

26. **urbis**: Plutarch puts the number at four hundred.

27. **fuit**: the perfect here expresses what was once true, but is true no longer.

28. **proprium**: 'characteristic.' — **a domo**: the preposition is regular with *longe*. For its use with the genitive *populi*, see H. 435, 4 (391, II, 4); L M. 573; A. 385, c (234, d); G. 359, R. 1; B. 204, 2; H B. 339, c.

29. **propugnaculis**: these consisted of fleets and armies. The word may be translated 'bulwarks.'

31. **dicam**: subjunctive in a deliberative question.

32. **hieme summa**: 'at midwinter.'

33. **venirent**: *i.e.* as *legati*. — **legati**: the incident referred to is unknown. A scholiast tells us that the wife of an ambassador who had been seized by the pirates ransomed her husband.

Page 69, 2. **duodecim secures**: this is metonymy for 'two praetors,' since, in the provinces, each praetor had six lictors.

3. **Cnidum, Colophonem, Samum**: respectively, a city of Caria, a city of Lydia, and an island of the Aegean Sea.

5. **quibus . . . ducitis**: 'through which you draw life and breath,' *i.e.* the harbors used for the import of grain.

7. **Caietae**: on the coast of Latium. — **celeberrimum**: 'much frequented.'

9. **Miseno**: on the coast of Campania. — **eius ipsius**: Plutarch tells us that they captured the daughter of Antonius, a man who had enjoyed a triumph. She was ransomed for a large sum. The plural *liberos*, of which the singular has a different meaning, is simply rhetorical and should be translated 'child.'

11. **Ostiense** may be translated 'at Ostia.' Ostia was the port at the mouth of the Tiber.

13. **cui . . . praepositus esset**: a clause of characteristic.

16. **brevi tempore**: about ninety days.

18. **ei** emphasizes *vos*. — **Oceani ostium**: 'the gateway of the Ocean,' *i.e.* the *Gaditanum fretum*, now called Straits of Gibraltar.

20. **a me**: the dative is more common.

21. **praetereunda**: this plural, where we might expect the singular, is not uncommon.

22. **tam brevi tempore quam celeriter**: = *tam celeriter quam*.

24. **tanti belli impetus**: 'so large a fleet of warships'; lit. 'the onset of so great a war.'

27. **frumentaria subsidia**: 'granaries.'

29. **duabus Hispaniis**: Farther Spain and Hither Spain were divided by the river Iberus, the modern Ebro.

30. **confirmata** modifies *Hispaniis* as well as *Gallia*, but agrees in number with *Gallia*.

31. **Achaiam**: here used to denote the Peloponnesus. Later *Achaia* became a term for all Greece.

32. **adornavit**: 'furnished.'

33. **ut**: 'from the time when.'

Page 70, 1. **Ciliciam**: Cilicia in Asia Minor was the pirates' stronghold.

4. **Cretensibus**: Pompey accepted in surrender the Cretans, who had been attacked by Metellus for two years, thus securing the glory of the victory, and producing much bad feeling as a result. It is dative of separation after *ademit* and of indirect object after *imperavit*. — **usque in**: the distance from Crete to Pamphylia is not so great, but Cicero wishes it to seem as far as possible.

11. **est haec**: 'such is.'

12. **ceterae**: these are moral and intellectual attributes not necessarily included in military ability.

15. **artes**: 'qualities.'

19. **quae**: translate, 'these.' The neuter is used because the antecedents are things of different grammatical genders.

20. **summa**: 'of the highest excellence.'

21. **ex aliorum contentione**: 'by comparison with others.'

23. **ullo in numero putare**: 'include in any (proper) enumeration.'

24. **veneant atque venierint**: we should reverse the order, and say: 'have been sold and are for sale.' Subjunctive in a characteristic clause — **quid . . . cogitare**: supply *putare possumus* from the preceding sentence, *putare* here having the meaning 'believe'; 'what high or noble thought for the state can we believe that man to have.'

26. **propter cupiditatem provinciae**: magistrates might be bribed to permit an extension of military command.

Page 71, 2. in quaestu: 'invested.'

5. **nisi qui**: 'except him who.'

7. **ventum sit**: impersonal. — **adferant**: 'cause.' H. 652, 1 (529, II); L M. 793; A. 593 (342); G. 663, 1; B. 324, 1; H B. 539.

9. **civium Romanorum**: the Italians became *cives Romani* after the Social War (90–88 B.C.).

13. **hibernis**: so burdensome was the support of troops in winter quarters that towns sometimes purchased immunity from this infliction by payment of large sums of money.

16. **hic**: 'in this regard.'

18. **non modo, sed ne quidem**: clauses having the same verb have the negative expressed only in the one containing the verb; the negative extends its force to the other clauses. — **manus**: 'no hand.' The negative is supplied from the second clause. Hence here *non concupisti* must be supplied with *non modo*, and the affirmative part of *ne . . . quidem* remains to be translated into English for the last clause. *Numquam* modifies both clauses. Translate: 'Not only did you never desire peace, but you never desired even war unless (it was) criminal.'

19. **vestigium**: 'the tread.' The idea of the passage is that there was no plundering and that subsistence was obtained in a fair manner.

20. **hibernent**: Pompey was at this time in Cilicia.

21. **sumptum faciat**: 'should expend money.'

23. **hiemis, avaritiae**: 'from the winter,' 'for avarice'; to be taken with *perfugium*, the first being objective genitive, the second, subjective genitive.

26. **incredibilem cursum**: 'extraordinary rapidity.'

27. **inventum**: 'was attained.'

32. **amoenitas**: 'natural beauty' (of scenery, etc.).

33. **nobilitas urbis**: 'renown of a city.'

Page 72, 1. signa: 'statues.'

8. **videbatur**: 'was beginning to seem.'

9. **coepit**: 'has begun.'

13. **liberae**: 'unhindered.' — **aliorum**: 'inflicted by others.' — **iniuriis** may be translated 'wrongs.'

14. **facilitate**: 'easiness of approach.'

15. **consilio**: 'political wisdom.'

17. **hoc loco**: the rostra.

20. **sanctissimam**: 'absolutely inviolable.'

21. **dictu**: supine in *u*. H. 635, 1, 2 (547, 2); L M. 1007; A. 510 (303); G. 436; B. 340, 2; H B. 619.

22. **et**: 'and still.'

23. **quin . . . permittendum sit**: for this sort of a clause, following *dubito*, see H. 595, 1 (504, 3); L M. 913; A. 558, a (332, g, R.); G. 555, 2; B. 298; H B. 502, 3, b.

26. **auctoritas**: 'prestige.'

Page 73, 2. vehementer: 'very closely.'

4. **ignorat** governs the infinitive, *pertinere*, whose subject is the indirect question, *quid . . . existiment*. — **homines**: subject of *commoveri*, which is modified by the clauses *ut . . . ament*.

9. **iudicia**: these conferred honors and commands upon Pompey. See Introduction to the Oration, p. 55.

10. **quo . . . pervaserit**: clause of result introduced by the relative adverb *quo* = *ut eo*.

12. **templis**: among the temples from the steps of which this scene could be viewed were those of Vesta, of Castor, of Concordia, and of Saturn on the Palatine and Capitoline hills. (See Introd. 38.) The occasion was the appointment of Pompey to the command against the pirates.

13. **commune omnium gentium**: 'affecting all nations.'

15. **ut plura non dicam**: H. 568, 5 (499, 1); L M. 891; A. 531, 1, N. 2; G. 545, R. 2; B. 282, 1.

17. **sumantur**: 'let be derived.' Subjunctive expressing an exhortation. H. 559, 2 (484, IV); L M. 713; A. 439 (266); G. 263, 3; B. 275; H B. 501, 3.

18. **qui quo die**: 'for upon the day on which he.'

19. **vilitas**: the price of grain fell because, the danger of pirates being removed, the movement of grain from foreign ports was accelerated.

20. **unius hominis spe ac nomine**: 'from our hope in one man and from his reputation.' *Hominis* is objective genitive with *spe* and subjective genitive with *nomine*.

22. **potuisset**: subjunctive in the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact. The protasis is implied in *ex summa ubertate agrorum*. — **iam**: 'and now again.'

27. **eas regiones**: Cilicia and Pamphylia, the home of the pirates.

31. **perfecturus sit**: when indirect questions refer to future time, they take the subjunctive of the first periphrastic conjugations. H. 541, 2, N. 1 (496, II, N. 2); L M. 803; A. 575, a (334); G. 515; B. 269, 3; H B. 470, 4.

Page 74, 4. **Cretensium**: see note, p. 70, l. 4.

5. **cum**: 'although.' — **noster imperator**: Metellus, who was overshadowed by Pompey.

9. **eum**: 'a man whom.'

10. **ei**: especially Metellus and his friends, who were jealous of Pompey.

11. **potissimum**: 'rather than to some one else.'

12. **constituere**: in section 38, Cicero uses the verb *statuere* in much the same connection.

17. **ut . . . dicamus**: clause of result. — **felicitate**: Cicero adds *felicitas* to *innocentia*, *fides*, *facilitas*, *ingenium*, *humanitas*, as an attribute of Pompey. — **praestare**: 'guarantee.'

18. **meminisse, possumus**: connect in English by 'but which.'

19. **homines**: supply *dicere*.

20. **Maximo**: Quintus Fabius Maximus.

21. **Marcello**: Marcus Claudius Marcellus. — **Scipioni**: from the connection we judge that this may be Scipio Aemilianus.

23. **saepius**: 'more often than for other reasons' or 'more than once.' — **commissos** agrees with *exercitus* but applies also to *mandata*.

27. **quo de**: anastrophe, oftener with dissyllabic prepositions. H. 676, 1 (569); L M. 1435; A. 435 (263 N.); G. 413, R. 1; B. 144, 3; H B. 624, 12, a. — **hac**: 'such.' Following it are two clauses of result, *non ut . . . dicam* and *ut . . . videamur*; and one of purpose, *ne . . . videatur*.

29. **reliqua**: 'the future.' — **invisa**: 'displeasing.'

30. **ingrata**: 'ungrateful.'

32. **ut**: 'how,' introducing an indirect question.

Page 75, 3. **qui . . . auderet**: relative clause of result.

4. **tacitus**: H. 497 (443); A. 290 (191); G. 325, R. 6; B. 239; H B. 245. — **quot et quantas**: the correlative 'as' will serve for both.

5. **quod ut**: 'that this.'

7. **facitis**: 'you are doing.'

9. **qua re**: begins a recapitulation of points made. See analysis preceding section 43.

10. **accuratissime**: 'with the utmost care.'

13. **dubitatis quin conferatis**: 'have you any scruple about employing.' In this sense the verb is usually followed by the infinitive,

and the use of *quin* accompanies it when it means 'doubt' in a negative sense. — **hoc tantum boni**: 'this great advantage.' *Boni* is partitive genitive.

17. **erat deligendus**: for this indicative of a second periphrastic in the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact see H. 582 (511, 2); L M. 940; A. 517, c (308, c); G. 597, R. 3; B. 304, 3, b; H B. 581, a.

19. **opportunitas**: 'convenience.'

20. **qui habent**: Glabrio, Lucullus, Marcius Rex.

22. **eidem cui**: 'to the same man to whom.' — **cetera**: *i.e. bella*.

23. **commendamus**: compare its mood with that of *exspectamus* in the preceding sentence, and explain each.

Page 76, 1. **at enim**: beginning of the *refutatio* of the opponents of the law.

2. **Q. Catulus**: Quintus Lutatius Catulus, consul in 78.

4. **Q. Hortensius**: the great orator. He was consul in 69. — **ratione**: 'opinion,' 'plan.'

5. **multis locis**: 'in many cases.'

8. **ipsa re ac ratione**: 'by the very nature of the case.'

9. **hoc**: ablative of cause.

15. **obsolevit ista oratio**: 'such language is out of date.'

16. **tu idem**: 'you also.'

18. **A. Gabinium**: Gabinius proposed the law which, without actually naming Pompey, did in fact designate him for the command against the pirates.

20. **promulgasset**: *promulgare legem* was to give notice of the law on three market days before the voting took place.

Page 77, 2. **vera causa**: 'the real cause' means the political view that is best for the state. Each party in a political contest would claim this to be its own.

3. **valuisset . . . teneremus**: bring out the force of the tenses in this condition contrary to fact.

6. **capiebantur**: see chap. 12. The indicative verbs with *cum* in this sentence merely define the time of the main verb, but do not tell anything else about it. — **commeatu**: 'from intercourse.'

8. **rem**: 'business.'

10. **Atheniensium**: sc. *civitatem*.

13. **Rhodiorum**: the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes in the Aegean. Rhodes was 'Queen of the Sea' in the third century B.C. in the time of the Macedonian Empire.

14. **disciplina navalis et gloria**: 'science and success in navigation.'

18. **continuos**: 'in succession.'

21. **utilitatis**: 'of their advantages.' The reference is to the corn supply, and other traffic with the provinces.

22. **Antiochum**: in the war with Antiochus (192–189 B.C.) his fleets were defeated.

23. **Persenque**: the fleet of Perses surrendered to Cn. Octavius in 168.

25. **ei** emphasizes *nos*. Translate: 'yes, we.'

27. **socios salvos praestare**: 'to guarantee the safety of our allies.'

28. **Delus** became important after the fall of Corinth in 146.

30. **oneribus**: 'cargoes.'

33. **carebamus**: 'avoided.' The Appian Way extended from Rome to Brundisium. See illustration, p. 223.

Page **78**, 2. **cum . . . reliquissent**: concessive clause. — **exuviis nauticis**: the platform in the forum was ornamented with beaks of ships taken from Antium. See Introd., p. 43.

4. **bono animo**: 'with good intent.'

7. **dolori suo**: 'their own grievous need.'

10. **aliquando**: 'at length.'

12. **obtrectatum esse**: 'that opposition has been made.' — **dicam**: 'shall I say?'

13. **ne legaretur**: according to the *lex Licinia et Aebutia* no one who was intimately connected with the proposer of a measure relating to a *potestas* or a *curatio* could hold a commission under the law, nor could the proposer himself hold office in connection with the provisions of the law. The *lex Licin. et Aebut.* was so obviously proper from the standpoint of political morals that it is difficult to understand Cicero's attitude toward Pompey's impolitic request. After the passage of the Manilian Law, no legal objection to Gabinius' appointment would exist.

14. **utrum, an**, introduce direct double questions here.

16. **impetret**: for this subjunctive following *idoneus* see H. 591, 7 (503, II, 2); L M. 837; A. 535, f (320, f); G. 631, 1; B. 282, 3; H B. 513, 3.

21. **periculo**: the proposer of the law (*lator legis*) was responsible for its results, if it were passed. — **an**: = *nonne*.

23. **honoris causa**: 'with all respect.' — **plebi**: gen. H. 134, 2 (121, 1); A. 98, d, N. (74, d); G. 68, 8; B. 52, 2; H B. 100, 3.

25. **diligentes**: 'careful' or 'scrupulous.'

27. **praecipuo iure esse**: 'to enjoy special privileges.' — **de quo legando**: 'concerning his appointment.'

29. **me relaturum**: Cicero could as praetor refer a question to the Senate, unless forbidden by a magistrate of the same or of higher rank.

30. **quo minus . . . defendam**: H. 568, 8 (497, II, 2); L M. 909; A. 558, b (331, e, 2); G. 549; B. 295, 3; H B. 502, 3, b. — **vobis fretus**: for the ablative see H. 476, 1 (425, I, 1, N.); L M. 629; A. 431, a (254, b, 2); G. 401, R. 6; B. 218, 3; H B. 432.

31. **ius beneficiumque**: *i.e.* 'the right and favor' of appointing his own lieutenants. — **intercessionem**: 'the veto,' *i.e.* for tribune.

33. **quid liceat**: 'what is lawful.' The tribune was supposed to interpose a veto only when the rights of the people were menaced.

Page 79, 2. **socius ascribitur**: 'is associated as partner.'

5. **Q. Catuli**: see chap. 17, sect. 51.

7. **si in uno . . . essetis habituri**: note these tenses and their translation carefully. In direct discourse *poneretis* would be *ponetis*, and *factum esset* would be *factum erit*. — **si quid eo factum esset**: 'if some accident should happen to him.' *Eo* = *ex eo*, but the phrase does not lend itself to literal translation. H. 474. 3 (415, III, N. 1); L M. 611; A. 403, c (244, c); G. 401, R. 7; B. 218, 6; H B. 423, b.

10. **in eo ipso**: the reference in the pronoun is to Catulus and the incident occurred in the year before, in the course of the discussion of the Gabinian Law.

14. **quo minus certa . . . hoc magis . . . debet**: 'the less certain, etc., the more ought.' *Quo* and *hoc* are ablatives of degree of difference.

17. **fiat**: subjunctive of exhortation, with negative *ne*. — **exempla atque instituta**: 'the traditions and customs.'

19. **casus**: 'circumstances.'

20. **novorum consiliorum rationes**: 'new plans and methods.'

21. **Punicum** (*bellum*): the Third Punic War, 150–146 B.C. — **Hispaniense** (*bellum*): 149–133 B.C.

22. **uno imperatore** refers to Scipio Aemilianus.

24. **Numantiam**: Numantia fell in 133.

25. **nuper**: it was forty years before.

27. **Iugurtha**, etc.: Marius overthrew Jugurtha in 105, and the Teutoni and Cimbri in 102–101.

30. **Q. Catuli voluntate**: it is probable that Catulus simply acquiesced in the decision of the optimates.

32. **conficere**: 'raise and equip.'

Page 80, 2. **peradulescenti**: Pompey was then twenty-four. — **a senatorio gradu**: from Sulla's time a man gained admission to the Senate by holding the quaestorship, which office might not be held by any one not fully thirty years of age.

6. **Africa**: see note on page 67, line 9.

7. **deportavit**: this is a military term for bringing an army home by sea. — **equitem triumphare**: Roman custom forbade the granting of a triumph, except to a praetor or consul.

9. **vidit**: 'has seen.' — **omnium studio**: 'with universal enthusiasm.'

11. **duo consules**: Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus and D. Iunius Brutus (77 B.C.). Brutus declined the command against Sertorius.

14. **non nemo** has a plural force.

15. **L. Philippus**: L. Marcius Philippus was consul in 91. He was a supporter of Pompey and was known for his witty style of oratory. His pun is not easily rendered into English, but the idea is 'not as a former consul ready to go, but in place of consuls who would not go.'

17. **rei publicae**: 'the public interests.'

18. **constituebatur**: 'was placed.' *Ponebatur* might have been used, but would have been less forcible.

20. **legibus solutus**: 'released from the legal restrictions.' The required age for eligibility to the consulship was forty-two. Pompey became consul when thirty-five, without having been quaestor or praetor.

21. **ante . . . quam . . . licuisset**: note that *antequam* is often separated into its parts, as here. The subjunctive here expresses something that did not take place. H. 605 (520); L M. 880; A. 551, b (327, b); G. 577; B. 292; H B. 507, 4, b.

22. **iterum triumpharet**: for successes in Spain.

23. **in**: 'in the case of.'

24. **nova**: 'new enactments.'

27. **profecta sunt a**: 'have been conferred by'; lit. 'have proceeded from.'

Page 81, 1. **suo iure**: 'by their own right,' in view of former results.

4. **quem . . . praeponeretis**: relative clause of purpose.

7. **plus vidistis**: 'had deeper insight.'

8. **vos, salutem**: supply *si* before the clauses beginning with these words. — **eis repugnantibus**: concessive.

10. **sibi, ceteris**: dative of agent.

11. **parendum esse**: when intransitive verbs take the dative in the

active, they retain it in the passive and are impersonal. H. 426, 3 (384, II, 5); L M. 530; A. 372 (230); G. 346, R.; B. 187, II, b; H B. 364, 2.

15. **interiorum**: 'in the interior' (of Asia).

16. **nihil aliud nisi**: = *de nulla alia re*, 'concerning nothing else except.'

17. **pudore ac temperantia**: 'from decency and discretion.'

18. **propter multitudinem**: *i.e.* because there are so many others that are greedy and oppressive.

22. **libidines**: 'arbitrary acts.'

25. **requiruntur**: 'are growing scarce.' Compare our expression 'are to seek' with this one. — **quibus . . . inferatur**: 'against which a pretext for war can be found'; lit. 'brought.'

27. **coram**: 'in private.'

28. **disputarem**: 'I should discuss.' Do not confuse this notion with our English 'dispute.'

31. **hostium simulatione**: 'under the pretense of an expedition against the enemy.'

32. **non modo**: like *non dicam*, 'not to say.'

33. **animos ac spiritus capere**: 'satisfy the arrogance and insolence.'

Page 82, 1. **conlatis signis**: 'in a pitched battle'; lit. 'when the standards have been gathered together.'

7. **pacatam fuisse**: 'has been recognized as subdued.'

12. **praeter paucos**: this diatribe is directed especially against M. Antonius Creticus, who misused his command and lost his fleet, intended for service against the pirates, in a battle with the Cretans. P. Servilius was one of the exceptions referred to by Cicero. Servilius listened to this speech and favored the law.

15. **iacturis**: 'waste of treasure.'

16. **condicionibus**: 'bargains' or 'corrupt agreements,' *i.e.* with creditors whom they agreed to pay with their plunder.

17. **quasi . . . videamus**: H. 584 (513, II); L M. 944; A. 524 (312); G. 602; B. 307; H B. 504, 3.

Page 83, 2. **nolite dubitare**: the customary form for prohibitions. H. 561, 1 (489, 1); L M. 728; A. 450 (269, a); G. 271, 2; B. 276, c; H B. 501, 3, a, 2. *Dubitare* here means 'hesitate,' hence the *quin*-clause is irregular, the infinitive being the usual construction.

3. **huic uni**: *i.e.* during the command. — **inter tot annos unus**: 'the only one in the course of so many years.'

7. **est vobis auctor**: 'you have the support of.'

8. **P. Servilius**: Publius Servilius Vatia, surnamed Isauricus, the conqueror of the Isaurians, in southern Asia Minor. He held also a command against the pirates.

10. **C. Curio**: Gaius Scribonius Curio, consul in 76, when proconsul of Macedonia (75–73), conquered the Thracians and Dardanians. He was the first Roman general to reach the Danube. He was also an orator.

12. **praeditus**: this word does not seem to go well with *beneficiis* and *rebus gestis*. Perhaps the idea *ornatus*, 'distinguished,' supplied itself with these ablatives. — **Cn. Lentulus**: Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, consul in 72, censor in 70, was one of Pompey's lieutenants in the war against the pirates.

13. **pro**: 'in accordance with' or 'in view of.'

14. **C. Cassius**: Gaius Cassius Longinus Varus, consul in 73, was defeated by Spartacus in 72.

15. **videte ut**: 'consider how.'

20. **auctore populo Romano**: 'with the support of the Roman people.'

21. **vim aut minas**: the reference is to the experience of Gabinius, when he proposed giving Pompey command against the pirates.

26. **dubitemus**: subjunctive of characteristic.

Page 84, 4. **polliceor ac defero**: 'promise and offer in their service.'

5. **qui . . . praesident**: *i.e.* when temples were in the forum and its vicinity.

6. **loco temploque**: 'consecrated spot'; refers to the *rostra*.

7. **ad rem publicam adeunt**: 'apply themselves to state affairs.'

8. **neque quo, neque quo**: 'neither as if, nor that thus.' For the mood of the verbs, see H. 588, II, 2 (516, 2); L M. 852; A. 540, N. 3 (321, R.); G. 541, N. 2; B. 286, 1, b; H B. 535, 2, b.

10. **praesidia**: 'defense against.' It is followed by the dative *periculis*. — **adiumenta**: 'aid in securing.'

12. **ut . . . oportet**: 'so far as a man may properly be secure of this.'

13. **eadem illa nostra ratione**: referring to his activity as an advocate.

17. **tantum abest ut videar, ut intellegam**: 'so far from seeming, I know.' *Ut videar* is a substantive clause of result, subject of *abest*; *ut intellegam* also expresses result.

20. **vobis non inutilis**: it would seem that Cicero might have espoused the cause of the people without injuring himself, but his violent invectives made for him bitter enemies.

24. **rationibus**: 'interests.'

IN CATILINAM I

Page 90, 1. **quo usque**, etc.: this exordium, with its fierce invective against Catiline, is celebrated in the history of oratory. It was a bold insult to the patience of the Senate for Catiline to appear at a time when it had been summoned for the purpose of taking action against him. — **tandem** adds vehemence to the interrogation, somewhat as our word 'then' may be employed. — **abutere**: future tense, second person singular. This second person ending is very common in Cicero. — **patientia**: for the case see H. 477, I (421, I); L M. 646; A. 410 (249); G. 407; B. 218, 1; H B. 429.

2. **etiam**: 'still,' with *quam diu*. — **furor iste tuus**: 'that frenzy of yours.' On *iste* see H. 505 (450); L M. 1053; A. 297, c (195, c); G. 306; B. 87 and 246, 4; H B. 271, II. — **quem ad finem**: 'to what extent?' A monosyllabic preposition is often placed between a noun and its adjective.

3. **nihilne**: note that *nihil* occurs at the beginning of successive clauses, making the rhetorical figure called anaphora or repetition. *Nihilne* is stronger than *nonne*. For the use of *nihil* see H. 416, 2 (378, 2; 457, 3); L M. 507; A. 390, c (238, a); G. 334; B. 176, 3, a; H B. 396, 2. — **nocturnum**: an adjective, but best translated by the adverbial phrase 'by night.'

4. **praesidium Palati**: consult the map of Rome; observe that this hill would be an important military position to hold against a mob. In view of the fact that it was the fashionable quarter of the city and Cicero's house was on it, a special night guard had been placed there to protect its residents. — **urbis vigiliae**: 'patrols of the city,' who, as an extraordinary precaution, went over all parts of the city.

5. **concursus bonorum omnium**: 'the swift gathering of all loyal citizens'; that they might offer aid if needful. By 'good' men, Cicero means all citizens who adhered to his party, the party of the nobles, as opposed to the popular party. — **munitissimus . . . locus**: the Senate had convened in the temple of Jupiter Stator, situated near the base of the Palatine. The temple was near the end of the Via Sacra or on the hill itself. Although the Curia Hostilia was commonly used, yet the

Senate had no fixed place of meeting; any *templum* (see Introduction, p. 33) might be chosen. The military occupation of the Palatine influenced the choice on this occasion. For the order of words see H. 671, 4 (565, 2); L M. 1144; A. 598, g (p. 389, top, a); G. 676; B. 350, 4, d; H B. 624, 4. For the gerundive *habendi* see H. 623 (543, N.); L M. 988; A. 504 (298); G. 427; B. 339; H B. 610.

6. **ora voltusque**: 'expressions on the faces of'; a figure called hendiadys, which consists in using two substantives connected by a conjunction, instead of one substantive and an adjective or genitive.

7. **patere**: emphatic by position. — **non**: for *nonne*, the omission of *-ne* tending to heighten the impassioned utterance. — **constrictam teneri**: 'is held in check.' *Teneri* = *haberi*. H. 640, 2 (388, 1, N.); L M. 1018; A. 497, b (292, c); G. 238; B. 337, 7; H B. 605, 5, a.

9. **proxima, superiore nocte**: *proxima* (*nocte*), 'last night,' when the conspirators would have struck their first blow, if Cicero's measures had not prevented; *superiore nocte*, 'the night before,' when a meeting of the conspirators had been held in the house of Laeca.

10. **quid . . . arbitraris**: *quem* is the subject of the infinitive *ignorare*, which depends upon *arbitraris*. In the direct discourse it would be *quis ignorat?* The indirect questions, *quid egeris*, etc., are objects of *ignorare*, and are put first in the sentence for emphasis. H. 649, II (529, I); L M. 810; A. 573 (334); G. 467; B. 300; H B. 537. — **quid consili**: partitive genitive. H. 441 (397, 3); L M. 564; A. 346, a, 3 (216, a, 3); G. 369; B. 201, 2; H B. 346.

Page 91, 1. **o tempora, o mores!**: 'what times, what ways!'; accusative of exclamation. H. 421 (381); L M. 512; A. 397, d (240, d); G. 343, 1; B. 183; H B. 399. — **haec**: Catiline's plans. — **consul**: 'concerning the other consul, see Introductory Sketch, p. 86.

2. **hic**: Catiline. — **vivit? immo vero etiam**: the *immo* would suffice to complete the figure, but *vero* and *etiam* are added to give emphasis to Cicero's horror of Catiline's insolence.

3. **fit . . . particeps**: 'is granted a share in the public councils.' For case of *consili* see H. 451, 2 (399, 1, 3); L M. 573; A. 349, a (218, a); G. 374; B. 204, 1; H B. 354.

4. **unum quemque nostrum**: 'us one by one'; an exaggeration for 'certain ones among us.' *Nostrum* is the regular partitive genitive form; *nostri* is the objective genitive form.

5. **fortes viri**: this is said ironically. Show this by inflection of voice. — **rei publicae**: for this dative see H. 426, 1, N. 2 (385, II, N. 3);

L M. 531; A. 368, 2 (227, 2); G. 346; B. 187, II; H B. 362, I. — **istius**: 'of that villain.' Used with a contemptuous force.

6. **duci**: instead of changing tenses of the infinitive, as in English, the tenses of *oportet* vary. H. 618, 2 (537, I); L M. 980; A. 486, a (288, a); G. 254, R.; B. 270, 2; H B. 582, 3, a, ft. N. 2. — **iussu consulis**: by *consulis* Cicero refers to himself. The consul might do this in virtue of a *senatus consultum* of Oct. 21, which conferred upon the consuls complete discretionary powers. See Introductory Sketch, p. 33.

7. **oportebat**: for the tense see H. 535, I (469, II, 2); L M. 738; A. 471, b (277, b); G. 234; B. 260, 4; H B. 485.

8. **an vero . . . perferemus**: this form of reasoning is called *a minore ad maius*, 'from the less to the greater.' The case of Tiberius Gracchus was not so serious as that of Catiline, nor had the *pontifex maximus* so great a responsibility as the consuls. Translate *an vero*, 'do we not know in fact,' and for the use of *an* see H. 380, 3 (353, N. 4); L M. 702; A. 335, b (212, b); G. 457, I; B. 162, 4, a; H B. 236.

9. **P. Scipio**: Publius Scipio Nasica, made *pontifex maximus* after he had been sent to Asia to place him beyond the reach of vengeance, led the band which slew Tiberius Gracchus in 133. He had been consul in 138. Cicero seems to approve of the killing of Gracchus, who while he had proposed and advocated an agrarian law designed to wrest from the rich certain domains to which they had no legal title, did wrong in trying to bring about his second election to the tribuneship.

10. **mediocriter labefactantem**: 'making only a slight attack upon,' that is, in comparison with the designs of Catiline. — **privatus**: the *pontifex maximus* was not a magistrate. Cicero neglects the fact that Nasica was made *pontifex maximus* in 130, while the killing of Ti. Gracchus took place in 133.

12. **nam**: the connection seems to be: 'Let this modern instance suffice, for,' etc. — **illa nimis antiqua**: 'that well-known but too ancient instance.' The plural here refers to a single act. Simply consider it an idiom and translate by the singular. This figure of pretending to pass by an instance which one really describes is called praeteritio.

13. **quod**: 'as for instance when.' For the use of the *quod*-clause see H. 588, 3 (363, 5); L M. 848; A. 572 (333); G. 525, 2; B. 299, 1, a; H B. 552, 1. — **C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium**: the historian Livy tells us that Sp. Maelius, a wealthy Roman knight, made a distribution of corn to the plebs and was accused of wishing to make himself king.

The dictator Cincinnatus sent his master of horse, Ahala, to summon him before the Senate. Maelius refused to come and called the people to his rescue. Ahala then killed him. For this he was praised by the dictator. Livy says: Cum fame populus Romanus laboraret, Sp. Maelius eques Romanus frumentum populo sua impensa largitus est; et ob id factum conciliata sibi plebe regnum adfectans a C. Servilio Ahala magistro equitum iussu Quincti Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est.

14. **novis rebus**: 'revolution.' For the case see H. 426, 2 (385, 1); L M. 531; A. 367 (227); G. 346; B. 187, II, a; H B. 362. — **Fuit, fuit**: the rhetorical figure called anadiplosis, a single repetition. — **ista**: 'such.'

16. **civem perniciosum**: 'a mischievous citizen.' — **hostem**: why not *inimicum?* For the case see H. 471, 1 (417, 1); L M. 617; A. 407 (247); G. 296; B. 217, 2; H B. 416.

17. **senatus consultum**: on Oct. 21, the Senate decreed, by a *senatus consultum*, what we might call martial law (see note on page 91, line 6). All authority, civil and military, was conferred upon the consuls by this decree.

18. **vehemens et grave**: 'urgent and severe.' — **non deest rei publicae**, etc.: the Senate, deliberating on affairs of state (*consilium*), and conferring great powers (*auctoritates*) has done its duty. What is wanting is energetic action on the part of the executive. *Deest* governs the dative *rei publicae*. H. 429 (386); L M. 542; A. 373, b (231, a); G. 349, 4; B. 188, 2, d; H B. 374.

19. **huius ordinis**: 'of this body' (the Senate).

21. **L. Opimius**: Opimius was consul in 121 B.C. He alone was granted plenary powers because his colleague, Q. Fabius Maximus, was absent in Gaul. Cicero does not state that L. Opimius was indicted the next year on the ground that this killing was illegal.

22. **videret**: in a substantive clause of purpose with *decrevit*. H. 565 (498); L M. 893; A. 563 (331 and b, N.); G. 546; B. 295; H B. 502, 3, a. *Caperet* is in the same construction. — **quid**: the indefinite pronoun is generally used after *ne, num,* and *si*. — **detrimenti**: partitive genitive.

23. **quasdam suspiciones**: these words are used to heighten the idea of uncertainty as contrasted with the definiteness of Catiline's actions. — **seditionum**: for this objective genitive, see H. 440, 2 (396, III); L M. 571; A. 348 (217); G. 363, 2; B. 200; H B. 354.

24. **C. Gracchus**: C. Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius

Gracchus, was put to death by Opimius in 121. He is famous for having carried the first frumentarian law, by which corn was bought and stored at public expense and afterwards sold to the people at a nominal price. — **clarissimo patre**: the Gracchi were the sons of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, twice consul (177 and 163) and twice honored with a triumph, once for his victory over the Celtiberians in 178, and once for his victory over the Sardinians in 175. — **avo**: their mother was Cornelia, the daughter of P. Scipio Africanus the Elder, who conquered Hannibal. *Patre*, *avo*, and *maioribus* are ablatives of quality. H. 473, 2 (419, II); L M. 643; A. 415 (251); G. 400; B. 224; H B. 443. Translate 'a man descended from a most illustrious father,' etc.

25. **M. Fulvius**: Fulvius was consul in 125 and tribune in 122. He sought to give rights of citizenship to the Latin allies, and shared the leadership of the popular party with C. Gracchus. He was killed with his two sons in an attack on the party he belonged to. — **consularis**: regularly used of men who have been consuls. See Introduction, p. 29.

26. **C. Mario**: in his sixth consulship, Marius, in 100, was compelled to put an end to the violence of his political friend Saturninus, when the bands of Saturninus murdered C. Memmius to insure the election of C. Servilius Glaucia. — **est permissa**: this inversion of order is not uncommon.

27. **num**: what answer is expected? H. 378 (351, 1, N. 3); L M. 701; A. 332, b (210, c): G. 456; B. 162, 2, b; H B. 231, 1, d. — **unum diem**: accusative of time. Notice its emphatic position.

28. **tribunum plebis**: the tribunes, whose origin dates from the secession of the plebs to the Mons Sacer in 492, were now ten in number. Their extensive power of veto played an important part in Roman history, until it was merged into the power of the emperor. — **C. Servilium**: generally spoken of as Glaucia. — **praetorem**: the praetorship was instituted in 366 to separate the office of chief judge from that of the consulship. After the First Punic War two praetors were elected, the *praetor urbanus* (city praetor) and the *praetor peregrinus* (foreign praetor). The latter had jurisdiction between citizens and foreigners. The number of praetors was gradually increased until there were eight in Cicero's time. (See Introduction, p. 31.) — **mors ac rei publicae poena**: *poena* is added to *mors* to show that the execution of the rioters was legal in view of the power with which Marius and Valerius had been invested. *Mors* and *poena* form hendiadys; see *ora voltusque*, p. 90,

l. 6, and note. *Rei publicae* is subjective genitive. Translate 'the death penalty imposed by the state.'

29. **remorata est**: 'defer punishing.' He is seeking to drive home the point that the punishment was immediate and severe. — **vicesimum diem**: this is in round numbers. This speech was delivered on the eighteenth day after the *senatus consultum* of Oct. 21. The accusative is very nearly allied to the accusative of the end of motion. H. 417 and 418, ft. N. (379); L M. 513; A. 423, 2, N. (256, 2, N.); G. 336; B. 181, 182; H B. 387.

30. **hebescere**: the metaphor compares the extraordinary power granted the consuls to a sword. Note the class of verbs to which this word belongs. — **horum**: referring to the senators who passed the degree.

31. **eius modi**: of the sort referred to above.

Page 92, 1. **in tabulis**: refers to the record of the Senate's transactions. In various temples were places (*tabularia*) or receptacles for public documents. These documents (*tabulae publicae*) consisted of treaties, the records of the rogations, the *senatus consulta*, the *plebiscita*, financial contracts, censorial registers (*tabulae censoriae*), the records of courts, registers of vital statistics, jury lists, and election returns. In Cicero's time public records were inscribed on stone or bronze, while papyrus or wax tablets were used in private life. Papyrus was the best of the materials. The pen used in writing upon it was a split reed (*calamus*). The ink (*atramentum*) was made of soot and gum, of the juice of the cuttlefish, or of oxide of iron and gallnuts. The ink bottle (*atramentarium*) was a small cylindrical jar, or two jars were used, one for black and one for red ink. In schools and for ordinary purposes of daily life, tablets covered with wax were employed, the writing being done with a pointed instrument (*stilus*). These tablets were sometimes hinged together to form books. The statement here implies that the laws were not being put into force. — **in vagina reconditum**: it continues the sword figure. — **quo ex senatus consulto**: this repetition of the antecedent in the relative clause belongs to formal language. In classic prose it is usual only in the case of *dies*, *res*, and *locus*.

2. **te interfectum esse convenit**: *interfici* might have been used instead of *interfectum esse* (compare *duci oportebat*, p. 91, l. 6).

3. **convenit** is perfect tense. The use of the perfect infinitive makes the result of the action more emphatic. H. 620, 2 (537, 2); A. 486, b, N. (288, b, N.); G. 280, 2, R. 2; B. 270, 2, a; H B. p. 311, ft. N. 2. — **vivis, et vivis**: rhetorical repetition in place of *et quidem*, etc.

4. **cupio, cupio**: notice the repetition of *cupio*, instead of the use of a conjunction. What is this figure called? — **patres conscripti**: the usual mode of addressing the Senate (see p. 92, l. 4). — **me**: the use of the subject accusative with the infinitive is not regular after *cupio*, except when the subject of the infinitive is different from that of the main verb.

5. **clementem** refers to his attitude as regards standards of justice; **dissolutum**, as regards his duty, being synonymous with *neglegens*. He may have felt a real consciousness of his indecision, as well as of his inclination toward mercy.

6. **ipse**: notice that *ipse* agrees with the subject, instead of the reflexive, which it really emphasizes. H. 509, 1 (452, 1); L M. 1061; A. 298, f (195, l); G. 311, 2; B. 249, 2; H B. 268. — **inertiae nequitiaeque**: 'for inactivity and negligence.' For the genitive see H. 456 (409, II); L M. 582; B. 352 (220); G. 378; B. 208; H B. 342.

7. **castra**: had the sentence begun with *sunt* the startling effect of the ominous word *castra* would have been lost. — **contra**: 'hostile to.'

8. **in Etruriae faucibus**: at Faesulae (modern Fiesole), situated upon one of the foothills of the Apennines, in the valley of the Arno, northeast of Florence. Manlius probably made it his headquarters because it was the home of a colony established by Sulla, and afforded easy access to Cisalpine Gaul. — **in dies singulos**: 'from day to day.' Distinguish from *cotidie*.

9. **imperatorem ducemque**: referring to Catiline, not Manlius.

10. **adeo**: 'actually.'

11. **molientem**: for this use of a present participle see H. 613, 4 (535, I, 4); L M. 1019; A. 497, d (292, e); G. 536; B. 337, 3; H B. 605, 1.

12. **comprehendi, interfici**: infinitives depending on *iussero*. — **iussero**: the Latin is much more exact than the English in the use of tenses. The action denoted by *iussero* must precede that denoted by *erit verendum mihi*; hence the Latin future perfect. The present tense satisfies the sense in English.

13. **credo**: this word must be so pronounced as to give it the ironical meaning intended and thus make the *erit verendum mihi* negative. — **mihi**: for this dative of the agent with the second periphrastic conjunction see H. 431 (388); L M. 544; A. 374 (232); G. 355; B. 189; H B. 373, 1. — **non** goes with the first clause only. Since Cicero

is speaking ironically he puts the negative (*non*) with the clause denoting his actual fear. 'I shall have to fear, I suppose, not (*non*) that (*ne*) all good citizens may say that I did this too tardily, but that they may say that my action was too cruel.'

14. **serius, crudelius**: in this case the comparative idea is best rendered by 'too.' H. 498 (444, 1); L M. 678; A. 291, a (191, a); G. 297, 2; B. 240; H B. 241, 1. — **factum esse**: 'that this vengeance was wrought.' — **dicat**: the English requires a verb for the subject 'all good citizens.' In Latin *dicant* supplies itself from the *dicat*, which agrees with the last subject, *quisquam*. For the sense of *boni* consult note on p. 90, l. 5.

15. **hoc**: object of *faciam*, and refers to *si . . . iussero* above. — **factum esse oportuit**: for the tense of the infinitive see note on *te interfectum esse convenit*, p. 92, l. 2.

16. **certa de causa**: the reason is implied in what follows. Cicero wishes to wait until public sentiment will sustain him.

17. **interficiere**: notice the nice use of the second person singular passive instead of *interficiam te*, which would have sounded bloodthirsty.

18. **tui**: with *similis* Cicero generally uses the dative of persons and the genitive or dative of things. H. 435, 4 (391, II, 4); L M. 573; A. 835, c, 2(234, d, 2); G. 359, N. 4; B. 204, 3; H B. 339, c, N. — **qui . . . fateatur**: relative clause of result. H. 591, 2 (500, I); L M. 836; A. 537, 2 (319, 3); G. 636, 1; B. 284, 2; H B. 519, 3, a and b.

20. **quisquam**: 'any one, no matter who.' This pronoun is usually found in negative propositions. Its use here in an affirmative sentence implies that there ought to be no one. In conditional clauses it expresses a strong uncertainty, the fact being regarded as nearly impossible. Stress of voice on 'any one' in English lends it this force here. — **qui . . . audeat**: clause of characteristic. H. 591, 1 (503, 1); L M. 838; A. 535, a (320, a); G. 631, 2; B. 283, 2; H B. 502, 1.

21. **et**: omit in English.

22. **obsessus**: the figure is that of a beleaguered city. — **ne . . . possis**: H. 568 (497, II); L M. 899; A. 531, 1 (317, 1); G. 545, 3; B. 282, 1; H B. 502, 2. — **commovere te**: 'make a move.'

23. **multorum**: note the emphatic position. — **non sentientem**: 'although you perceive them not.' H. 638, 2 (549, 2); L M. 1017; A. 496 (292); G. 667; B. 337, 2, e; H B. 604, 2.

24. **fecerunt**: 'have done.'

25. **quod . . . exspectes**: either a clause of characteristic or a relative clause of purpose.

26. **obscurare, continere**: 'hide, retain.'

27. **privata domus**: that of M. Laeca where, two nights before, Catiline had met the chiefs of his party. The language of the preceding sentence points to the fact that the meeting was held at night. — **parietibus**: contrast this word with *murus* and *moenia*.

28. **inlustrantur, erumpunt**: the repetition emphasizes the fact that all Catiline's projects have been detected. 'Are brought to light (opposed to *nox*), burst forth (opposed to *privata domus*).' — **omnia**: here emphatic because placed at the end of the sentence. — **istam mentem**: 'that intention of yours.'

Page 93, 1. **mihi crede**: for the dative see H. 426, 2 (385, I); L M. 531; A. 367 (227); G. 346; B. 187, II, a; H B. 362. The thought is, 'Trust me, for my advice is good.' — **caedis atque incendiorum**: for the genitive see H. 454 (406, II); L M. 588; A. 350, b (219, b); G. 376; B. 206; H B. 350.

2. **luce**: for the ablative see H. 471 (417); L M. 615; A. 406 (247); G. 398; B. 217; H B. 416.

3. **quae**: object of *recognoscas*. — **licet recognoscas**: a softened imperative. There is no omission of *ut* in this construction. H. 564, II, 1; L M. 782; A. 565, N. 1 (331, i, N. 2); B. 295, 6 and 8; HB. 531, 2. — **meministine**: *-ne* is here used for *nonne*. This occurs in oratorical diction and in colloquial speech. Find an instance later in this chapter. L M. 699; A. 332, c (210, d); G. 454, N. 5; B. 162, 2, c; H B. 231, 1, b, N. 1.

4. **ante diem xii Kalendas Novembris**: 'on the twenty-first of October.' *Novembris* is an adjective agreeing with *Kalendas*. For the method of finding the English date see H. 755 (644, 2); L M. 1171, 1173, 1174; A. 631, d (376, d); G. p. 491 (Appendix); B. 371, 372; H B. 664, 665. — **dicere**: the present infinitive is used here because the past action is recalled and contemplated as present. Perhaps the English equivalent expressions, 'Do you remember my *saying* in the Senate' and 'Do you remember my *having said* in the Senate' may be employed to make this usage clearer. — **fore in armis C. Manlium**: 'that Gaius Manlius would be under arms.'

5. **futurus esset**: subordinate clause in indirect discourse, the active periphrastic form being used to denote future time in the subjunctive. — **ante diem vi Kal. Novembris**: 'on the twenty-seventh of October.'

6. **C. Manlium**: a former centurion of Sulla's, now in command of Catiline's camp at Faesulae.

7. **num me fefellit non modo res verum dies**: 'was I deceived not only in regard to the plan, but in regard to the day?' (Implied answer, 'No!')

8. **id quod**: 'that which.'

9. **idem**: 'also.' H. 508. 3 (451, 3); L M. 1059; A. 298, b (195, e); G. 310; B. 248; H B. 270, a. — **caedem contulisse in**: 'had appointed the slaughter for.'

10. **optimatium**: the aristocratic or senatorial party. — **ante diem**; etc.: this expression is used as an indeclinable noun governed by *in*. H. 754, III, 3 (642, III, 4); L M. 1173; A. 424, g (256, g); G. p. 491 (Appendix); B. 371, 6; H B. 668.

11. **tum cum**: 'a time when.' — **Roma**: for the ablative see H. 462 (412, II); L M. 605; A. 427, 1 (258, a); G. 391; B. 229, 1; H B. 451. — **non tam sui conservandi . . . causa**: this apparently is slightly ironical. Although *sui* is plural, yet the singular of the gerundive is used in such an instance. H. 626, 3 (542, I, N. 1); L M. 1000; A. 504, c (298, a); G. 428, R. 1; B. 339, 5; H B. 614.

13. **profugerunt**: for the indicative see H. 600, I (521, I); L M. 856; A. 545 (325, a); G. 580; B. 288, A; H B. 550, a, N. 1.

14. **diligentia**: 'watchfulness.'

15. **cum dicebas**: see note on *profugerunt*. — **discessu** denotes time tinctured with an idea of granted fact. *Tamen* shows this meaning of *discessu*.

16. **nostra, qui**: by a figure called syllepsis, the relative *qui* refers to an antecedent idea, *nos*, contained in the adjective *nostra*, which is equivalent to the genitive *nostri*. H. 399, 4 (445, 6); L M. 827; A. 306, b, N. (199, b, N.); G. 614, 3; B. 251, 2; H B. 284, 1. — **remansissemus**: subjunctive because it is a part of indirect discourse. — **caede**: ablative with *contentum*. H. 476, 1 (421, III); L M. 645; A. 431, a (254, b, 2); G. 401, N. 6; B. 219, 1; H B. 438, 4.

17. **dicebas**: notice the idea of *repeatedly*, expressed here by the imperfect tense. — **quid?** this word denotes a transition and serves to introduce a new proof or a new instance. Translate it by some English word like 'further.' H. 511, 5 (454, 2); A. 397, d, N. 1. — **Praeneste**: a town of Latium twenty miles southeast of Rome, now called Palestrina. It was one of the strongest positions in Italy and its possession would have been of great advantage to Catiline. — **Kalendis**: ablative of time when. See H. 436 (429); L M. 630; A. 423 (256); G. 393; B. 230; H B. 439.

18. **confideres**: for mood see H. 600, 2 (521, II, 2); L M. 858; A. 546 (325); G. 585; B. 288; H B. 524.

19. **sensistin**: for this use of *-ne*, see note on *meministine*, p. 93, l. 3. *-ne* sometimes loses the *e* before a vowel. — **coloniam**: referring to the colony established there by Sulla. — **meo iussu**: 'at my command.' H. 475 (416); L M. 612; A. 404 (245); G. 408; B. 219; H B. 444. — **meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis**: 'by my garrisons, my guards, and my patrols.'

20. **nihil . . . quod non**, etc.: the *non* modifies all the verbs that follow in the sentence. Note the gradation of meaning in the three verbs: *agis* (the act), *moliris* (the preparation for the act), and *cogitas* (the conception of the project in the mind). *Audiam*, *videam*, and *sentiam* are in a characteristic clause.

23. **recognosce tandem**: the *tandem* is full of expression, indicating that the speaker is about to bring in evidence most important facts in his possession, and to prove that he is certain of his information. — **noctem superiorem**: the same night is referred to just below in the phrase *priore nocte*.

24. **quam te**: as usual in this construction, the verb is omitted from the last clause. H. 613, 6 (535, I, 5); L M. 617; A. 581, N. 2 (336, a, R.); G. 644; H B. 535, 1, c.

25. **dico**: note the emphatic position of this word. This indicates that there can be no contradiction of the assertion.

26. **inter falcarios**: the expression is equivalent to *ad falcarios*, and means 'in the quarter of the scythe makers.' — **M. Laecae**: Marcus Porcius Laeca was a senator.

27. **eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios**: 'partners in the same criminal folly,' *scelus* here having an abstract sense and referring not to the criminal act but to the depravity of the man.

29. **quosdam**: Cicero has the names in mind but does not utter them.

30. **una**: what part of speech? — **ubinam gentium**: 'where in the world?' For the genitive see H. 443 (397, 4); L M. 567; A. 346, a, 4 (216, a, 4); G. 372, N. 3; B. 201, 3; H B. 346.

33. **sanctissimo consilio**: the Senate is designated by this politic title. — **qui**: 'those who.' — **de nostro omnium interitu cogitent**: 'plan for the destruction of us all.' The *omnium* agrees with a *nostrum* implied in the adjective *nostro*. *Nostrum omnium* might have been used. H. 393, 6 (363, 4, 1); L M. 555; A. 302, e (197, e); G. 321, R. 2; B. 243, 3, a; H B. 339, b.

Page 94, 2. cogitent: subjunctive in a characteristic clause. Note preceding characteristic clauses. — **hos ego**: the *ego* here is unemphatic. It adds, perhaps, to the rhythmical effect and also defines the word *consul*. — **de re publica sententiam rogo**: 'I ask their opinion concerning matters of state'; lit. 'concerning the state.' This was the formula employed in calling upon senators for their opinion. For the two accusatives see H. 411, 2 (374); L M. 522; A. 396 (239, c); G. 339; B. 178, 1, c; H B. 393.

4. **voce volnero**: by naming them. — **igitur**: here the narrative is resumed where it was interrupted by the apostrophe *O di immortales*, etc. This is the conclusion of the unanswered questioning of Catiline by the orator.

5. **distribuisti**: supply in your mind 'to your several associates.' Compare *Cat.* 2, sect. 6: *video cui sit Apulia attributa.* — **quo quemque placeret**: 'whither it should be ordered that each.' For the mood of *placeret*, see note on *quid . . . arbitraris*, p. 90, l. 10.

6. **Romae**: locative case. H. 483 (425, II); L M. 620; A. 25, b (31) and 421 (p. 260, N.); G. 411; B. 232, 1; H B. 449. — **relinqueres, educeres**, may be taken either as relative clauses of purpose or as indirect questions.

7. **discripsisti**: this word is used instead of *describere*, where the underlying thought is that of 'dividing' or 'distributing.'

8. **confirmasti**: for the full form *confirmavisti*. — **paulum tibi esse morae**, 'a slight delay was caused you.' For the case of *tibi* see H. 430 (387); L M. 542; A. 373 (231); G. 349; B. 190; H B. 374.

9. **etiam nunc**: retained from the direct discourse instead of being changed to *etiam tum*. — **morae**: partitive genitive with *paulum*. — **viverem**: subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse.

10. **duo equites**: variously given as the senator Vargunteius and the knight Cornelius, and as Marcius and Cethegus. — **cura**: for the ablative see H. 464 (414); L M. 600 and 601, b; A. 401 (243, a); G. 390; B. 214, 1, a; H B. 408, 2. — **liberarent**: this would be *liberabant* if the antecedent were definite. The use of the subjunctive implies an idea of characteristic. — **illa ipsa nocte**: it is not clearly recorded whether the attempt was made upon that night or on the following night. The common version says that the would-be assassins attempted to make their way into Cicero's house as morning callers, at the time of day when the prominent men held open house. This seems to have been inferred

from making the remark in ll. 15, 16 refer to an attempt to carry out this part of Catiline's programme.

13. **vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso**: 'when your gathering had hardly yet scattered.' *Vixdum etiam* is supposed to owe its origin to analogy with *nondum etiam*, 'not yet': at any rate, it means 'hardly yet.'

14. **comperi**: Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, one of the conspirators, went to Cicero immediately upon being told by Curius of the plans of Catiline. See Introductory Sketch, p. 86.

15. **salutatum mane**: important personages, nobles and magistrates were accustomed to receive visits even before they rose in the morning from clients and humble friends who came to greet them and offer their services. For the supine expressing purpose, see H. 633 (546); L M. 1005; A. 509 (302); G. 435; B. 340, 1; H B. 618.

16. **venissent**: subjunctive in a clause containing both an idea of time and of cause. — **multis ac summis**: the English idiom contains no conjunction.

17. **id temporis**: a colloquial phrase equivalent to *eo tempore*, emphasizing the point of time without thought of its duration. *Temporis* is a partitive genitive dependent upon *id*, which is used in an adverbial sense. H. 416, 2; 441 (378, 2; 397, 3); L M. 564; A. 346, a, 3 (216, a, 3); 397, a; G. 336, N. 2; 369; B. 185, 2; H B. 388, b.

18. **quae cum ita sint**: 'since these things are so,' or, 'in view of these facts'; an expression much used by Cicero, and practically equivalent to 'therefore.' For the mood of *sint* see note on *venissent*, above.

19. **aliquando**: 'at last.'

20. **nimium diu desiderant**: 'has been yearning too long.' For this use of the present see H. 533, 1 (467, III, 2); L M. 732; A. 466 (276, a); G. 230; B. 259, 4; H B. 485.

21. **educ**: for the form see H. 241 (238); L M. 382; A. 182 (128, c); G. 130, 5; B. 116, 3; H B. 164. — **si minus**: = *si non educes omnes*. If, in a second proposition introduced by *si*, the verb of the preceding one is omitted, *minus* takes the place of *non*.

22. **metu**: see note on *cura*, l. 10, above.

23. **modo intersit**: for the mood see H. 587 (513, I); L M. 920; A. 528 (314); G. 573; B. 310, II; H B. 529. — **versari**: study the meaning of this word carefully.

24. **non feram, non patiar, non sinam**: 'I will not endure it, I will

not tolerate it, I will not permit it.' Note the climax in the succession of these synonyms. The *non* adds still greater force to the repetition. This arrangement of words is called anaphora. See note on p. 90, l. 3.

25. **magna dis immortalibus . . . gratia**: the adjective at the beginning and the substantive at the end of the phrase throw these two words into relief. For these positions see H. 665, 1, 2, 4 (561, I, II, III); LM. 1134, 1146; A. 597 (344); G. 671, 672; B. 348, 349; HB. 624, 4; 625. — **habenda est gratia**: the synonyms of this expression are interesting. *Habere gratiam* means 'be thankful to'; *agere gratias* means 'to thank'; *gratiam referre* means 'to show one's gratitude (by deeds).' — **atque**: 'and especially.' — **huic ipsi Iovi Statori**: as Cicero uttered the word *huic*, he pointed by a gesture to the statue of Jupiter standing in the temple where the Senate was meeting. In this phrase Jupiter is called *Stator* because he stayed the flight of the Romans when fighting with the Sabines, in answer to the following prayer of Romulus: '*At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste; hic ego templum Statori Iovi voveo.*' Livy 1, 12, 5. Hence the adjective *antiquissimo*.

27. **hanc pestem**: 'this curse.' This means Catiline and his nefarious schemes. The word *totiens* refers to his having been engaged in revolutionary undertakings for more than two years. — **rei publicae** may be either genitive with *pestem* or dative with *infestam*.

Page 95, 1. non est saepius periclitanda: 'must not too often be imperiled.'

2. **in uno homine** refers to Catiline, the *in* designating the person on whom the action or state depends. The phrase means 'by the act of one man.'

3. **mihi**: why dative? — **consuli designato**: this title was given to the consuls from the time they were elected to office until they entered upon their duties.

5. **proximis comitiis consularibus**: 'at the last consular elections.' The *comitia* assembled on Oct. 28 of this year (63) for the election of consuls. The usual time would have been in July, but postponements were common. For case of *comitiis* see note on *Kalendis*, p. 93, l. 17. — **campo**: he means the *Campus Martius*, where the consular elections were held.

6. **competitores tuos**: Decimus Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius Murena were elected. The jurist Servius Sulpicius was the other can-

didate who, with the two successful competitors and Catiline, had offered himself for election.

7. **amicorum praesidio et copiis**: Cicero came to preside over the election with armor under his toga and accompanied by an escort of friends. Catiline had planned a disturbance, but was frightened by Cicero's preparations and remained quiet. Cicero gives a more particular account of this in the *Pro Murena*; see pp. 189, 190. — **nullo tumultu publice concitato**: 'without openly provoking any sudden outburst of hostilities.' Any war, foreign or civil, which occurred with suddenness and was prosecuted irregularly, was called *tumultus*. Our word 'hostilities' does not imply the hasty movements included in the sense of *tumultus*; hence, in translating by 'hostilities,' we must qualify the English term.

8. **me petisti**: 'you attacked me.' The word *me* here, and the same word after *per*, are strongly emphatic, and are opposed to *rem publicam universam* in the next sentence. Read the Latin so as to bring out the force of the antithesis.

9. **per me** contrasts his own resources with those of the state.

10. **calamitate rei publicae**: 'disaster to the state.' For the case of *rei publicae*, see note on *seditionum*, p. 91, l. 23. — **coniunctam**: for this predicate use of the perfect participle, see H. 640, 3 (550, N. 2); L M. 1012; A. 495 (291, b); G. 438; B. 337; H B. 248.

11. **nunc iam petis**: 'now you already are attacking.' This marks the transition from the personal side to the public. — **rem publicam universam**: 'all interests of the state.'

12. **tecta**: note the figure of synecdoche in this use of a part for the whole. — **vitam**: translate by the plural.

13. **ad exitium et vastitatem vocas**: 'you bring to ruin and devastation.'

14. **id quod est primum**: this means the putting to death of Catiline. — **huius imperi**: 'of this authority (which I possess),' referring to the extraordinary powers recently granted to the consuls by the Senate. For this use of the genitive, see H. 451, 2 (391, II, 4); L M. 573; A. 385, c (234, d); G. 359, R. 1; B. 204, 2; H B. 339, c. — **disciplinaeque maiorum**: the incidents mentioned in *Cat.* 1, 3 *et seq.* recall the acts of their ancestors under similar conditions.

16. **ad severitatem**: 'with regard to severity'; that is, the harsh measures to which he might resort. The expression is equivalent to *si severitatem spectes*.

18. sin: 'but if.' — **quod te iam dudum hortor**: the antecedent of *quod* is the idea involved in *exieris*. For the use of *iam dudum* with the present, see H. 533, 1 (467, III, 2); L M. 732; A. 466 (276, a); G. 230; B. 259, 4; H B. 485. For the two accusatives with *hortor*, see H. 412 (375); L M. 524; A. 390, c (238, b); G. 341, N. 2; B. 178, 1, d; H B. 397, 1.

19. **tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae**: 'the extensive and dangerous dregs of the state, consisting of your companions.' Interesting in this connection are the words of Sallust, *Cat.* 37: *Omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant.* For the two genitives with *sentina*, see H. 446, 2 (398, 2); L M. 550 and 569; A. 343, d (214, f), and 348, b (217, b); G. 363, R. 2; B. 199 and 202; H B. 339 and 341.

21. **dubitas** with the infinitive *dubito* means 'hesitate.'

22. **quod faciebas**: 'which you were preparing to do.' One of the common uses of the imperfect tense is to denote intention or effort. H. 530 (469, II, 1); L M. 739; A. 471, c (277, c); G. 233; B. 260, 3; H B. 484.

23. **non iubeo**: with ordinary consular powers Cicero would possess no authority to drive a person into exile without a trial. He contents himself with simply advising Catiline to go voluntarily from the city. The reasons for this advice are introduced by *enim* in the next sentence.

25. **quod . . . possit, qui . . . metuat, qui . . . oderit**: clauses of characteristic. Cf. *cogitent*, p. 94, l. 2.

28. **domesticae** means his relations with his immediate household, while *privatarum rerum* refer to a man's whole private life.

29. **inusta**: the metaphor is drawn from the branding of fugitive slaves when caught and sent back to their owners, or from the custom of marking animals.

Page **96**, 2. **adulescentulo**: 'callow youth,' or 'fine young man.' The word was in colloquial use, like our 'gilded youth.' — **corruptelarum inlecebris inretisses**: 'had ensnared by the allurements of your vicious practices.' For the mood of *inretisses*, cf. *metuat*, p. 95, l. 25.

3. **ad audaciam**: 'for his atrocity.'

4. **facem**: slaves walked before their masters at night, holding torches, like the linkboys of a later time. The expression means 'lure' or 'guide,' 'to debauchery.' Sallust's comment, *Cat.* 16, is interesting: *Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, multis modis mala*

facinora edocebat. — **quid vero**: this is a formula indicating transition to a proof of some proposition; 'but why do I assert your depravity.' — **morte superioris uxoris**: this accusation is unproved. *Morte* is abl. of means.

5. **nuptiis**: for its case see H. 433, 3 (390, II, N. 2); L M. 548; A. 375 (232, a); G. 356; B. 191, 1; H B. 360.

6. **alio incredibili scelere**: the story thus referred to is that Catiline murdered his son because the woman, Aurelia Orestilla, whom he wished to marry, made the son an objection to the marriage. — **quod . . . sileri**: 'this I pass over and willingly permit it to remain unmentioned.'

8. **non vindicata**: in Rome the state did not institute actions against citizens for alleged crime. The fact that no citizen brought action in this case may be taken to indicate either that the times were very corrupt or that there was insufficient ground for action.

10. **omnis**: accusative, belonging in sense to *ruinas*, 'the complete collapse.' — **proximis Idibus**: money was loaned in Rome at a certain per cent per month, and payment of interest or of capital was made on the Calends and on the Ides. Catiline's creditors, seeing that his plans had come to naught, would demand their money on the next settlement day.

12. **domesticam difficultatem**: 'private pecuniary troubles.'

13. **summam rem publicam**: 'the highest interests of the state.' This expression is equivalent to *summa salus rei publicae*, found above (p. 95, l. 2).

15. **spiritus**: 'air'; lit. 'breath.'

16. **scias**: causal. — **nesciat** would also be subjunctive in the direct discourse, since it is in a clause of characteristic. — **pridie Kalendas Ianuarias**: Cicero's account differs from that of Sallust, who places this proposed attempt one day later (Jan. 1, 65), when Cotta and Torquatus were inaugurated, and not on the last day of 66, when Lepidus and Tullus would be rendering an account of their year of office.

17. **in comitio**: the *Comitium* was the northwest portion of the forum, in front of the *Curia*, or senate house, and was consecrated by the augurs for the assemblies of the people. In the plural the word denotes the assembly itself.

20. **mentem aliquam**: 'any change of purpose.' — **Fortunam populi Romani**: by *Fortuna* is here meant a protecting divinity. *Fortuna publica* had a temple in Rome, and her festival was celebrated each year on May 25.

21. **neque obscura . . . non multa**, etc., = *nam et nota sunt et multa postea a te commissa.* The figure is litotes.

24. **petitiones**: this word signifies the sword thrusts of the gladiator. — **ut . . . viderentur**: 'so that it did not seem possible that they could be avoided.'

25. **declinatione et corpore**: (by hendiadys) 'a turning aside of the body.' We might call this 'dodging.'

27. **tibi**: H. 425, 4, N. (384, 4, N. 2); L M. 538; A. 377 (235, a); G. 350, 1; B. 188, 1, N.; H B. 366.

28. **casu aliquo**: 'by some accident.'

30. **devota sit**: 'has been consecrated.' Cf. *placeret*, p. 94, l. 6. — **quod**: 'wherefore.'

32. **sic enim**: the orator here assumes a quieter tone.

33. **videar**: cf. *viderentur*, l. 25 above. — **debeo, debetur**: the figure of traductio, when the same word is repeated with a different meaning.

Page **97**, 1. **nulla**: (freely) 'not at all.' *Non* used here would not make the negative so emphatic. — **paulo ante**: 'a little while ago.'

2. **ex hac tanta frequentia**: 'in this great assembly.'

3. **salutavit**: the custom of the Romans in an assembly was to rise upon the entrance of friends or important personages. — **post memoriam**: 'since the memory.'

4. **contigit**: this word is usually employed to denote favorable events. Here it denotes an unfavorable circumstance. — **vocis contumeliam, iudicio taciturnitatis**: for the figure see H. 666, 2 (562); L M. 1150; A. 598, f (p. 389, top, a); G. 682; B. 350, 11, c.; H B. 628.

5. **sis oppressus**: cf. *scias*, p. 96, l. 16. — **quid, quod . . . reliquerunt**: formula of transition. Translate the *quid*, 'further.' *Quod*, etc., means 'the fact that,' etc. The *quod*-clauses are in apposition with the *hoc* near the end of the sentence.

6. **ista subsellia**: 'the bench upon which you were about to sit.' Senators sat on benches without backs; the presiding magistrate sat on his curule chair, placed upon a platform.

7. **tibi**: dative of the agent, with a compound tense of the passive verb. — **constituti**: cf. *coniunctam*, p. 95, l. 10.

8. **simul atque**: see H. 602 (518); L M. 881; A. 543 (324); G. 561; B. 287, 1; H B. 557.

10. **servi**: placed before the conjunction (*si*) for emphasis. This passage is another instance of reasoning 'from the less to the greater.'

(See note to p. 91, l. 8.) Cf. *An vero vir*, etc., in 3. — **isto pacto**: *ita* would not have been so forcible as this phrase.

11. **omnes**: by using this comprehensive term Cicero seems to deny citizenship to those who do not share his hatred of Catiline.

13. **civibus**: for the dative see H. 434 (391); L M. 536; A. 384 (234, a); G. 359; B. 192, 1; H B. 362. — **iniuria**: 'undeservedly.' H. 474, 1 (419, III, N. 2); L M. 635; A. 412, b (248, R.); G. 399, N. 1; B. 220, 2; H B. 445, 1.

14. **carere me aspectu**: 'that I forego the sight.' For the ablative see H. 462, 1 (414, 1); L M. 600; A. 401 (243, a); G. 405; B. 214, 1, c; H B. 408, 3.

15. **conscientia**: for the ablative see H. 475, 3 (416); L M. 612; A. 404 (245); G. 408; B. 219, 2; H B. 444.

16. **agnoscas**: cf. *oppressus sis*, l. 5 above.

17. **mentis sensusque**: two words denoting forcibly one idea, 'cherished sentiments.'

19. **odissent**: for the form and tense see H. 299, 2 (297, I, 2); L M. 358; A. 476 (279, e); G. 175, 5; B. 133, 2; H B. 199, 1. — **ratione**: ablative of manner. See note on *iniuria*, above.

20. **ab eorum oculis aliquo**: 'to some place removed from their sight.'

21. **nunc**: a supposed case was placed by the Romans in the past, to which a present reality was opposed.

22. **iudicat**: cf. *desiderant*, p. 94, l. 20. — **parricidio**: the use of the word implies the notion that the state is the common parent of all citizens.

23. **huius**, etc.: notice the asyndeton. In English 'and' must be used to join this clause to the preceding.

24. **quae tecum** introduce a famous instance of prosopopoeia or personification. The inanimate object, the state, is invested with the properties of a living creature. For the use of the relative see H. 510 (453); L M. 843; A. 308, f (201, f); G. 610; B. 251, 6; H B. 284, 8.

25. **agit**: 'pleads.' — **tacita**: granting a fact: 'though silent.'

26. **aliquot annis**: 'for several years'; ablative of time within which. H. 487 (429, 1, ft. N. 1); L M. 631; A. 424, c (256, c); G. 393; B. 231; H B. 439. — **facinus**: *facinus* is a 'deed of violence,' without emphasis upon its wickedness. *Flagitium* is a 'base deed,' immoral in its nature.

27. **tibi**: dative of reference. H. 425, 2 (384, II, 1, 2); L M. 537; A. 376 (235); G. 350, 2; B. 188, 1; H B. 366. — **multorum civium neces**: Catiline was implicated in the bloody proscription of Sulla.

28. **vexatio direptioque sociorum**: Catiline had been governor in Africa in 67. After his return he was prosecuted for extortion but was acquitted. *Socii* were originally Italians who were not *cives*; later the term included Roman subjects in other provinces.

29. **ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones**: in criminal trials the court was termed *quaestio*. (See Introd., p. 31.) The court which passed upon cases of alleged extortion was called *quaestio de repetundis*.

30. **evertendas perfringendasque**: cf. *mentis sensusque*, l. 17, above. — **superiora illa**: 'those former acts.'

32. **esse, timeri, videri**: these infinitive clauses are the subjects of *est ferendum*. H. 615 (538); LM. 971; A. 452 (270); G. 280, 1, 4; B. 530; HB. 547, 1.

33. **increpuerit**: subjunctive by attraction because dependent upon an infinitive clause. H. 652 (529, II); LM. 793; A. 593 (342); G. 663, 1; B. 324, 1; HB. 539.

Page 98, 1. **quod a tuo scelere abhorreat**: 'in which your wickedness has no share.' For mood *metuat*, p. 95, l. 25.

2. **mihi**: H. 427 (386, 2); LM. 534; A. 381 (229); G. 347, 5; B. 188, 2, d; HB. 371.

3. **verus**: 'reasonable.' — **falsus**: 'imaginary.'

5. **loquatur**: future less vivid condition. H. 576 (509); LM. 931; A. 516 (307, b); G. 596; B. 303; HB. 580.

6. **impetrare**: the object of *impetrare* is implied in *haec*; in translating, a phrase like 'what she wishes' should be supplied. — **possit**: *etiam si* takes any of the constructions admissible for *si*. What condition is this? — **quid, quod**: before translating, read what was said about this formula in note on l. 17, p. 93.

7. **in custodiam**: persons accused of crime against the state gave themselves into the hands of important citizens, who became responsible for them. When Manlius had raised an army, Paulus, under the provisions of the *Lex Plotia de Vi*, accused Catiline of being the instigator of the insurrection. Catiline gave himself into the custody of Manius Lepidus.

8. **ad M'. Lepidum**: the usual preposition giving the sense of 'at the house of' is not *ad*, but *apud*.

9. **domi meae**: *domi* may be modified by a possessive or a genitive; when any other modifier is required, the ablative with *in* is generally used.

11. **me . . . contineremur**: this whole phrase is in apposition with *responsum*. — **parietibus**: 'walls of houses.'

12. **moenibus**: 'city walls.'

13. **Q. Metellum**: Q. Metellus Celer, consul three years later, who participated in the military operations against Catiline.

14. **virum optimum**: severe irony. The irony is continued in the rest of the sentence, the ironical turn being given especially by *videlicet*. — **M. Metellum**: we do not know who this person was.

15. **ad custodiendum diligentissimum**: the irony is plain: Lepidus would not have allowed Catiline to slip away and meet the conspirators at Laeca's house.

18. **a carcere atque a vinculis**: this is in antithesis to *custodia*, 'voluntary confinement.' — **qui**: its antecedent is the subject of *videtur*.

19. **custodia**: for the case see H. 481 (421, III); L M. 654; A. 418, b (253, b); G. 397, N. 2; B. 226, 2; H B. 442. — **iudicarit**: cf. *abhorreat*, p. 98, l. 1.

20. **emori**: this may refer to execution or suicide.

22. **suppliciis**: ablative of separation.

24. **refer ad senatum**: this is the usual phrase for referring a matter to the Senate. In some way Catiline must have evinced a willingness to obey a decree of the Senate, but the decree could not, in any case, have enjoined exile. Only a properly constituted court could condemn a citizen to exile. Cicero feared that the Senate would not have the courage to decree anything that would arrest the conspiracy and dispose of Catiline.

25. **placere**: 'that it is their decision.' — **decreverit**: for the mood and tense see H. 644, 2 (525, 2); L M. 1036; A. 484, c (286, c); G. 656, 1; B. 319, B, a; H B. 536.

26. **abhorret**: probably because he does not wish to do such an unconstitutional thing as ask the Senate to condemn a man to exile.

27. **intellegas**: for the mood, see H. 566, 1 (501, II, 1); L M. 895; A. 568 (332); G. 553, 1; B. 297, 1; H B. 521, 3, a.

29. **vocem**: 'order.'

Page 99, 2. **auctoritatem**: 'official action.'

3. **tacitorum**: 'though silent.'

4. **P. Sestio**: Sestius was defended by Cicero in 56, when accused of violence. At this time he was *quaestor* of Cicero's colleague. In 57 he was tribune and labored for the recall of Cicero from exile.

5. **M. Marcello**: this Marcellus was consul in 51. He sided with Pompey and went into exile after Pharsalus. It was this man for

whose recall from exile Cicero thanked Caesar in the oration *pro Marcello*.

6. **vim et manus**: 'violent hands.' Cf. *ora voltusque*, p. 90, l. 6.

9. **videlicet cara**: 'remarkably dear.' Ironical.

10. **illi equites Romani**: the gesture accompanying these words pointed out the knights assembled near the temple. See Introduction, p. 48 near bottom.

12. **studia**: 'wishes.' For the use of the plural see H. 138, 2 (130, 2); A. 100, c (76); G. 204, N. 5; B. 55, 4, c; H B. 240, 5, b. — **voces**: 'cries' (of applause). The doors of the temple being open, Cicero's speech had been heard by the crowd without, and his most eloquent passages had been applauded. The classes of citizens represented in the audience are mentioned in order of social importance.

14. **contineo**: do not overlook the *iam diu*. — **ut te usque ad portas prosequantur**: when an important personage left the city under any circumstances, it was customary for his friends and dependents to accompany him for some distance from the city.

17. **quamquam**: 'and yet.' — **te ut ulla res frangat?**: 'anything break you down? you ever reform?' A repudiating question. H. 559, 5 (486, II, N.); L M. 723, 724; A. 462, a (274, a); G. 558; H B. 503, b.

18. **tu**: for its position see H. 677, 1 (561, 1); L M. 1147; A. 597 (345); B. 350, 9. — **tu . . . cogites**: 'could you entertain any thought of exile?'

19. **utinam . . . duint**: an archaic form made on the root *du* for *da*. Its meaning is the same as *dent*. Compare for form of *du-int*, *vel-int*, *s-int*, etc. For the optative mood see H. 558, 1 (483, 2); L M. 710, 711; A. 441 (267); G. 260; B. 279, 1; H B. 510, 511.

21. **animum induxeris**: 'you should bring yourself' (a regular meaning of *animus*). For the mood and tense see note on *decreverit*, p. 98, l. 25. — **tempestas invidiae**: 'storm of hatred.'

22. **minus** has here the force of *non*. — **recenti memoria**: 'because of their vivid memories.'

23. **in posteritatem**: 'in the future.' — **est tanti**: 'it is worth the cost'; lit. 'it is of so much value.' H. 448, 1 (404); L M. 576; A. 417 (252, a); G. 380, 1, R.; B. 203, 3; H B. 356, 1.

24. **sit privata calamitas**: 'the disaster be mine only to bear.' *Privata* has the force of not affecting the state, but rather of some-

thing personal. For the mood of *sit* and *seiungatur*, see *intersit*, p. 94, l. 23.

25. **commoveare**: note the form carefully. These *ut*-clauses are the subjects of *est postulandum*.

26. **temporibus**: this word, in the plural, is often found in the sense of 'evil times,' 'danger.'

27. **is es**: *is* has the sense of 'such a man.'

29. **revocarit**: in a clause of result.

30. **mihi**: dative of indirect object after *conflare*. — **praedicas**: note its conjugation carefully. — **conflare invidiam**: 'to kindle hatred.'

31. **recta**: = *recta via*, 'by the straight way,' 'straightway.'

Page 100, 1. **feceris**: future perfect indicative. — **molem**: 'the burden.' — **iussu**: H. 475, 3 (416); L M. 612; A. 404 (245); G. 408; B. 219, 2; H B. 444.

2. **servire**: note carefully the difference between this word and *servo*, and also the case which follows it.

3. **importuna**: 'dangerous,' 'savage.'

5. **exsulta**: 'revel.' — **impio latrocinio**: before translating consider carefully the meaning of *impius*, which implies lack of reverence for the gods or for one's country or for one's parents and ancestors. *Latrocinium*, 'brigandage,' might be an ordinary offense; *impium latrocinium*, directed against the state, could be a crime of serious nature politically. For the case, cf. *iussu*, p. 91, l. 6.

6. **non eiectus**: note that *non* goes with *eiectus*. For the use of *eiectus* see H. 612, 1 (536, 2); L M. 957; A. 494 (291); G. 438; B. 233, 2; H B. 230, b. — **isse**: the full form is *ivisse*, but it is very rare; H. 297, 1; L M. 333; A. 203, b (p. 186, n.); H B. 194, a.

7. **quid . . . praemissos**: 'why should I urge you, since I know that they have been sent ahead by you already.' *Invitem* is a deliberative subjunctive. H. 559, 4 (484, V); L M. 723; A. 444 (268); G. 265; B. 277; H B. 503. For the use of *sciam* denoting cause in a relative clause see H. 592 (517); L M. 839; A. 535, e (320, e); G. 633; B. 283, 3; H B. 523.

8. **forum Aurelium**: this town was in Etruria, on the Via Aurelia; it is now called Monte Alto and is near Civita Vecchia. *Forum* forms part of the names of towns in which provincial courts held sessions. Cf. Forum Appii, on the Appian Way. — **praestolarentur**: relative clause of purpose. See H. 590 (497); L M. 835; A. 531 (317); G. 630; B. 282, 2; H B. 502, 2.

9. **cui**: dative of the agent, with a compound tense of the passive verb. — **diem**: Oct. 27.

10. **aquilam illam argenteam**: the *illam* denotes that this was a well-known object. It was an eagle which served as Marius' standard when fighting against the Cimbri, according to a statement of Sallust.

11. **cui**: 'for which.'

12. **sacrarium**: 'a sanctuary.' The standard of a legion was sacred and was kept in a small chapel near the *praetorium*, or general's tent. Catiline regarded this eagle as a symbol of success. — **constitutum fuit**: *fuit* and not *est* because the eagle had been sent to Manlius and was no longer in the shrine in Catiline's house. For the mood of this as well as of *confido* see H. 643, 3 (524, 2); L M. 1028; A. 583 (336, b); G. 655, R. 2; B. 314, 3; H B. 535, 1, d.

13. **tu ut illa carere diutius possis**: 'could you longer get along without that eagle.' For the mood cf. *frangat*, p. 99, l. 17.

14. **altaribus**: usually plural in form. Here singular in meaning.

16. **tandem aliquando**: 'finally some time or another.' — **iam pridem**: for its use with the imperfect indicative see H. 535, 1 (469, II, 2); L M. 738; A. 471, b (277, b); G. 234; B. 260, 4; H B. 485.

18. **haec res**: this seems to refer to the fact of Catiline's departure to join Manlius. — **quandam incredibilem**: *quidam* added to an adjective lends the meaning of 'so to speak' or 'truly.'

20. **numquam . . . non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem.** See note on p. 71, l. 18.

Page **101**, 1. **ab fortuna**: *fortuna* and *spe* are personified and are therefore treated as voluntary agents.

2. **conflatam**: 'welded together.'

3. **laetitia**: for the case, cf. *patientia*, p. 90, l. 1. — **gaudiis**: cf. *iussu*, p. 91, l. 6.

4. **quanta in voluptate bacchabere**: 'how you will revel in delight.'

6. **studium**: it is important to comprehend thoroughly the meaning of this word. Its most liberal signification is 'that which one likes to do' and denotes the acts constituting a scheme of life. *Huius vitae studium* may be rendered 'the pursuit of this kind of life,' *i.e.* the life of a brigand. — **meditati sunt**: 'were intended,' the verb being passive, though deponent in form. — **qui feruntur labores tui**: 'those exertions of yours which are talked about.'

7. **iacere, vigilare**: appositives of *labores*. — **ad obsidendum stuprum**: 'to lay siege to (some stronghold of) debauchery.'

10. **habes ubi ostentes**: = *habes locum quo ostentes.* For the mood see H. 589, II (497, 1); LM. 835; A. 531, 2 (317, c); G. 545, 1; B. 282, 2; HB. 502, 2, ft. N. 4.

12. **a consulatu**: this refers to the miscarriage of Catiline's plan to use violence in the *comitia*.

13. **ut . . . posses**: substantive clause of result in apposition with *tantum*. — **exsul, consul**: the figure illustrated in the use of these words is called paronomasia ("punning"), whereby words differing in a few letters, but having much the same sound, are used to emphasize the difference in meaning. A marked case of this figure is found near the end of this section in *emissus* and *immissus*.

14. **esset susceptum**: for the mood see H. 652 (529, II); LM. 793; A. 593 (342); G. 663; B. 324; HB. 539.

15. **bellum**: *i.e.* 'civil war.' Catiline, not being consul or proconsul, would not have the *imperium*; if captured, he would be treated as an outlaw.

16. **nunc**: here Cicero turns from Catiline to address the senators.

17. **detester ac deprecer**: 'I may meet and ward off.'

18. **dicam**: indicative.

20. **multo**: for the ablative see H. 479 (423); LM. 655; A. 414 (250); G. 403; B. 223; HB. 424.

21. **loquatur**: the apodosis is wanting, but may be easily supplied. See *loquatur*, p. 98, l. 5, for mood. — **M. Tulli**: for the name of the rhetorical figure beginning here, see note on p. 97, l. 24.

24. **evocatorem servorum**: this was merely a suspicion of Cicero's. After Catiline had left Rome, Lentulus advised him to use runaway slaves, but the advice was not followed.

27. **summo supplicio**: 'with the penalty of death.'

28. **mactari**: the term is used purposely. It means 'to be offered as a sacrifice.' With *impero* the usual construction in Cicero is the object clause introduced by *ut* or *ne*. Caesar and Cicero sometimes, in the passive, use the infinitive.

Page 102, 1. **persaepe**: under the protection of his rhetoric, the orator exaggerates. The only instance Cicero seems able to recall is that of Scipio Nasica, who killed Ti. Gracchus.

2. **an leges**: these laws were the Valerian, Porcian, and Sempronian, to which Cicero frequently alluded. The Valerian Laws (509, 449, and 300 B.C.) provide that no magistrate should strike or kill a Roman citizen before an appeal had been taken to a tribunal. The Porcian Law, the

date of which is uncertain, reiterated the provision of the Valerian Laws and added a penalty. The Sempronian Law (122 B.C.) of C. Gracchus simply added severer penalties, the provisions being otherwise the same as those of the Valerian Laws and the Porcian Law. Capital punishment was by these laws abolished in fact if not in principle.

3. **rogatae**: *rogare* was the formal term for putting the question concerning the enactment of a law. — **at numquam**: apparently, there should have been a trial to decide whether Catiline had forfeited his rights as citizen or not. It might have been necessary to put Catiline to death without the delay that a trial would occasion, but Cicero does not make out a case for the legality of thus executing him.

5. **invidiam posteritatis**: 'the hatred of (to be entertained by) future generations.' — **vero** adds an ironical touch to the force of *praeclaram*.

6. **per te cognitum**: 'known by your own exertions.' It has much the same force as *novum* (*hominem*), or 'the first of your family to hold office.'

7. **commendatione**: ablative of quality. — **tam mature**: 'at such an early age.' Cicero was consul at the age of 43 years, perhaps the earliest age at which a man was eligible to that office. See Introd., p. 30.

8. **per omnis honorum gradus**: 'through all the steps of office.' Cicero had been quaestor, aedile, and praetor. See Introd., p. 30, l. 14.

11. **severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia**: 'hatred incurred because of severity and brave action.' — **quam**, etc.: 'than that incurred by.'

16. **mentibus**: in the sense of 'secret thoughts,' contrasted with *vocibus*, 'spoken words.' *Mentes* is rare in this use.

17. **optimum factu** is translated 'the best thing to be done.' — **iudicarem, dedissem**: for the use of the tenses in this condition see H. 579, 1 (5'o, N. 2); L M. 939; A. 517, a (308, a); G. 597; B. 304, 2; H B. 581.

18. **Catilinam multari**: in apposition with *hoc*. — **gladiatori**: in a reproachful sense.

20. **Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci**: Saturninus and C. Gracchus are referred to on p. 91, ll. 27 and 24; Ti. Gracchus, p. 91, l. 9; M. Fulvius Flaccus, p. 91, l. 25, was killed along with C. Gracchus. — **superiorum complurium**: 'of many men of earlier times.'

23. **ne quid . . . redundaret**: 'lest any tide of hatred should overwhelm me in the future.' — **parricida**: 'willful murderer.'

24. **quod si**: H. 510, 9 (453, 6); A. 397, a (240, b); G. 610, R. 2; B. 185, 2.

25. **virtute partam**: 'secured through valor.'

27. **quamquam** begins a sentence which restricts a preceding statement. Translate, 'and yet.'

28. **videant**: in a clause of characteristic. — **dissimulent**: 'pretend not to see.' The prefix gives a negative force, 'pretend not'; *se videre* is easily supplied from *vident*.

Page 103, 1. **mollibus sententiis**: 'by temporizing votes.' — **aluerunt**: 'have encouraged.' This verb and *conroboraverunt* are in the indicative, because the *qui* before *spem* practically begins a new sentence, and the force of the *sunt qui* above does not extend beyond *dissimulent*.

3. **improbi, imperiti**: supply *homines* with each of these words.

4. **in hunc animadvertissem**: 'had punished him.' — **regie**: this adverb is equivalent to 'tyrannically,' since the Romans, hating the monarchical form of government, thought of a king as of necessity a tyrant.

5. **nunc**: introducing a contrary notion, is almost as strong as the English 'on the contrary.' — **quo intendit**: 'whither he purposed to go.'

6. **pervenerit**: for the mood and tense cf. *induxeris*, p. 99, l. 21.

9. **paulisper**: 'for a little while.'

10. **sese eiecerit**: 'he goes from the city.' Observe the tense and mood carefully. See note on p. 92, l. 12.

12. **naufragos**: 'castaways.'

13. **tam adulta pestis**: 'so full grown a plague.'

15. **iam diu**: there may be in these words a veiled reference to the suspected earlier conspiracy of Catiline mentioned in the Introductory Sketch, p. 86.

16. **nescio quo pacto**: 'somehow.' *Nescio quis* is taken as one word. H. 189 (191, N.); L M. 818; A. 575, d (334, e); G. 467, R. 1; B. 253, 6; H B. 276, 4.

17. **maturitas erupit**: 'the full bloom has burst forth.'

18. **in tempus**: *in* with the accusative instead of with the ablative suggests the military figure of making an invasion into a hostile country. — **ex tanto latrocinio**: 'from so great a band of brigands,' the figure of synecdoche.

21. **in venis atque in visceribus**: 'in the flesh (*visceribus*) and blood (*venis*).' The state is frequently compared to the human body.

23. **aestu febrique**: (by hendiadys) 'the heat of fever.' — **si biberunt**: 'if they drink'; 'take a drink of,' shows the sense of the perfect here.

26. **relevatus**: concessive. — **reliquis vivis**: 'if the rest remain alive.'

27. **secedant** expresses an order or command. H. 559, 2 (483); LM. 714; A. 439 (266); G. 263, 3; B. 275; HB. 501, 2.

28. **quod saepe iam dixi**: 'the request that I have often before urged.'

30. **tribunal praetoris urbani**: the tribunal was a raised semicircular or square platform beside the *Comitium*; upon it was placed the seat of the praetor. At this time L. Valerius Flaccus, afterwards defended by Cicero, was *praetor urbanus*. The conspirators massed themselves about the tribunal in order to intimidate the praetor.

31. **curiam**: the *Curia* was the building in which the Senate usually sat. It was built by Tullus Hostilius and was on the northeast of the forum. In case of riot, this position was unsafe; hence the removal to the temple of Jupiter Stator at the time of this oration (see note on p. 94, l. 26). The *Curia* was burned during the funeral ceremonies of Clodius. — **malleolos**: the word means literally 'little mallets.' It is here to be translated 'firebrands.' They were made of tow fastened upon the tips of arrows.

32. **sit inscriptum**: 'let it be recorded.' Cf. *secedant*, p. 103, l. 27.

33. **hoc** is expanded by the *tantam*-clauses following.

Page **104**, 6. **hisce ominibus**: 'with these prospects.' — **cum summa salute**: 'to the salvation.'

7. **cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque exitio**: 'to the ruin and destruction of yourself, and to the undoing.'

9. **tu, Iuppiter**: these words must have been accompanied by a gesture, pointing to the statue standing in the temple, see note p. 94, l. 25. — **qui es constitutus**: 'who wast established in honor.' — **isdem auspiciis**: remember that Romulus, the founder of Rome, is supposed to have vowed a temple to Jupiter when Jupiter stayed the flight of the Romans in a conflict with the Sabines. Our orator seems here to use *Stator*, 'stayer of flight,' in the broad sense of *protector*.

10. **quibus**: 'as.'

14. **inimicos**: 'private enemies.' — **hostis**: 'public foes.'

16. **mactabis**: this is a sacrificial term.

IN CATILINAM II

Page **105**, 1. **tandem aliquando, Quirites**: *aliquando* simply adds to the force of *tandem*. We may translate: 'at last, at last, Quirites.' — **Quirites**: the origin of this word is uncertain. Roman citizens, when assembled in a civil capacity, were regularly thus addressed, and

as this speech was addressed to the people, the word is frequently used.

2. **scelus anhelantem**: the figure (metaphor) is that of breathing out the odor of something he has eaten or drunk.

3. **vobis**: for the dative see H. 426. 2 (385, II); L M. 531; A. 367 (227); G. 346; B. 187, II; H B. 362, ft. N. 3.

4. **vel . . . vel . . . vel**: these connectives leave the choice, among the expressions given, to the hearer. Each succeeding verb is weaker than the preceding, with intentional irony. — **ipsum**: = *sua sponte*.

5. **prosecuti sumus**: the milder tone at the close of the sentence forestalls a violent rejoinder. — **abiit . . . erupit**: note the asyndeton and strong climax in the famous clause. *Abeo* denotes mere departure; *excedo* introduces the idea 'into exile'; *evado* suggests escape, and *erumpo* emphasizes the precipitous manner of Catiline's flight.

10. **in campo**: the *Campus Martius*. The allusion is to the attempt of Catiline recalled in *Cat.* 1, 11. — **intra domesticos parietes**: 'within the walls of our houses,' no doubt having in mind the attempt upon his life a few days before.

11. **loco**: his 'post' or 'position.' This is a military or gladiatorial term. It is ablative of separation. H. 463 (414); L M. 600; A. 401 (243, a); G. 390, 2, N. 2; B. 214, 2; H B. 408.

12. **cum**: this is the explanatory *cum*, 'in that'; cf. *Cat.* 1, 21, *cum quiescunt, probant*, etc. — **hoste**: emphatic; 'a declared enemy.' — **nullo**: regularly used as ablative of *nemo*.

13. **bellum iustum**: 'regular war.'

14. **cum**: see note above, l. 12.

16. **cruentum**: to be translated in the predicate with regard to *mucronem*.

17. **ei**: dative of reference.

18. **tandem** strengthens the question. It may be translated 'pray.'

Page 106, 1. **profecto**: used with subjective force. It here marks Cicero's certitude; 'I feel sure.'

2. **e suis faucibus ereptam**: Cicero compares Catiline to a ferocious wild beast. — **quae** refers to *hanc urbem*.

3. **quidem**: here used with an idea of opposition; 'on her part.' — **evomuerit**: try to feel the force of the subjunctive here. H. 588, II (516, II); L M. 851; A. 540 (321); G. 541; B. 286. 1; H B. 555.

5. **esse oportebat**: 'ought to have been,' up to this time. See note, p. 91, l. 6.

6. **in hoc ipso**: 'in regard to this very matter.' What it is is explained in the clause *quod . . . comprehenderim.*

7. **comprehenderim, emiserim**: the reason is assigned to the imaginary person of whom Cicero is speaking.

9. **interfectum esse**: for the use of *interfectum esse* instead of *interfici*, see note on *te interfectum esse convenit*, p. 92, l. 3.

11. **a me**: for this construction after verbs of asking, etc. see H. 411, 4 (374, N. 3); A. 396, a (239, c. N. 1); G. 339, R. 1; B. 178, a; H B. 393, b, 2. — **huius imperi severitas**: 'the austere tradition of this (consular) office.'

13. **crederent**: in a characteristic clause. The *quae . . . deferrem* clause is its object.

14. **defenderent**: 'sought to justify (these wicked deeds).'

16. **illo sublato**: ablative absolute. — **iudicarem, sustulissem**: the imperfect in the protasis of this kind of condition denotes that the act continues to the time when the act denoted by the apodosis would be an accomplished fact. This is illustrated by changing the form of the expression to cause and effect; *quia . . . non iudicabam . . . non sustuli*, 'because I did not think . . . I did not destroy.'

18. **ne . . . probata**: ablative absolute; 'since at that time (about Oct. 21) even you had not yet become convinced of the existence of the conspiracy.'

19. **si multassem . . . possem**: this represents in the direct discourse, *si multavero, non persequi potero.* Translate: 'If I had punished, I should not have been able to proceed against.' The circumlocution, *fore ut . . . possem*, had to be used here because the verb *possum* lacked the participle in *-rus*. The *ut*-clause is a substantive clause of result, and is the subject of *fore*.

21. **rem huc deduxi**: 'I have brought affairs to such a state.' *Huc* is explained by the clause *ut . . . possetis.*

22. **hostem**: from its position it is very emphatic.

23. **quam vehementer**: ironical.

25. **comitatus**: this is passive, although the verb is deponent.

26. **utinam eduxisset**: for mood cf. note on *utinam duint*, p. 99, l. 20. — **Tongilium, Publicium, Minucium**: insignificant persons, in contrast with the *valentis, nobilis*, below.

Page 107, 1. **mihi**: emotional dative. H. 432 (389); L M. 541; A. 380 (236); G. 351; B. 188, 2, b; H B. 368. — **in praetexta**: = *praetextatum*; 'when clothed with the purple-edged toga,' *i.e.* not yet 17

years of age. The *toga virilis*, assumed at the age of 17 years, was pure white.

2. **contractum in popina**: 'incurred in the grogshop.' Since such a place would be frequented only by people of little account, it is plain that Cicero thought these persons of small importance. The more important conspirators were left in Rome.

4. **quanto aere alieno**: ablative of quality.

6. **in agro Piceno et Gallico**: the country including Picenum and the district north of it. The Senonian Gauls formerly held this region. The chief towns were Ariminum and Ravenna. — **Q. Metellus**: Quintus Metellus Celer, the praetor, had recently been sent north to levy troops.

8. **senibus desperatis**: the veterans of Sulla, more fully described in Sect. 20, below (chap. 9).

9. **agresti luxuria**: by synecdoche. 'peasants ruined by extravagance.' — **vadimonia deserere**: 'to forfeit bond.' Not to present one's self in court on the day appointed with a creditor would result in the defaulter's goods being sold by the order of court.

10. **quibus ego . . . si ostendero . . . concident**: let the translation begin, 'but they will collapse.'

11. **aciem exercitus nostri**: in English we prefer to modify the word *army*, rather than the word denoting the particular arrangement (*aciem*): 'our army drawn up in battle line.' — **edictum praetoris**: the praetor, on entering upon the discharge of his duties, issued an edict setting forth the principle he proposed to follow in the administration of his office. In these rules running away from bail would naturally be touched upon. See Introd., p. 31.

14. **qui fulgent purpura**: the reference is to some especially brilliant and fashionable shade of purple bordering the tunics of these particular senators or knights. — **mallem** expresses a wish, cf. *utinam eduxisset*, p. 106, l. 26.

15. **suos milites**: translate; 'as his soldiers.'

16. **exercitum illum**: supply *pertimescendum*.

17. **hoc**: ablative of cause.

20. **Apulia**: according to Sallust, it was assigned to C. Julius; Manlius was sent to Etruria, and Septimius Camers to Picenum.

21. **urbanas**: = *in urbe*.

22. **caedis atque incendiorum**: 'having for their object slaughter and burning.'

23. **superioris noctis**: this was the night on which the conspirators met at Laeca's house.

25. **hi quid**: the position of *hi* is emphatic. — **ne**: an affirmative particle, 'truly,' usually found in classic prose before a pronoun.

Page **108**, 1. **nisi vero si**: *nisi* before *si* becomes an adverb in the sense of 'except.' *Si* need not be translated, leaving the *nisi* = 'unless.' — **similis**: accusative plural, 'those like Catiline.' — **cum Catilina sentire**: this would literally mean 'think in company with Catiline,' *i.e.* 'have the same designs as Catiline.'

3. **unum concedam**: 'I will make one concession.'

4. **desiderio sui**: 'with a longing for them.' *Sui* refers to the subject of *patiantur*.

5. **Aurelia via**: this road led by way of the coast to Massilia, Catiline's pretended destination, and also to Faesulae.

6. **ad vesperam**: the usual expression would be *sub vesperum*.

8. **exhausto**: keeps up the figure of *sentina*, used also in *Cat.* I, 12.

11. **quis**: is here used adjectively; 'what.' — **tota Italia**: for the ablative see H. 485, 2 (425, 2); L M. 626; A. 429, 2 (260, 2); G. 388; B. 228, 1, b; H B. 436, a.

12. **testamentorum subiector**: 'forger of wills.' *Subicere* sometimes means 'to substitute.'

13. **circumscriptor**: 'defrauder.' — **nepos**: 'spendthrift.'

16. **hosce annos**: the suffix *-ce* had lost all special force.

18. **iam vero** marks a transition to the consideration of another phase of Catiline's character; 'once more.' The sentence beginning *quis tota Italia* and ending with *fateatur* is an example of rhetorical exaggeration.

20. **fructum**: 'the gratification' or 'the enjoyment.'

21. **impellendo, adiuvando**: these ablatives denote something like accompaniment. The notion may be conveyed by translating freely, 'while urging,' 'while aiding.'

24. **conlegerat**: the perfect might be expected here, but, as often, the pluperfect is used to anticipate a past tense in the following sentence. — **nemo non modo Romae**, etc.: supply *non fuit* from the second clause after *non modo*. The explanation in full was given in the note on p. 71, l. 18. To illustrate how negatives modify the meaning, we may translate: 'There was no one — I will not say at Rome alone — but in any corner of Italy,' etc.

28. **ut . . . possitis**: dependent upon some thought, such as, 'I will say.' — **eius diversa studia**: 'his varied tastes.' — **ratione**: translate by the phrase 'relations in life.'

29. **ludo gladiatorio**: schools were established where slaves intended for the arena were trained. — **ad facinus audacior**: 'more reckless than usual in crime.'

30. **intimum**: here used as a noun.

31. **in scaena**: actors were for the most part slaves or freedmen. It was considered disgraceful for a man born free to act in public. *In scaena* means 'on the stage.' — **levior et nequior**: 'a little more frivolous and worthless.'

32. **sodalem**: 'intimate friend.' The *sodalitates* were associations corresponding somewhat to our religious, social, and political fraternities.

33. **adsuefactus** is here followed by the four ablatives with the gerundive *perferendis* agreeing with them all, and coming under the head of ablatives of specification.

Page 109, 2. **cum**: this is the explanatory *cum*, used in the sense of 'although.' — **industriae subsidia**: this has especial reference to the physical qualities; while *instrumenta virtutis* has to do with the moral and mental side of his nature.

3. **hunc vero**: Cicero now reverts to the theme broken off at *Catilina exhausto*.

4. **hominum**: the men referred to in *sui comites*.

7. **mediocres**: predicate adjective; 'ordinary.'

8. **audaciae**: 'recklessness' or 'reckless acts.'

9. **fortunas**: 'their estates.'

10. **obligaverunt**: 'they have mortgaged.' — **res**: 'money.' — **fides**: 'credit.' — **nuper**: that is, since Catiline's unsuccessful candidacy for the consulship.

11. **in abundantia**: 'in affluence.'

12. **in vino**: 'at their wine feasts.' The reference is to the various forms of entertainment following the banquet.

13. **illi quidem**: *quidem* follows *illi* for euphony, but it modifies the whole clause, especially the verb *desperandi*.

16. **ebrios**: 'besotted.' — **mihi**: the emotional dative is full of force. It may perhaps be rendered by a parenthesis in the English: '— with disgust I tell it —.'

17. **accubantes**: the Romans reclined at couches, instead of sitting at tables.

19. **eructant caedem**: 'they belch out murder.'

20. **incendia**: plural because the city was to be set on fire in several places at the same time.

24. **non . . . tempus**: 'not some short period' (of existence). For the use of *nescio quod*, see *nescio quo pacto*, p. 103, l. 16.

25. **propagarit**: 'will add.' The verb was originally a horticultural term, meaning to propagate by slips; hence it came to mean 'prolong,' 'extend,' 'preserve.' *Propagarit rei publicae* may be rendered more literally: 'will assure to the state.'

27. **omnia externa**: 'all troubles abroad.' — **unius** means Pompey, who had cleared the sea of pirates. For the relations between Cicero and Pompey, consult the Introduction, Sketch of Cicero's Life. — **terra marique**: for the case see H. 485, 2 (425, II, 2); L M. 625; A. 427, a (258, a); G. 385, N. 1; B. 228, 1, c; H B. 449, a.

30. **nobis certandum est**: impersonal. In English we prefer a personal construction in the active voice; 'we must struggle.'

33. **quacumque ratione**: supply *potero*. This is very often expressed in colloquial Latin. — **resecanda**: the figure probably refers to tree culture, but the verb applies also to surgical operations.

Page 110, 2. permanent: in English it is better to avoid using the same word in successive clauses in different senses. Translate literally with *in urbe* and find some other word than 'remain' for *in eadem mente*, such as 'continue.'

3. **quae merentur** suggests the death penalty and may continue the idea of *resecanda* above. For the indicative see H. 652, 1 (529, II, N. 1); L M. 1028; A. 593, a (342, a); G. 629, R.; B. 314, 3; B H. 567.

4. **eiectum**: this would have been an abuse of consular power.

5. **quod ego**: the *ego* is expressed because the relatives and demonstratives at the beginning of a sentence are in Latin naturally followed by *ego*, when the verb in the clause is in the first person. Cf. 27, 28, *cuius ego*, *quod ego*. — **verbo**: 'by a mere word.' Cf. *Cat.* 1, 20, *egredere ex urbe*, etc.

7. **videlicet**: ironical. Cicero is quoting, sarcastically, the supposed language of his detractors.

8. **permodestus**: note the force of the prefix *per*. Translate: 'very mild' or 'submissive.'

11. **hesterno die**: Cicero here begins to address those who criticized him for tyranny and for exceeding his authority, and gives an account of the occurrences which led to the departure of Catiline. *Hesterno die*,

in its emphatic position, naturally connects itself with *convocavi* and not with *interfectus essem*.

16. **salutavit**: cf. *Cat.* 1, 16.

19. **quin etiam**: 'why, even.'

23. **vehemens ille consul**: 'their violent consul.' The *ille* refers the *vehemens* to the special objectors whom he now has in mind.

25. **necne**: H. 380, 1 (353, 2, N. 3); L M. 813; A. 335, N. (211, R.); G. 459; B. 300, 4, a; H B. 234, a.

28. **ratio**: 'plan.'

29. **descripta**: with *esset ei* it means 'had been laid by him.' — **cum teneretur**: 'when he appeared baffled.'

30. **iam pridem pararet**: 'he had long been preparing to go.'

Page 111, 1. **securis, fascis**: these were consular insignia, which Catiline intended to assume on the ground that he had been unfairly defeated for the consulship. Twelve lictors, each carrying a bundle of rods (*fasces*), through which was thrust an ax (*securis*), attended the consul when he commanded an army in the field.

3. **sacrarium**: cf. *Cat.* 1, 24. — **fecerat**: indicative in a parenthetical clause.

4. **eiciebam**: 'was I attempting to drive?'

5. **credo**: ironical. The statement accompanying the phrase is to be taken in a contrary sense.

6. **in agro Faesulano**: *i.e.* in Etruria.

7. **suo nomine**: *suo* is strongly emphatic: 'in his *own* name.'

8. **Massiliam**: exiled Romans not infrequently retired to Marseilles, which, though not distant, was beyond the bounds of Italy. Milo withdrew to this place.

9. **ut aiunt**: that is, Catiline's associates spread abroad the rumor in order to place Cicero in an unfavorable light as having abused his authority. — **haec castra**: *haec* because nearer Rome than Marseilles.

10. **condicionem miseram**: 'O wretched task!' *Condicio* denotes 'situation,' 'terms,' etc., but here it is best rendered 'task' or 'undertaking,' 'necessity,' 'duty.'

12. **periculis meis**: Cicero means, 'measures dangerous to myself.' — **debilitatus**: 'paralyzed.'

14. **sceleris ac belli**: hendiadys; 'criminal war.'

16. **non ille**: *ille* recalls the subject of the sentence already named.

18. **vi et minis**: hendiadys; 'by threats of violence.'

21. est **mihi tanti**: 'I consider it worth my while.' Cf. *est tanti*, p. 99, l. 23.

22. **falsae**: 'undeserved.'

23. **dum modo depellatur**: for the mood see *modo intersit*, p. 94, l. 23.

24. **sane**: 'by all means.'

26. **non est iturus**: this is stronger than *ibit*. Translate: 'he does not intend to go.'

28. **volitare**: 'is hovering about.'

29. **triduo**: the ablative expresses here the time within the limits of which the news will he heard.

30. **aliquando**: 'in the end.' — **emiserim**: for the subjunctive see H. 652 (529, II); L M. 793; A. 593 (342); G. 663; B. 324; H B. 539.

Page **112**, 1. **ire**: 'is on the way.' — **dictitant**: in intensive form, meaning: 'keep on saying.' — **non tam . . . quam**: 'not so much . . . as.' Those who said that he was on the way to Marseilles were not disinterested in complaining of this. If they really had wished Catiline well, they would have been glad that he had gone into exile, and not to certain death in the field against the Roman state. They really fear that he may have abandoned his schemes. The whole argument in the passage of which this forms part is clever. Cicero turns the tables upon his most subtle opponents by boldly repeating their insinuations, but at the same time suggesting an explanation entirely to his own credit.

2. **qui . . . malit**: relative clause of result.

6. **praeter . . . voluntatem**, etc.: 'beyond what he himself had wished and planned for.'

7. **vivis nobis**: 'while I am alive' or 'leaving me alive.'

10. **sed**: Cicero now gives his attention to the conspirators who had remained in the city.

11. **quod semper volui**: cf. *Cat.* 1, 10 and 32.

12. **qui dissimulant**: supply *se esse hostes*.

14. **si ullo modo fieri possit**: the form of the condition implies the *possibility* that these men may change their sentiment toward the state. The apodosis would naturally be in the present subjunctive, but (*eos*) *ulcisci studeo* approximates in meaning *de iis sumatur supplicium*, 'they would be punished.'

15. **sanare sibi ipsos**: 'to restore them to their right minds'; lit. 'to themselves.' *Sibi* in contrast with *rei publicae*.

19. **singulis**: 'to them one after another.' The six classes of dangerous persons are (1) men in debt who would simply be made poor by paying their debts, and hope to be relieved of paying, (2) those who are in debt but desire not so much to be relieved of debt as to acquire fortunes and honors through a revolution, (3) Sulla's veterans who have run through the sudden wealth provided by Sulla, (4) men who have failed through laziness or incompetence, (5) criminals, and (6) extravagant and dissolute dandies. — **quam**: 'any.'

20. **magno in aere alieno**: 'although plunged in debt.'

21. **maiores etiam**: 'still greater.' *Etiam* is frequently used with comparatives for the sake of intensity. — **possessiones**: 'estates' (in land only).

22. **dissolvi**: 'to free themselves.' The simple verb *solvo* is the technical term for paying debts; compare the English word *solvent*.

23. **species**: 'the outward appearance.'

24. **voluntas et causa**: 'their pretensions (*causa*) and their aims (*voluntas*).'

25. **argento**: 'silver,' in the sense of articles of value made of silver. For this and the other ablatives see H. 477, II (421, II); L M. 651; A. 409, a (248, c, 2); G. 405, N. 3; B. 218, 8; H B. 423. — **et**: 'and yet.'

26. **sis, dubites**: expressing indignant repudiation. In English the tone of voice may be made to give the force of the subjunctive.

28. **omnium**: = *omnium rerum*. *Omnium* in the neuter plural used in this way is rare.

29. **tabulas novas**: 'new account books.' This means a canceling of debts such as Catiline sought. The *lex Valeria* of 86 reduced debts by two thirds of their amount.

30. **meo beneficio**: 'thanks to me.' — **novae**: 'new' in the sense that liquidation would be forced and a new financial start made.

Page 113, 1. **auctionariae**: 'those of auctioneers.' A law will be proposed compelling debtors to sell their land and pay their debts.

2. **salvi esse**: 'be freed from their difficulties.'

3. **certare cum usuris**, etc.: 'to match the produce of their farms against the interest on their debts.' They had mortgaged their estates to such an extent that the produce was insufficient to pay the interest.

4. **his . . . uteremur**: 'we should find them better citizens.'

7. **permanebunt**: *i.e. in sententia.*

10. **dominationem**: 'a despotism,' such as that of Sulla. — **rerum**: for the case see H. 458, 3 (410, V, 3); L M. 593; A. 410, a (249, b); G. 407, N. 2, d; B. 212, 2; H B. 429, c.

11. **honores**: 'political offices.'

12. **perturbata** agrees with *re publica* understood.

13. **scilicet**: 'evidently.' — **quod**: 'as.' The relative is used after the pronoun *idem* in the sense of the English conjunction *as*.

14. **ut desperent**: substantive clause of purpose in apposition with *hoc*.

15. **me ipsum vigilare**, etc.: this construction depends, by syllepsis, on the idea of saying implied in *praecipiendum*.

16. **in bonis viris**: remember what Cicero means by the term *boni viri*.

20. **praesentis**: 'in person.' — **quod si iam sint . . . adepti**: this denotes a mere possibility. The natural apodosis would be *num consules . . . sint*. Instead of the apodosis such as this we have the expression, approximating it in effect, *consules se . . . sperant futuros*.

25. **gladiatori**: this may be an allusion to Spartacus and the dreaded uprising of slaves.

29. **quas Sulla constituit**: Sulla, dictator from 82 to 80, rewarded his 120,000 soldiers by distributing them in military colonies and assigning land to each of them. Many of these men were incorrigible spendthrifts. Etruria and Samnium suffered much from this inroad of shiftless and dissolute characters. — **universas**: 'on the whole.' This clause saves the feelings of the aristocratic party, whose champion Sulla had been.

31. **ei . . . coloni qui**: 'such colonists as.'

33. **beati**: 'wealthy.' — **familiis**: 'establishments' (of slaves and servants).

Page 114, 2. **salvi**: 'financially sound.' — **sit ab inferis excitandus**: 'must be raised from the dead.' *Inferi* means inhabitants of the lower world, *i.e.* the dead. — **eis**: dative of agent.

3. **agrestis**: 'farmers.' These may have been dispossessed by Sulla. — **tenuis**: 'of slender means.'

6. **moneo**: for the construction following it see H. 412 (375); L M. 524; A. 390, c (238, c); G. 333, 1; B. 178, 1, d; H B. 397, 1.

7. **illorum temporum**: *i.e.* the years 87 and 86, when Marius and Cinna slaughtered the aristocratic leaders, and the later time when Sulla took similar vengeance upon the popular party. *Tantus* may be translated adverbially, 'to such an extent.'

8. **non modo**, etc.: to make the negative clear supply the expression *non passuri esse videantur* after *homines*. Cf. note p. 71, l. 18.

12. **turbulentum** seems to mean 'in a confused mass.' — **qui**: by syllepsis, agrees with the plural idea in *genus*. — **iam pridem premuntur**: 'have long since been submerged.'

13. **emergunt**: 'come to the surface.'

14. **vetere**: 'long standing.' — **vacillant**: 'stagger.'

15. **vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione**: this gives the three successive stages of procedure when creditors united to prosecute their debtor. *Vadimonium* was the promise to appear, security being given; *iudicium*, 'judgment,' was taken, if he did not pay at the end of sixty days; *proscriptio*, public advertising of his goods, followed. Thirty days later the goods were sold at auction.

17. **infitiatores lentos**: 'shirking defaulters.' An *infitiator* is one who tries to escape paying a debt by denying it.

18. **quam primum**: 'as soon as possible'; *i.e.* before civil war breaks out.

19. **conruant**: 'fall in ruins.' The figure, used in contrast with *stare*, is that of a house falling in ruins. — **non modo**: supply *non sentiant*, and cf. p. 71, l. 18.

21. **turpiter**: 'in rebellion'; lit. 'basely.'

24. **denique**: 'in a word.'

26. **ita multi** would be usually expressed by *tam multi*.

27. **carcer**: this was the subterranean dungeon, the *Tullianum*, in which persons condemned to death were kept, or else the whole prison of which the *Tullianum* was a part. See Introd., pp. 44–46. There was no imprisonment as a punishment in Rome. The prison was at the foot of the Capitol and the dungeon portion of it was an excavation. — **postremum**: as explained by *numero* and *genere*, means both 'last' and 'lowest.'

28. **numero**: for the ablative see H. 480 (424); L M. 650; A. 418 (253); G. 397; B. 226. H B. 441.

29. **quod**: 'because.' — **proprium Catilinae**, etc.: 'Catiline's favorites, his choice, his cherished bosom friends'; lit. 'of his choosing, of his embrace and bosom.' *Catilinae* is genitive.

31. **imberbis**: 'effeminate'; lit. 'beardless'; *i.e.* naturally lacking growth of hair upon the face. This would be a sign of effeminacy although the smoothly shaven face would not, since the wearing of a beard was contrary to Roman custom at the time and was evidently

regarded as a mark of foppishness. — **manicatis et talaribus tunicis**: this was also a mark of effeminacy. Ordinary tunics were shorter and lacked sleeves.

32. **velis non togis**: 'in mainsails, not togas.' Cicero means that they were wrapped in garments more like sails than togas. These voluminous garments were regarded as foppish or absurd. — **quorum . . . expromitur**: 'whose entire energy of life and sacrifice of rest are expended in banquets lasting until daybreak.'

Page 115, 3. **lepidi**: 'elegant.' A contemptuous word when used of a man. — **neque . . . cantare**: the idea *solum* extends to this phrase.

4. **spargere venena**: the sprinkling of a poisonous liquid upon food is meant.

6. **scitote**: H. 560, 2 (487, N.); L M. 725; A. 449, a (269, e); G. 267, R.; B. 281, 1; H B. 496, c. — **hoc**: instead of *hos* by attraction with *seminarium*. In English translate the *hoc* 'these' and make the verb (*futurum*) plural in sense.

7. **quid sibi isti miseri volunt**: 'what do these wretched people intend?' *Quid sibi vult* is 'what does he mean.' For the case of *sibi* see H. 432 (389, N. 2); L M. 541; A. 380 (236); G. 351, N. 2; B. 188, 2, b; H B. 366.

8. **mulierculas**: the diminutive denotes contempt.

11. **pruinas ac nivis**: although the Roman Calendar made this in November, yet owing to its being in confusion, the date really fell considerably later.

13. **magno opere**: ironical.

14. **cohortem praetoriam**: the Praetorian Guard, which played so important a part in the time of the Emperors, was originally the general's bodyguard and was first organized by Scipio the Younger during the siege of Numantia in Spain in 133.

15. **praeclaras**: ironical.

17. **confecto et saucio**: 'wounded and wretched,' by being forced to leave Rome with plans discovered.

18. **eiectam**: 'cast away.' This continues the metaphor found in *naufragorum*.

20. **iam vero**: 'why, already.' — **urbes, tumulis silvestribus**: *urbes* were the 'fortified towns,' held by the government; the *tumuli silvestres* were Catiline's 'rustic strongholds.' — **coloniarum ac municipiorum**: the *coloniae* were originally cities whose inhabitants enjoyed the full Roman franchise; the *municipia* possessed only the Latin Right,

After 89 the franchise was possessed by all Italian cities, and the distinction between *coloniae* and *municipia* disappeared. (See Introduction, p. 28.)

21. **respondebunt**: 'will be a match for.'

22. **copias, ornamenta, praesidia**: *copiae* refers to 'resources,' here especially in money; *ornamenta*, 'war material'; *praesidia*, 'defenses.'

23. **inopia atque egestate**: 'poverty and destitution.' One of these words would seem to be sufficient, but Cicero often uses pairs of nearly synonymous words to express a single idea with emphasis. This is a general characteristic of the oratorical style.

24. **quibus**: note its different use with the two verbs. — **eget ille**: there is ellipsis of a conjunction corresponding to our 'but,' also chiasmus in *nos suppeditamur, eget ille*.

25. **urbe** here refers to Rome.

26. **exteris nationibus**: 'the assistance of foreign nations.'

27. **causas**: 'the interests.' — **contendere**: 'to compare.'

28. **velimus**: the apodosis is found in *intellegere possumus*, which approximates in meaning *intelligamus*. — **quam valde illi iaceant**: 'how prostrate they lie.'

Page **116**, 2. **pietas**: 'patriotism,' *i.e. pietas in patriam*. — **scelus**: *i.e. in patriam*, 'treason.'

7. **ratio**: translate by the plural; 'principles.'

8. **omnium rerum**: 'in every regard,' 'utter.'

11. **virtutibus**: ablative of agent, because personified.

15. **mihi** denotes agency. There is antithesis between *vos*, above, and *mihi*. The *mihi* is emphatic. — **mihi consultum atque provisum est**: 'I have taken measures and provided.'

19. **gladiatores**: there were schools (*ludi*) of gladiators in several parts of Italy. They had been placed under special guard.

20. **quamquam . . . patriciorum**: parenthetical.

21. **potestate nostra**: 'under our control.'

22. **agrum Gallicum**: see note on p. 107, l. 6.

26. **vocari**: 'is being convoked.' — **videtis**: the citizens addressed would naturally notice the heralds summoning the senators.

27. **atque adeo**: in corrective sense, 'and indeed.'

Page **117**, 1. **monitos**: supply *esse*. *Monitos* agrees with *illos*, p. 116, l. 27. — **adhuc**: construe with *mea lenitas*; 'my gentleness up to this time.'

2. **solutior**: 'too unrestrained.'

3. **quod reliquum est**: = *ceterum*; 'as for the rest.'

7. **cuius non modo factum sed**: 'not only whose act, but whose.'

8. **ullum**: 'of any kind.' There is here a gradation from the stronger to the weaker (*factum, inceptum, conatum*).

11. **carcerem**: imprisonment as a punishment for citizens was not employed. The word means here place of execution. By slightly personifying *carcerem* we may translate *vindicem*, 'the avenger.'

14. **maximae res**: the verb, in the plural, is to be supplied from *sedetur* below.

17. **togato**: 'clothed with the toga,' 'civilian.' The general in active service wore the *paludamentum* and the soldier wore the tunic or *sagum*. (See Introduction, p. 34.) Cicero emphasizes the fact that he defeated Catiline without the aid of an army and without arousing a civil war. Compare the expressions *minimo motu* and *nullo tumultu*.

22. **illud** is explained by the clause *ut . . . possitis*.

23. **optandum**: the future passive participle in *-ndus*, especially when preceded by *vix* or by a negative, sometimes denotes possibility. — **ut neque bonus**: 'that no good man.' For other sense of *bonus* cf. *Cat.* I, 32, *secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis*.

26. **prudentia**: ablative after *fretus*.

28. **significationibus**: 'tokens,' a term borrowed from divination. — **quibus ducibus**: ablative absolute.

Page 118, 1. **quondam**: Roman wars had for centuries been fought on foreign soil.

3. **precari, venerari, implorare**: these synonyms are distinguished as follows: *precari* is to invoke the gods in order to obtain something from them; *venerari* is to worship the gods, according to the usages of religion; *implorare* is to supplicate the gods with grief in the heart.

IN CATILINAM III

Page 119, 2. **bona, fortunas**: this follows the custom of Cicero to use two words for emphasis, where one would do as far as the thought is concerned.

6. **ex faucibus fati**: the figure is that of a monster (*fatum*) having the Roman state already in its jaws.

7. **videtis**: the rumors of the arrest of the conspirators had spread rapidly, and the audience already had a vague knowledge of the matters which Cicero would discuss.

9. **salutis laetitia**: 'the pleasure of safety.'

10. **nascendi condicio**: 'our lot at birth.' — **sine sensu**: 'without consciousness.'

11. **profecto** goes with *debebit*. — **illum**: Romulus, who was made a god, Quirinus, and was worshiped on Feb. 17, the feast of the Quirinalia.

12. **benevolentia famaque**: 'by our gratitude and by our glorification of him.'

14. **debebit**: 'will deserve.'

15. **nam**: the following words emphasize the danger to the state which has been avoided through Cicero's efforts. — **templis, delubris**: the *templum* was the entire building; the *delubrum* was a portion of the temple containing a statue or altar of the divinity. These datives depend upon *subiectos* and *circumdatos*.

17. **idemque**: H. 508, 3 (451, 3); LM. 1059; A. 298, b (195, e); G. 310; B. 248, 1; HB. 270, a.

18. **rettudimus**: 'we have thrust back blunted.'

Page 120, 1. **inlustrata, patefacta, comperta**: note the inverse order in which the ideas are expressed. Translate in the natural order for the English.

2. **quanta**: 'how important.'

5. **ut**: = *ex quo tempore*, 'ever since,' made more definite by *semper*. — **paucis ante diebus**: it was, in fact, almost a month before, the interval between Nov. 8 and Dec. 3. For this ablative of degree of difference, see H. 488, 1 (430, N. 3); LM. 656; A. 414 (250); G. 403, N. 4; B. 223; HB. 424.

7. **reliquisset, eiciebam**: note the difference in the moods and tenses. *Eiciebam*: 'was attempting to drive out,' showing the conative use of the imperfect. This is shown more fully by *exterminari volebam*, which is almost like *exterminabam*, only clearer.

12. **exterminari**: 'to be driven out of boundaries.'

14. **restitissent**: in direct discourse this would be future perfect.

15. **atque** denotes a transition and may be rendered, 'and therefore.'

17. **in eo**: 'in this,' explained by the clause *ut . . . sentirem*.

18. **ut ita comprehenderem ut**: 'that I might so grasp, that'; a clause expressing the purpose of *sentirem ac viderem*.

21. **animis**: this is introduced for the sake of symmetry, to balance *oculis* below.

23. **Allobrogum**: a deputation from this warlike people of Gaul had come to Rome on some official business, probably to file claims against the Roman governor of their province. — **tumultus**: 'revolt.' This word is used only to designate a disturbance in Italy and Gaul; while *bellum* applies to a war elsewhere. See note, p. 95, l. 7. — **Gallici** refers here to Cisalpine Gaul.

24. **P. Lentulo**: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura was the praetor. He had been quaestor in 81 and consul in 71. Expelled from the senate by the censors for bad behavior, he had returned to that body in virtue of his office of praetor.

26. **ad Catilinam** is in the same construction with *ad suos civis, i.e.* after *missos esse*. Nothing more is said about there being letters for Catiline in possession of the Gauls, and Cicero is probably trying to create an impression that the letters were numerous, by distorting the facts.

27. **T. Volturcium**: of Crotona in southern Italy. Nothing is known of him beyond his being a comrade of Catiline. — **ad Catilinam datas**: 'addressed to Catiline.'

Page **121**, 2. **hesterno die**: Dec. 2. — **L. Flaccum**: Lucius Valerius Flaccus had been accused *de repetundis* (*i.e.* of *extortion*) on his return from governing Asia, in 59. Cicero defended him in the speech *pro Flacco*.

3. **C. Pomptinum**: Caius Pomptinus was governor of Gallia Narbonensis in 61, two years later, and suppressed a rebellion of the Allobroges. In 51 he was a lieutenant of Cicero, then governor of Cilicia.

5. **qui . . . sentirent**: because their principles in matters concerning the state were noble and excellent. For the mood see H. 592 (517); L M. 839; A. 535, e (313, h); G. 633; B. 283, 3; H B. 523.

8. **pontem Mulvium**: this bridge crossed the Tiber on the Via Flaminia, two miles north of Rome.

9. **fuerunt**: 'they took their position.'

12. **praefectura Reatina**: the town of Reate in the Sabine country had become a *praefectura* in the Third Samnite War. The *praefecturae* were towns placed, for purposes of discipline, under a *praefectus* appointed annually by the senate. Cicero was *patronus* of the town.

14. **tertia vigilia**: the Romans divided the night from sunset to sunrise into four watches of three hours each. The end of the third watch would be about three o'clock.

17. **res** refers to the cause for this rather wholesale and violent arrest, it being unknown both to the Allobrogians and the troops of the praetors.

19. **interventu**: they evidently came forward and explained the *res*.

21. **integris signis**: the Romans used wax tablets, tied face to face, the knot of the string being secured by a seal. The tablets could not be taken apart and read without cutting the string or breaking the seal. — **ipsi**: Volturcius and the Allobroges.

24. **Cimbrum Gabinium**: in formal discourse the conspirator would be called Gabinius Cimber. The placing of the *cognomen* before the *nomen* was at this time a usage of familiar language only.

26. **Cethegus**: Gaius Cethegus belonged to the Cornelian family and was of senatorial rank. — **credo**: the point of the irony is found in the well-known dilatoriness of Lentulus. Cf. 16, *Lentuli somnum*.

28. **cum**: concessive.

30. **deferri**: for the use of the infinitive with *prius quam* instead of the more common subjunctive see H. 643, 2 (535, 1, 6); A. 583, c (336, c, N. 2); G. 644, 3 (b).

31. **esset inventum**: implied indirect discourse. In the direct form the words would be *erit inventum*.

32. **tumultus**: 'disturbances,' but cf. its technical use, p. 120, l. 23. — **negavi me esse facturum ut . . . non deferrem**: this is a more emphatic way of saying *negavi me non delaturum esse*, which means, removing the negatives, 'I said that I would report.' The *ut deferrem* clause is the object of *facturum esse*. H. 566, 1 (501, II, 1); A. 568, N. 1 (332, N. 1); G. 553, 1; B. 297, 1; HB. 521, 3, a.

33. **consilium publicum** refers to the Senate.

Page 122, 4. **frequentem**: used here predicatively and might be translated 'and the senators came in large numbers.' — **ut vidistis**: the senate was convened in the Temple of Concord, which was between the forum and the Capitolium, to the right of the *clivus Capitolinus*, and could be easily seen from where they were. See Plan of Forum, p. 38.

5. **coegi**: the official term for assembling the senate to a session.

6. **C. Sulpicium**: this is the only place where he is mentioned. — **fortem virum**: merely a polite epithet.

9. **introduxi**: note that the word 'introduce' in English is used to denote bringing into a gathering some one not having a natural right to be there. — **fidem publicam**: 'the guarantee of public protection' (for prosecution).

13. **ut uteretur, ut accederet**: substantive clause in apposition with *mandata et litteras*.

Page **123**, 2. **descriptum**: cf. *Cat.* 1, 9. — **distributumque erat**: indicative, because the clause is a parenthetical explanation.

7. **dixerunt** governs four sentences in indirect discourse, three of them containing a dependent clause. The reflexive pronoun in each dependent clause refers to the subject of the clause on which it depends. The main verbs in indirect discourse are *datas esse*, *esse praescriptum*, *confirmasse*, and *dixisse*. — **L. Cassio**: Lucius Cassius Longinus was an influential senator and one of the leaders among the conspirators.

9. **defuturas**: a statement depending upon the idea of saying in *esse praescriptum*.

10. **fatis Sibyllinis**: these books had their origin in a collection of oracular utterances in Greek hexameters, composed in the time of Solon and Cyrus at Gergis on Mount Ida, and ascribed to the Hellespontic Sibyl, who was afterwards buried in the temple of Apollo at Gergis. This collection was brought by way of Erythrae to Cumae, and finally, in the time of the last king, to Rome. According to the legend, the Cumaean Sibyl offered to Tarquinius Superbus nine books of prophecies, and as the king declined to purchase them, owing to the exorbitant price she demanded, she burned all but three of them, which the king purchased for the original price, and had them preserved in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. They were destroyed in the burning of the Capitol 83 B.C., and the senate sent envoys to make a collection of similar oracular sayings distributed over various places. Their use was from the beginning reserved for the state, and they were interpreted by a college of priests. They predicted that C.C.C. would reign in succession, and some people thought that these initials referred to the *gens Cornelia*. Publius Cornelius Cinna and Lucius Cornelius Sulla had held positions of power in Rome. Publius Cornelius Lentulus thought that he was destined to be the third ruler of the tribe bearing this *nomen*.

13. **Cinnam . . . fuisse** depends on *confirmasse*. — **eundemque**: 'he also,' *i.e.* Lentulus.

14. **fatalem**: 'marked by fate.'

15. **qui esset**: causal. — **virginum**: supply *Vestalium*. We know nothing of this event, but it must refer to some trial of these Vestal Virgins.

16. **post Capitoli incensionem**: the burning of the Capitol occurred in 83. The Romans regarded the Capitol very much as the Trojans regarded the Palladium.

18. **Saturnalibus**: the *Saturnalia*, or festival of Saturn, was celebrated at this time, Dec. 19. Special liberty was allowed slaves on this occasion, and masters acted as servants to their slaves. It was chosen by the conspirators because it was a time of confusion.

21. **ne longum sit**: 'to be brief.' H. 568, 4 (499, 2, N.); L M. 900; A. 532 (317, c); G. 545, R. 3; B. 282, 4. — **tabellas**: 'the letters.' Consult note on *integris signis*, p. 121, l. 21.

22. **primo**: adjective in agreement with *Cethego*.

23. **cognovit**: 'he acknowledged it.'

25. **sese**: the reference of this pronoun is explained by *erat scriptum*, being equivalent to *scripserat*.

26. **sibi**: 'to him'; *i.e.* Cethegus. — **recepissent**: 'had promised.'

27. **qui respondisset**: 'although he had answered.' For this concessive use of a relative clause see H. 593, 2 (515, III); L M. 839; A. 535, e (320, e); G. 634; B. 283, 3. — **tamen**: 'yet,' with the idea understood of 'in spite of his evident guilt.'

28. **deprehensa**: neuter because referring to two inanimate antecedents.

29. **ferramentorum**: a word which does not imply a murderous use of weapons.

Page 124, 2. **avi tui**: Publius Cornelius Lentulus, consul in 162.

3. **quidem**: 'certainly.'

5. **eadem ratione**: 'of the same meaning.'

6. **feci potestatem**: in effect means, 'I said that he might speak,' hence *vellet*, which would depend upon the idea of saying in the main verb.

8. **exposito atque edito**: 'having been temporarily analyzed, and then put into final shape.' This would seem to refer not only to the reading of the letters of Lentulus, but also the evidence of Volturcius and to the letter to Catiline below. Then *post aliquanto* would mean that the next sentence (*surrexit . . . confessus est*) is an anticipation, in order to bring the denial and the confession close together. Plainly the *vehementissime perturbatus* must belong before the confession.

9. **quid . . . venissent**: *quam ob rem* is relative, depending on *quid sibi esset*. 'What he had to do with them, that they should have come to his house?' The direct question would be, 'What had I to do

with you, which could lead you to come to my house?' implying a strong negative answer.

11. **per quem**: although singular in number, *quem* has reference to both P. Umbrenus and A. Gabinius.

13. **subito scelere demens**: *subito* modifies *demens*. *Sceleris* is equivalent to *conscientia sceleris*.

14. **esset**: 'is.' — **cum**: 'although.'

16. **dicendi exercitatio**: 'ease in speaking.' But cf. the somewhat different judgment of Lentulus in *Brutus* 235: *P. Lentulus, cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formae dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo.* Cicero here exaggerates his power as an orator.

17. **manifesti atque deprehensi**: 'clearly discovered.'

23. **sine nomine**: 'without signature.' The heading of a Roman letter was usually of this order; *Tullius Tironi Sal.* — **quis sim**, etc.: it is interesting to compare this letter with the version of it given by Sallust, *Cat.* 44: *Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse: consideres quid tuae rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.*

24. **locum**: 'position.'

26. **infimorum** refers particularly to the slaves.

29. **cum, tum**: 'not only,' 'but also.' — **certissima**: 'very sure,' 'indisputable.' It denotes here a high degree of the quality, hence when the other members of the comparison are stated, it is necessary to use the comparative *certiora*, since only two groups of words are compared.

33. **non numquam**: the figure is litotes. Translate, 'continually.'

Page **125**, 4. **de summa re publica**: 'on the subject of the safety of the state.' The expression is used in a technical sense to mean this.

5. **principibus**: 'the leaders,' who also were the first to speak. They were the *principes senatus*, the consuls-elect and the ex-consuls.

6. **varietate**: 'dissent,' or 'difference of opinion.'

7. **est perscriptum**: after the session the decrees of the Senate were written out and the names of the chief supporters were appended.

12. **forti fidelique**: used predicatively. — **laudantur**: historical present and therefore with secondary sequence. H. 546 (495, 11); L M. 805; A. 485, e (287, e); G. 509, 2 (a); B. 268, 3; H B. 478.

13. **conlegae**: Gaius Antonius Hybrida, who favored Catiline's plans until won over by the promises of Macedonia as his province. He was probably not in Rome at this time.

14. **a suis et a rei publicae consiliis**: Antonius had ceased to have public or private relations with the conspirators. This phrase used of Antonius is slightly ironical. See Introduction, p. 15.

16. **praetura abdicasset**: the person of a magistrate was inviolate (*sacrosanctus*), but resignation under certain circumstances was practically compulsory. — **custodiam**: see note p. 98, l. 7.

20. **M. Ceparium**: Marcus Ceparius, a native of Terracina, fled from Rome, but was captured and executed, along with Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Lentulus.

22. **colonis**: see note on p. 113, l. 29.

27. **ea**: 'of this sort.'

28. **novem hominum**: only five were executed, the rest having escaped by flight.

29. **poena**: ablative of means, with the ablative absolute *re publica conservata*.

31. **supplicatio**: literally, 'bending of the knee.' This 'thanksgiving' consisted of public prayers and the *lectisternium*, in which images of the gods were placed upon *pulvinaria* (couches) and banquets provided for them. — **meo nomine**: 'in my name.'

32. **mihi togato**: heretofore the *supplicatio* had been given only in honor of generals.

Page 126, 3. **hoc interest**: 'there is (found to be) this difference.' *Hoc* is adverbial accusative. H. 409, 1 (371, II); L M. 507; A. 390, c (238, b); G. 332; B. 176, 2, a; H B. 396, 2.

8. **tamen se abdicavit**: 'was allowed to resign.' — **ut quae religio C. Mario . . . non fuerat . . . ea nos religione . . . liberaremur**: 'that we might be freed from the religious scruple, which had not prevented Gaius Marius.' See note on p. 91, l. 26. On *quo minus* see H. 568, 8 (497, II, 2); L M. 909; A. 558, b (331, e, 2); G. 549; B. 295, 3; H B. 502, 3, b.

13. **captos et comprehensos**: repetition for emphasis.

14. **debetis**: 'you are bound to,' 'you are justified in.'

15. **opes**: 'resources.'

16. **pellebam** denotes time only, hence the indicative.

18. **somnum**: 'sloth.' — **adipes**: 'obesity.'

19. **temeritatem**: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 43, 3 and 4: *inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas oportunitates corrumpere: facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse seque, si pauci adiuvarent, languentibus aliis,*

impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat. — ille refers to Catiline.

20. **tam diu**: 'only so long.'

21. **norat**: = *noverat*. — **omnium aditus tenebat**: 'he knew means of approaching all men.'

22. **consilium**: 'ability.'

24. **certas, certos**: 'particular.'

25. **cum aliquid mandarat**: for the use of the indicative with *cum*, see H. 601, 4 (472, 2); L M. 854; A. 542 (322); G. 567; B. 288, 3; H B. 550, a, N. 1.

26. **quod**: the case of this pronoun is determined by the nearest verb, *obiret: occurreret* would require the dative. Perhaps the *quod* affected the *occurreret* as a kind of adverbial accusative, and may similarly affect *vigilaret* and *laboraret*. We must remember that the entire relation of the *quod* would be in the mind of the Roman listener.

Page **127**, 2. **paratum**: *i.e.* never caught off his guard.

4. **castrense latrocinium**: 'open brigandage.' Cf. note on p. 100, l. 5.

7. **tanto ante**: it was now Dec. 3, and the Saturnalia would not begin until Dec. 19.

8. **commisisset ut**: 'would he have allowed . . . to be seized.'

13. **quoad fuit**: supply *in urbe*.

14. **ut levissime dicam**: 'to speak with the utmost reserve.' It is a kind of apology for so mild a statement as *dimicandum*.

17. **tanta**: 'so wide-spread.'

18. **quamquam**: introducing a restrictive clause. Translate, 'and yet.'

22. **ita praesentes**: 'so evidently.'

23. **opem et auxilium**: a common repetition.

25. **ab occidente**: this quarter of the sky was unlucky.

26. **ut . . . iactus**: supply *omittam*. — **fulminum iactus**: 'thunderbolts.'

27. **tam multa**: 'in such numbers.'

28. **canere**: 'to foretell'; used of prophetic utterances.

29. **praetermittendum, relinquendum**: *praetermittere* = 'pass over in silence (through carelessness)'; *relinquere* = 'leave unmentioned (purposely).'

31. **Cotta et Torquato**: Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus were consuls in 65.

32. **de caelo** implies, 'with lightning.' It is the regular phrase for this kind of omen.

Page **129**, 1. **legum aera**: brazen tablets, upon which laws were engraved, were common on the walls of temples, of the forum, and all public places.

3. **inhiantem**: 'opening its mouth for.' — **fuisse**: 'formerly stood.' The perfect infinitive is necessary to convey the idea that the statue no longer existed. The bronze figure now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome is thought to be a mediaeval copy of an ancient original.

4. **haruspices ex . . . Etruria**: Etruria gave to Rome the science of divination.

6. **civile ac domesticum**: see note on *opem et auxilium*, above.

7. **appropinquare, nisi flexissent**: the *oratio recta* was, *appropinquant, nisi flexerint* (future perfect).

9. **ludi**: these were religious fêtes in which sports and dramatic performances were the leading features.

11. **idemque** refers to *haruspices*.

12. **in excelso**: 'on a high column.' — **contra atque antea fuerat**: 'in a contrary direction to that of the former one.'

14. **quod videtis**: it was near enough to the forum for his hearers to see it.

15. **fore ut** etc.: H. 619, 2 (537, 3); L M. 984; A. 569, a (332, a); G. 248; B. 270, 3; H B. 472, c.

18. **conlocandum locaverunt**: 'contracted for the placing of.' H. 622 (544, 2, N. 2); L M. 994; A. 500, 4 (294, d); G. 430; B. 337, 8, b, 2; H B. 612, III. — **consules illi**: Cotta and Torquatus. The censors usually had charge of public buildings, but those for 65 B.C. had resigned.

21. **hic**: 'this being the state of affairs.'

22. **praeceps**: 'obstinate.' — **mente captus**: 'infatuated.' — **qui neget**: relative clause of result.

26. **et ea**: 'and that too.'

29. **praesens**: 'divinely ordered.' — **ut . . . videatur**: a consecutive clause; *ut . . . statueretur* is a substantive clause explaining *illud*.

31. **eorum** signifies 'against them.' — **aedem Concordiae**: this temple was on the Capitoline Hill. Since Cicero's house, to which the conspirators had been summoned, was on the Palatine, the forum lay in part of the space between. The senate was sitting in the temple.

32. **quo**: 'wherefore.'

Page 130, 6. restitisse: from *resisto*. — **non sim ferendus**: 'I should be intolerably arrogant.'

7. **ille, ille**: with these words Cicero made a gesture toward the statue. This repetition is called anaphora.

9. **mentem voluntatemque**: 'purpose and disposition.'

14. **audaciae**: abstract for concrete. For the case, see H. 427 (386, 2); L M. 539; A. 381 (229); G. 345; B. 188, 2, d; H B. 371. — **consilium ereptum**: this resembles the proverb: *Quem perdere vult Iuppiter prius dementat.*

15. **quid vero**: these words introduce a new and strong proof. — **ut . . . neglegerent**: this clause is substantive and explains *id* below.

18. **a patriciis hominibus**: 'by men of patrician rank,' as Catiline, Cethegus, and Lentulus.

19. **suis opibus**: 'their own advantage.'

20. **qui**: 'since they.'

22. **pulvinaria**: see note on p. 125, l. 31. The couches had cushions, and upon these the images of the gods were placed and food was served to them.

24. **nam**: really to be taken with *iustiores numquam*.

25. **habiti sunt ac debiti**: *debiti* has the sense of 'deserved'; hence the propriety of *ac*, the expression following which is often of greater real significance than that which precedes it.

28. **togati**: 'clad in the toga,' *i.e.* in the dress of peace.

29. **recordamini**: imperative.

30. **quas audistis** would be more naturally expressed by *de quibus audistis*. The allusion is to the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians.

Page 131, 1. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium: in 88 Publius Sulpicius Rufus, a tribune, secured the passage of a law dividing the people into 35 tribes of new citizens and freedmen. The law also transferred the command against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. Sulla with six legions marched upon Rome, entered the city and defeated the supporters of Marius and Sulpicius in the streets of the city. Sulpicius escaped but was afterwards captured and slain.

2. **custodem huius urbis**: Marius repelled the threatened invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones in 102 and 101.

4. **Cn. Octavius**: Gnaeus Octavius, a supporter of Sulla, drove Cinna, his colleague but a partisan of Marius, from the city, in 87. Before the end of the year Marius and Cinna returned, overwhelmed their oppo-

nents and were elected consuls. This was the seventh time that Marius was chosen consul.

5. **acervis corporum**, etc.: the forum was the scene of a bloody conflict.

6. **redundavit** applies to *acervis* by zeugma. Translate by some English verb suited to *heaps*.

7. **lumina civitatis**: among the victims were: Cn. Octavius, the consul, Marcus Antonius, the orator, Lucius Julius Caesar, prominent in the social war, Q. Catulus, associated with Marius in the campaign against the Cimbrians and Teutons, and others.

8. **ultus est . . . crudelitatem . . . Sulla**: Sulla returned from the Mithridatic War in 82. The proscriptions that followed were numerous beyond example, and the cruelties of which Sulla was guilty were monstrous. Many thousands perished.

10. **M. Lepidus**: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was consul in 78. He sought to revive the Marian party, but was overthrown by Catulus, his colleague, and Pompey. He fled to Sardinia, where he died.

12. **rei publicae**: dative after *attulit*.

19. **reconciliatione**: 'reëstablishment.'

20. **diiudicatae sint**: note the perfect used in secondary sequence, and see H. 550 (495, VI); L M. 806; A. 485, c (287, c); G. 513; B. 268, 6; H B. 478.

24. **salva urbe**: ablative absolute.

26. **tantum**: 'only so much.'

Page 132, 1. **praemium virtutis**: 'reward due to merit.' — **insigne honoris**: this may refer to his being given some popular title, as *pater patriae*.

2. **monumentum laudis**: perhaps a statue in his honor.

6. **mutum, tacitum** refer to a statue or memorial tablet.

7. **minus digni**: this does not necessarily convey the idea of odious comparison. Cicero probably means those who have not deserved them. — **memoria vestra**: 'in your grateful remembrance.'

8. **alentur**: 'will be cherished.' This is metaphorical for *conservabuntur*, with the added idea that Cicero's deeds will grow in importance as the years pass.

9. **monumentis**: 'in the records.'

10. **eandemque diem**, etc.: 'I believe that the same duration (*diem*) has been granted — and I hope that it will have no limit — both for the existence of the state and for the memory of my consulship.' Note that *diem* is feminine, as it regularly is when meaning 'time.'

13. **exstitisse** depends upon *intellego*. — **alter**: Pompey, who added Syria, as a province, to the Empire. The extravagance of the following expression is indicative of Cicero's great admiration for Pompey. See Introduction, pp. 14 *et passim*.

17. **condicio**: 'circumstances.' Cf. p. 111, l. 10. — **illorum**: 'that of those.'

20. **recte**: = *merito*; 'deservedly.'

21. **obsint**: Cicero knew that he had been forced to take measures that the friends of the conspirators would seek to prove illegal. Five years later he was driven into exile by his enemies for these acts.

24. **mihi noceri**: H. 518, 1 (384, 5); LM. 530; A. 372 (230); G. 346, R. 1; B. 187, II, b; HB. 364, 2.

25. **bonis**: remember that Cicero often refers to the higher classes by this term.

27. **dignitas**: 'authority.' — **tacita**: translate by an adverb.

28. **quam qui**: 'and those who.'

31. **ultro**: 'of my own free will.'

Page 133, 3. **vitae fructum**: 'the results of my life.' *Fructus* here means 'attainment' arrived at by Cicero in his public career.

4. **in honore vestro**: 'among the honors which you can confer.' The reference is to magistracies. — **in gloria virtutis**: 'in renown won by merit.'

5. **altius**: there was no greater honor in Rome than the consulship.

7. **privatus**: this implies holding no elective office, and is therefore not inconsistent with his being a senator.

8. **in conservanda re publica**: 'while I was saving the state.'

9. **me tractabo**: this would more usually be expressed by *me geram* or *versabor*.

12. **Iovem illum**: see sect. 22 of this oration.

14. **aeque ac priore nocte**: 'just as you did last night.' The ambassadors of the Allobroges had been arrested on that night and Cicero had set watches to guard the city.

IN CATILINAM IV

Page 134, 1. **in me oculos conversos**: Silanus and Caesar had given their opinions. The discussion had grown confusing, and naturally all eyes were turned toward the consul, who might be expected to draw all opinions to some consistent conclusion, perhaps at a personal risk. However, this was not the final speech.

7. **iucunda et grata**: 'reassuring and pleasing.' The adjective *iucundus* is derived from the same root as the verb *iuvare*.

9. **voluntas**: 'solicitude.'

11. **salutis**: note this genitive after a verb of forgetting.

12. **haec condicio consulatus**: 'if the consular office is given to me under these conditions.'

14. **dum modo pariatur**: cf. *modo intersit*, *Cat.* 1, 10.

17. **aequitas continetur**: it means that the courts were around the forum.

18. **consularibus auspiciis**: 'the auspices taken at the election of consuls.'

19. **auxilium**: 'safeguard.' Nations allied with Rome treated with the senate, which controlled foreign relations.

21. **sedes honoris**: the *sella curulis*. — **periculo**: H. 465 (414, III); LM. 604; A. 405, a (243, d); G. 390, 3; B. 214, 1; HB. 350.

Page 135, 1. multa tacui: Cicero had suppressed the names of prominent personages connected with the conspiracy. Crassus and Caesar were suspected. See Sall. *Cat.* 48 and 49.

2. **meo quodam dolore**: 'not without suffering on my part.'

4. **ut . . . eriperem**: in apposition with *exitum*.

10. **fatale ad perniciem**: 'destined to the destruction.' Lentulus considered himself the 'third Cornelius.' See note on l. 10, p. 123.

11. **laeter**: deliberative subjunctive.

12. **prope**: this word softens the rather arrogant assumption.

14. **consulite**: note carefully when it takes the dative and when the accusative.

17. **mihi parcere**: Cicero wishes the senate not to refrain from energetic measures, on the ground that these measures would be perilous to him.

18. **pro eo ac**: = *aeque ac*; 'in proportion as.' *Ac* in the sense of 'as,' 'than,' is used after words of comparison and likeness.

20. **obtigerit**: this mild expression, in place of *acciderit*, may indicate Cicero's contempt for danger. — **nam . . . sapienti**: this passage should be noted as a fine example of an apothegm. Cf. Cicero's statement in *Phil.* 2, 119: *etenim si abhinc annos prope XX hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni!*

22. **consulari**: no higher honor offered itself to one who had been consul. — **sapienti**: 'a philosopher,' who looks upon death as a blessing. — **ille ferreus**: *i.e.* so hard-hearted.

23. **qui . . . movear**: relative clause of result. — **fratris**: Quintus Cicero, praetor-elect, therefore a member of the senate and present.

24. **horumque omnium**: his friends in the senate. — **lacrimis** = *maestitia*, not inconsistent with manly dignity.

25. **neque non**: 'and frequently.' H. 656 (553); LM. 675; A. 326, b (209, b); G. 449; B. 347, 2 (209, b); HB. 298, 2.

26. **uxor**: Terentia. See Introduction, p. 12.

27. **filia**: Tullia, now probably about eighteen. — **filius**: Marcus, now two years of age.

29. **gener**: C. Calpurnius Piso, the first husband of Tullia. Not being a senator, he stood with the crowd at the door.

30. **moveor**: in emphatic position; 'I *am* moved.' — **in eam partem uti**: 'to this end, namely, that.'

32. **una**: the sense here is 'common,' 'universal.'

33. **pereamus**: for the mood see H. 570, 1 (502, 2); LM. 871; A. 571, a (332, b); G. 644, R. 3; B. 284, 4; HB. 507, 4, d.

Page 136, 1. **incumbite**: a sea metaphor, and so a suggestion of the more distinct *procellas*.

3. **non Ti. Gracchus**: 'it is no Tiberius Gracchus who,' etc. It was illegal for the same person to hold office in successive years. Ti. Gracchus was tribune in 133. He was slain by senators for attempting, in 132, to secure reëlection. Consult notes on the early part of the first oration for details concerning persons mentioned here.

4. **agrarios**: *i.e.* the party which desired the division of the public lands among the poorer classes.

6. **in vestrae severitatis iudicium**: (freely) 'before your stern tribunal.'

8. **omnium**: genitive in apposition with the implied antecedent of *vestram*.

9. **manus**: 'their own handwriting.'

10. **servitia**: abstract for concrete = *servi*.

12. **nemo ne quidem**: H. 656, 2 (553, 2); LM. 762; A. 327, 1 (209, a); G. 445; B. 347, 2; HB. 298, 2, a.

15. **rei**: see vocabulary, *reus*.

16. **iudicavistis** means, 'you have, by the votes already passed, virtually passed judgment as a court.' *Iudiciis* refers to *decrees* of the senate, specified in what follows.

17. **singularibus verbis**: 'unusual terms.'

21. **in custodiam**: see note on p. 98, l. 7.

22. **honos**: cf. *Cat.* 3, 15, and 2.

23. **nemini**: observe the isolated position of this word. It is thrown into relief by this position. Find another word in this section similarly placed. — **praemia amplissima**: just what these were is unknown, but Sallust throws some light on the matter, *Cat.* 30: *si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta.*

25. **in custodiam**: cf. *Cat.* 3, 14.

28. **sed ego institui referre . . . praedicam quae sunt consulis**: the meaning is: 'but I have begun this speech as if I were performing the duty of laying the matter before you for the first time. (That was wrong. I must remember that this is not the beginning of the debate.) I shall rather perform my duty as consul, that is, shall sum up the debate so far.' This, after a little introduction, he does in sect. 7 and following. — **tamquam integrum**: 'as if it were a fresh matter.' *Integrum* takes the gender of the clauses *de . . . indicetis* and *de . . . censeatis.*

Page 137, 1. **consulis**: predicate genitive of possession. H. 447 (403); L M. 557; A. 343, b (214, c); G. 366; B. 198; H B. 340.

2. **versari**: 'was abroad.' — **nova . . . mala**: 'that certain hitherto unheard of evils were seething and stirring.'

3. **iam pridem videbam**: 'I had long seen.'

4. **haberi**: 'was being hatched.'

6. **ante noctem**: no decree could be passed after sunset.

7. **delatum sit**: *deferre* is to report a matter to the Senate without calling for a decision upon it.

8. **adfinis**: 'implicated.' — **latius opinione**: 'more widely than you think.' *Opinione* is ablative after the comparative with *quam* omitted.

10. **serpens**: participle.

11. **multas provincias**: Spain and Africa were the only provinces which were reported as promising aid to Catiline. — **sustentando et prolatando**: 'by forbearance or delay.'

14. **sententias**: 'proposals.' made as the senator declared his vote. — **D. Silani**: Decimus Silanus was now consul-elect. The order in which opinions were asked was: the *princeps* or dean of the senate first, then the ex-censors, then the *consulares*, and so on down to the *quaestorii*, observing within each rank the order of seniority. If there were consuls-elect or praetor-elect, their opinions were asked first.

Caesar, who later conquered Gaul and wrote the commentaries on the Gallic War, was praetor-elect, and therefore gave his opinion before the outgoing praetors.

16. **removet**: 'rejects.' Caesar's speech in Sallust, *Cat.* 51.

18. **pro**: 'in accordance with.' — **in . . . versatur**: 'proposes most severe penalties.'

21. **punctum**: accusative of extent of time.

24. **recordatur**: 'remembers,' without necessarily mentioning the instances.

26. **quietem**: 'a respite.' Translate the genitive by 'from.' Note the chiastic arrangement of words in this passage.

27. **itaque**, etc.: Cicero now himself comments upon Caesar's recommendation, trying to show that Caesar's apparently merciful proposition involves greater cruelty. Cicero thus very neatly turns the argument in favor of his own view of the question; namely, that the conspirators should be put to death. — **sapientes**: 'philosophers,' especially the Epicureans, who taught that death should be regarded with indifference. — **inviti** has an adverbial force.

Page 138, 1. **vincula**: 'loss of liberty.'

2. **singularem poenam**: this punishment by life imprisonment was indeed rare. A certain C. Veltienus, who cut off the fingers of his left hand in order to avoid military service, is said to have suffered this penalty. No other case has been recorded. — **municipiis**: 'provincial towns.' See note on p. 115, l. 20.

3. **habere**: 'to entail.'

4. **si velis**: the apodosis, *habere videtur*, etc., implies uncertainty and therefore satisfies the condition, as it does not essentially differ from *habeat*. If the towns were forced to undertake the custody of these criminals, it would be unjust; if they were merely asked to do so, there would be difficulty in inducing them to comply.

6. **putent**: subjunctive in characteristic clause.

7. **adiungit**: *Caesar* is the subject of this verb.

8. **eorum**: with *vincula*. — **horribilis custodias**: 'a pitiless surveillance.'

10. **sancit**: 'he provides in the decree.' — **per senatum, per populum**: that is, they cannot be set free by a *senatus consultum* or by a *lex* of the Comitia.

17. **eius modi quaedam supplicia**: 'some such punishment'; *i.e.* endless imprisonment in the other world. — **illi antiqui**: 'those well-known philosophers of ancient times.'

18. **voluerunt**: 'have wished us to believe.'

19. **ipsam**: 'by itself.'

20. **mea quid intersit**: 'what is for my own advantage.' For the use of *mea* see H. 449, 1 (408, 1); L M. 579; A. 355, a (222, a); G. 381; B. 211, 1, a; H B. 345.

22. **viam**: 'path,' 'course.'—**popularis**: *i.e.* 'in favor with the people's party.' Caesar was a leader of the democratic party, which was made up of a motley and impoverished crowd, who were unable to compete with the wealthy knights. Many of them were kept from starvation only by the free distributions of grain, and by being followers of rich men. Still, this party was a factor in the public life that had to be considered, and with its aid a man like Caesar could wield much influence.

23. **cognitore**: 'advocate.' The word means, 'one who acts for another in a lawsuit.'

25. **nescio an**: lit. 'I know not whether'; *i.e.* 'I am disposed to think.' It is followed by the subjunctive in an indirect question, and the force of the expression is more affirmative than negative.—**negoti**: 'trouble.'

26. **rationes**: 'considerations.'

28. **maiorum amplitudo**: the Julian gens boasted as noble ancestry as any in Rome.

29. **obsidem**: Caesar thus showed that he was in no way connected with the conspiracy, as some people thought.—**intellectum est**: supply the thought, 'as he was speaking.'

31. **vere popularem**: 'devoted to the people's true interests.' Note the different uses of *popularis*.

32. **istis**: *i.e.* those who belonged to the democratic party of the senate.—**non neminem**: 'many a one.' He may have had some one person in mind, as a type of the entire number.

33. **de capite**: the senate had no right to decide a question involving the life of a citizen. Such questions belonged to the people assembled in the Comitia Centuriata. Cicero advanced the claim that, by giving him powers of a dictator, the senate had set aside the laws, and that the conspirators could be put to death without going contrary to the constitutional requirements. On this point, concerning which the Romans themselves were not clear, hinged the legality of the execution.

Page 139, 1. **is** refers to *non neminem*.—**nudius tertius**: (*nunc dies tertius*), 'the day before yesterday.' Remember that the Romans

counted to-day one, yesterday two, and the day before yesterday three, thus counting three days.

3. **iam**: 'now, then.' This *iam* does not refer to time but to consequence in the thought. — **qui** has for its antecedent the subject implied in *iudicarit*.

4. **quaesitori**: this term usually indicates the presiding officer of a law court. Here it means 'leader of the investigation,' *i.e.* Cicero. — **decrerit**: for *decreverit*. It is subjunctive by attraction.

5. **de tota re et causa**: *i.e.* concerning the body of facts and concerning their legal aspect. — **at vero** contrasts Caesar with the antecedent of *non neminem*. — **intellegit**: not *dicit*, as Caesar has not actually expressed such an opinion. Cicero very tactfully implies that it is Caesar's opinion at any rate.

6. **legem Semproniam**: the law of C. Gracchus (123), which provided '*ne de capite civium Romanorum iniussu populi iudicaretur*.' The *Lex Valeria* and the *Lex Porcia* (see *Cat.* 1, 28) on the same subject were older than the *Lex Sempronia*, it practically being only a reaffirmation of them. Cicero seeks to prove that Caesar in fact, by his presence and by taking part in the discussion, recognizes the fact that citizens by their acts may place themselves beyond the protection of the law. This statement is not supportable, and was practically a trick on the part of Cicero, since he had no better basis for his argument.

8. **denique**: 'and even' (what gives further proof). — **latorem**: Gaius Sempronius Gracchus.

12. **etiam**: 'still' = any longer. — **popularem**: 'the people's friend.' — **mitissimus**: ironical.

13. **dubitat**: 'hesitate.'

15. **se iactare**: 'vaunt himself.'

19. **sive, sive**: 'if, or if.' — **hoc**: 'this course,' recommended by Caesar.

20. **comitem**: after the senate adjourned, Cicero would address the people, accompanied by the proposer of the law. — **contionem**: an assembly which listened to speeches, but had no power to transact business, as did the *comitia*.

23. **obtinebo**: 'I shall maintain.' — **eam**: supply *sententiam*, referring to that of Silanus.

26. **ita mihi . . . liceat ut ego moveor**: 'so may it be permitted me to enjoy with you the safety of the state, as I am influenced,' etc. *Ita* is explained by the *ut*-clause. *Ita* denotes an emphatic statement, almost like 'so help me heaven,' and *liceat* is optative subjunctive.

27. **quod**: 'so far as.'

29. **videor . . . videre**: this figure, which we term 'vision,' is called by the Greeks, 'placing things before the eyes,' a vivid word picture.

Page **140**, 2. **animo**: 'in imagination.' — **sepulta in patria**: 'upon the grave of their fatherland.'

3. **insepultos**: remember the importance attached to burial.

4. **mihi**: dative of reference.

6. **purpuratum**: an expression borrowed from the East, where ministers and men of rank dressed magnificently. The word may be translated 'minister of state.'

8. **familias**: an archaic genitive. H. 79, 2 (49, 1); LM. 137; A. 43, b (36, b); G. 29, R. I.; B. 21, 2, a; HB. 66, 1.

12. **praebebo**: not present, because there is yet much to be done.

14. **supplicium sumpserit**: the idiom means to 'inflict punishment.' *De* adds the idea 'upon.'

15. **an**: = *an potius*.

16. **importunus**: the derivation may throw light upon the meaning of this word, and assist in the comprehension of its exact force here. The prefix *in* is negative. *Portunus* is connected with *porto*, 'carry along.' The word literally means 'not conducive,' 'improper,' 'in opposition to public and private morality'; hence as here, 'cruel,' 'unjust.'

17. **qui non lenierit**: 'because he does not alleviate.' Characteristic clause with an added idea of cause.

18. **in**: 'in the case of.'

21. **id egerunt ut**: 'made it their object to.'

22. **vestigiis**: 'ruins.'

23. **deflagrati**: Cicero stands almost alone in using this verb in the passive.

26. **fama**: 'the reproach.' — **nisi vero**: ironical. H. 575, 8 (507, N. 1); LM. 928; A. 525, b (315, b); G. 591, R. 4; B. 306, 5; HB. 578, 3, a. — **L. Caesar**: Lucius Julius Caesar Strabo, consul with Figulus in 64, is chiefly remembered because his sister was the mother of Marc Antony. After the death of her first husband she married P. Lentulus, the conspirator.

30. **avum suum**: M. Fulvius Flaccus, an adherent of C. Gracchus, whose fate he shared. He sent his son to the consul to intercede for him. Opimius immediately ordered the young man to be put to death.

32. **quorum quod simile factum**: 'what deed of theirs (of Flaccus and his son) could compare with this?'

33. **largitionis voluntas**: 'designs for lavish giving.'

Page **141**, 1. **contentio**: 'rivalry.' C. Gracchus advocated selling grain to the people at a low rate and transferred the *iudicia* from the senate to the knights, thus setting the orders at variance. Cicero must not be taken as accusing C. Gracchus of deep designs against the state. He makes light of these acts of Gracchus in comparison with the designs of Catiline and the conspirators.

2. **avus Lentuli**: cf. *Cat.* 3, 10.

4. **ne quid de . . . minueretur**: 'in order that the majesty of the state should not suffer detriment.'— **hic**: in contrast with *ille*.

5. **servitia**: cf. *Cat.* 3, 13.

6. **nos**: Cicero includes in this term himself and the rest of the senate.

9. **censeo**: ironical. *Vereamini* is dependent upon it. Note carefully the constructions which follow verbs of fearing.

10. **severius**: 'too severe.'

11. **remissione poenae**: 'by softening the penalty.'

14. **exaudio**: note the force of the compound; 'hear from about me.' In translation 'hear' is sufficient.

16. **vereri ut**: 'to fear that not.'

17. **praesidi**: 'force.'

20. **imperium**: the authority of the *Comitia*. A revolution would substitute the authority of a tyrant. —**retinendum**: 'maintaining.'

24. **templi ac loci**: 'the temple (of Concord) and the region about it.'

26. **sentirent unum atque idem**: 'were actuated by one and the same feeling.'

Page **142**, 1. **ceteri**: Cicero omits none of the classes of citizens. He mentions in turn the *Equites*, the office holders, the freeborn citizens, freedmen, and the slaves.

2. **ad**: 'concerning.'

4. **summam ordinis**: 'precedence in rank.' The whole sentence means; 'who yield to you precedence in rank and wisdom so as to rival you in patriotism.' *Ita* means what we might express in English by 'it is true, but.'

9. **ex**: 'after.'

10. **dissensione**: see Introduction, p. 17. The Sempronian Law transferred the judicial power from the senate to the knights. It was

restored to the senate by Sulla. The Aurelian Law shared the power between the senate, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury. In this way a reconciliation was brought about.

28. **tribunos aerarios**: little is known about them. They were tribal officials, charged with the duty of collecting tribute, and looking after the public registers. The *Lex Aurelia* gave them the rank of a separate *ordo*, next in importance to that of the *equites*. — **fortissimos viros**: 'excellent citizens.' — **scribas**: the *scribae publici* served the different magistrates. Some of them, acting as secretaries, recorded acts and decisions, and were called *scribae librarii*; others kept the treasury accounts and were designated *scribae quaestorii*. They were paid by the state and were assigned by lot. The drawing took place at the west end of the forum near the Temple of Concord. The most important assignment was made on the fifth of December (the Nones), the date of this speech.

29. **frequentasset**: 'had drawn together in large number.'

30. **ad salutem communem**: 'to thoughts of our public safety.'

31. **ingenuorum**: 'freeborn citizens,' opposed to *libertini*, 'freedmen,' who had become citizens.

Page 143, 3. **operae pretium est**: 'it is worth while.'

4. **sua virtute**: 'by their own merit.' — **fortunam**: 'the advantages.' In fact, their privileges were not as complete as they themselves desired. — **huius civitatis**: 'of this citizenship.'

6. **summo loco**: for the ablative see H. 485, 2 (425, 2); L M. 626; A. 429, 1 (258 f.); G. 385, N. 1; B. 228, 1, b; H B. 436.

11. **servus**: note the emphatic position of this word, and emphasize your translation accordingly. — **qui modo**: = *dum modo*; 'if only.' For the proviso see H. 587 (513, I); L M. 920; A. 535, d (320); G. 627 R. 1; B. 310, II; H B. 529.

13. **haec**: said with a gesture pointing out the stately buildings of the forum.

16. **tabernas**: 'the shops' of the small tradesmen.

19. **tam aut . . . perditi**: 'either so wretched in their lot or so abandoned in spirit.'

23. **immo vero** corrects the preceding statement, and connects *universum*; 'nay, the whole.'

25. **instrumentum**: 'means of subsistence.' The word literally means 'tool' of whichever trade a man pursues, and is here used metaphorically.

26. **opera**: 'opportunity to work.'

27. **quorum** refers to *ii qui in tabernis sunt*, above.

28. **futurum fuit**: 'would have been the result.' *Futurum fuit* takes the place of *fuisset*. *Incensis* = *si incensae essent*. For the form of the apodosis see H. 582 (511, 2); L M. 941; A. 517, d (308, d); G. 597, R. 3; B. 304, 3, b; H B. 581, a.

30. **praesidia**: 'means of defense.'

Page 144, 4. **obsessa**, etc.: this beautiful example of prosopopoeia recalls those found in *Cat.* 1, 18 and 27.

6. **vitam**: translate by the plural in English.

7. **arcem et Capitolium**: these were the two peaks of the Mons Capitolinus.

8. **illum ignem**: these words may have been accompanied by a gesture pointing out the Temple of Vesta in the forum below. The Penates of the city and of the Roman people were kept in this temple.

20. **quae facultas**: = *cuius rei copia* in more colloquial style. Translate 'an advantageous circumstance which.'

24. **in civili causa**: 'on a political issue.'

25. **cogitate . . . delerit** combines two statements: *cogitate quantis laboribus imperium fundatum sit* and *cogitate unam noctem paene id delevisse*. Translate: 'consider by what toil the empire, which one night nearly destroyed, was established.' The night was that of December 2, when the encounter at the Mulvian bridge took place.

28. **non modo**: supply *non possit* with *confici*. Cf. note on p. 71, l. 18.

32. **princeps**: 'foremost.'

Page 145, 1. **sententiam**: *rogandam* is understood, since the consul would not pronounce a *sententia* himself.

5. **aliquando alicuius furore et scelere**: 'some time by some one's criminal passion.' It was five years after (58 B.C.) that Clodius proposed and carried a motion for Cicero's banishment.

7. **dignitas**: 'authority.' *Vestra* refers to the senate, *rei publicae* to the entire executive power of the state. — **me factorum**: for this construction with impersonal verbs see H. 457 (410, IV); L M. 585; A. 354, b (221, b); G. 377; B. 209, 1; H B. 352, 1.

9. **vitae**: 'during life'; lit., 'of life'; contrasted with *mors*.

10. **quanta**: 'as that with which.'

12. **gratulationem** has about the same meaning as *supplicationem* in section 10 of this oration.

13. **Scipio**: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the elder Scipio, was the hero of the Second Punic War. He defeated Hannibal at Zama in 202.

14. **in Africam redire atque Italia decedere**: an example of a figure called *hysteron proteron*, in which the order of the facts is reversed.

15. **alter Africanus**: P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus or Africanus, the younger Scipio, son of Aemilius Paulus, was adopted by the son of the elder Scipio. He destroyed Carthage in 146 and Numantia in 133.

17. **Paulus**: L. Aemilius Paulus defeated and captured Perses at Pydna in 168. — **currum . . . honestavit**: in the triumphal procession.

18. **aeterna gloria**: may be translated 'held in eternal honor.'

19. **bis**: Marius defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae in 102 and the Cimbri near Vercellae in 101.

21. **isdem**: modifies *regionibus ac terminis*. Note the hyperbole.— **quibus**: 'as.'

25. **quo revertantur**: 'a country to which they may return.'

26. **uno loco**: 'in one respect.' — **condicio**: 'the consequences' or 'the circumstances.'

27. **serviunt**: = *servi fiunt*.

Page **146**, 3. **reppuleris**: the subjunctive with indefinite subject. — **possis**: potential subjunctive.

10. **coniunctionem**: the union of the Senate with the Equites was soon after broken. Cato, perceiving the corruption of the judges from the Equestrian order, had a *senatus consultum* passed against them, and also insisted upon a strict account of the farmed taxes. This collection of taxes at second hand was an industry peculiar to the Equestrian order.

11. **conspirationem**: 'unanimity.' The derivation of this word, *con*, 'together' and *spiro*, 'breathe,' shows its force. *Spiro* lends itself easily to metaphor as our English 'aspire' and 'inspire' indicate.

13. **pro imperio**: 'in place of military command,' Cicero gave up to his colleague, Antonius, the rich province of Macedonia, which fell to him by lot, in order to secure the coöperation of Antonius (see Introductory Sketch, p. 87). Cicero did not expect to have an opportunity to command an army as ruler of a province.

14. **pro triumpho**: Cicero says in his letter, *ad Fam.* 15, 4, 13, *spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi*. In connection with this passage

it should be remembered that two consuls and eight praetors, after their year of office, ruled provinces as proconsuls or propraetors. The Senate assigned the provinces, but in the case of the consuls allowed the consuls to settle between themselves which of the consular provinces each should take.

15. **propter custodiam**: *propter* indicates that on account of which an action is performed.

16. **pro clientelis**, etc.: provincial towns and the provinces themselves often chose as their 'patroni,' to look after their interests in Rome, men who had formerly governed them. The 'hospitium' was the privilege of being entertained enjoyed by the 'patronus' when sojourning in the country of his 'clients,' and by the provincials when they visited Rome. These connections brought dignity and profit to a Roman ex-governor possessing them.

17. **quae tamen . . . comparo**: 'which (*clientelae hospitiaque*) nevertheless I preserve (*i.e.* if I have formed them) no less zealously than I acquire more.'

18. **igitur**: resumes the thought. Our word 'then' may be similarly employed. *Pro igitur*: 'in place, then, of.' — **pro meis . . . studiis**: *pro* here means 'in view of,' 'in return for.'

27. **suo solius periculo**: *solius* agrees with the genitive idea in *suo*. Cf. the phrase *mea ipsius manu*. See H. 446, 3 (398, 3); L M. 555; A, 302, e (197, e); G. 321, R. 2; B. 243, 3; H B. 339, b.

29. **de aris ac focis**: this was a formula explained by the fact that the hearth in the *atrium* was at the same time the altar of the *penates*.

Page 147, 3. **ut instituistis**: *i.e.* 'when you voted for the death penalty for the conspirators.'

5. **per se ipsum praestare**: 'execute by his unaided effort.' *Praestare* implies the assuming of personal responsibility; *e.g. officium praestitero*, 'I shall discharge my duty.'

PRO ARCHIA

Page 149, 1. **si quid est in me ingeni**: we say 'I have.' *In* with ablative denotes possession of an (abstract) quality. — **quod**: in English, 'and it.'

2. **si qua**: these are, to all intents, a single word. — **in qua**: 'and in this.'

3. **non infitior**: litotes.

4. **ratio ac disciplina**: 'systematic knowledge and training.'

5. **a qua abhorruisse**: 'with which has been at variance.'

6. **A. Licinius**: Archias's Roman name, used by Cicero for its effect on a Roman judge, was the name of the gens of his patrons, the Luculli.

10. **inde usque**: 'so far back.' — **principem**: 'leader.'

11. **ad suscipiendam**: our preposition is 'in.' — **rationem**: 'plan.'

13. **aliquando**: 'at any time.' — **a quo . . . huic**: the English takes this order: subject, verb (*debemus ferre*), object, phrase (*huic*), modifier of pronoun (clause beginning *a quo*).

14. **ceteris**: 'the rest.' — **alios**: 'some.' Something of the effect of assonance is produced by *opitulari*, *opem*, *servare*, *salutem*.

18. **neque**: 'but not.' — **ratio aut disciplina**: repetition of the expression used a few lines above. *Dicendi* may be translated 'of oratory.' — **ne nos quidem**, etc.: 'even I (the professional orator) have not,' etc.

Page 150, 2. **quaestione**: see Introduction, p. 31, "The Praetors."

4. **severissimos**: 'very strict.'

5. **consuetudine iudiciorum**: 'the ordinary methods of courts.'

6. **forensi sermone**: 'the language of the Forum.'

7. **vobis**: before this word the English needs 'and.' — **ut**: connects the preceding with *patiamini* in l. 12.

10. **hoc concursu, hac humanitate**: attendant circumstance. We use 'in' or 'with' or 'in the presence of.'

11. **praetore**: Q. Cicero, a cultured man.

12. **humanitatis ac litterarum**: 'of literary culture.' — **paulo liberius**: 'a little more freely (than usual).'

13. **in eius modi persona, quae**: 'for a person such as.'

14. **uti**: infinitive.

16. **quod si**: 'if this.'

19. **asciscendum fuisse**: the direct expression was *asciscendus erat*. H. 582 (511, 2); L M. 940; A. 517, c (308, c); G. 597, R. 3; B. 304, 3, b; H B. 581, a. Cf. this section with *pro lege Manilia*, sect. 49.

22. **se contulit**: 'he devoted himself.' It is coördinate with *excessit*, both being governed by *ut primum*.

23. **loco nobili**: 'of noble rank.' — **celebri**: 'populous,' not 'celebrated.' — **urbe**: H. 393, 7 (363, 4, 2); A. 282, d (184, c); G. 411, R. 3; B. 169, 4; H B. 452, a.

Page 152, 1. **adventus**: notice the plural, but translate by the singular in English.

3. **tum**: this was a time of peace and prosperity. Civil war interrupted the progress of Greek culture in Italy. — **disciplinarum**: 'systems of training.'

6. **non neglegebantur**: 'were diligently pursued.' Notice the avoidance of a repetition of *colebantur*.

9. **ingeniis**: 'the powers' of such men as Archias.

10. **celebritate famae**: 'widespread reputation.'

11. **Mario et Catulo**: consuls in 102. See note, l. 21, below.

12. **nactus est**: 'he chanced upon.'

14. **Luculli**: Lucius and Marcus, distinguished for literary culture.

16. **ingeni, litterarum, naturae, virtutis**: genitives with a naturally supplied *erat;* 'it was a mark of.'

20. **Metello Numidico**: called *Numidicus* because of his participation in the Jugurthine War. — **M. Aemilio**: (Scauro). Consul in 115.

21. **Q. Catulo**: his nomen was *Lutatius*. Consul in 78. He opposed the Manilian Law. His father was consul in 102. — **L. Crasso**: the great orator.

22. **Drusum**: this was the tribune Marcus Livius Drusus, slain in an attempt to secure reforms in the interest of the Italians. — **Octavios**: a family of which Cn. Octavius, consul with Cinna in 87, was the most famous. — **Catonem**: it is uncertain who is meant, perhaps the father of Cato Uticensis.

23. **Hortensiorum**: one of the Hortensii was Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, the orator. — **devinctam consuetudine**: 'closely attached by familiar intercourse.'

26. **si qui**: 'whoever.'

29. **Heracleam**: after the war with Pyrrhus, Heraclea became a near ally of Rome.

33. **Silvani lege**: M. Plotius (or Plautius) Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo were authors of a law (*Lex Plautia-Papiria*) by which all Italian *civitates*, which had not yet full Roman citizenship, received this grant. Foreigners living in these towns were provided for in the section of the law which is quoted.

Page 153, 3. **essent professi**: 'had made declaration' (of intended citizenship).

5. **Q. Metellum**: holding office in 89.

10. **religione**: 'reverence,' *i.e.* for the sanctity of an oath. — **fide**: 'honesty.'

13. **publico**: 'official.'

14. **hic**: 'at this point.'

15. **desideras**: 'you ask for.'

17. **ad**: 'regarding.'

20. **religionem**: 'scrupulous word.' — **municipi**: Heraclea was now a *municipium*.

22. **tabulas**: 'records.' The word *publicae* is often added to *tabula* in this sense. — **idem dicis**: 'you yourself say.'

24. **sedem conlocavit**: 'made the abiding place.'

26. **professione**: a metonymy = 'set of declarations.' — **conlegioque praetorum**: 'body of praetors.'

Page **154**, 1. **cum**: 'although.' — **Appi**: Appius Claudius, father of Clodius.

2. **Gabini**: Aulus Gabinius, proposer of the law giving Pompey command in Asia. He was convicted of extortion.

5. **L. Lentulum**: it is not known who is meant.

6. **venerit**: H. 550 (495, VI); L M. 806; A. 485, c (287, c); G. 513; B. 268, 6; H B. 478.

7. **igitur**: like our word 'well,' introducing a statement.

10. **etenim credo**: 'for in that case I am to believe.' — **mediocribus**: indirect object.

11. **arte**: H. 477, II (421, II); L M. 651; A. 409, a (248, c, 2); G. 405; B. 218, 8; H B. 425.

12. **Graecia**: the Greek cities of Italy. — **impertiebant**: note the tense with *cum*.

14. **largiri**: 'lavishly bestow.' This word is to be supplied with *noluisse*.

16. **legem Papiam**: proposed by the tribune C. Papius in 65. The law provided that foreigners (*peregrini*) not having Roman privileges nor having the Latin right should be expelled (*exterminari*). It was under this law that Gratius accused Archias in 62.

18. **illis**: the records of the Greek cities in which he had lived, other than Heraclea.

19. **census**: the censors made lists of the citizens every five years.

20. **est obscurum**: ironical. — **proximis censoribus**: lit. 'in the time of the last censors.' Translate, 'at the last census.'

21. **apud exercitum**: in the Mithridatic War.

22. **superioribus**: 'at the former census.' — **primis**: 'at the first census,' that of Julius and Crassus, *i.e.* the first after the passage of the law of Silvanus and Carbo.

23. **Iulio et Crasso**: the entire expression would be, *primis censoribus, Iulio et Crasso*. See note above on *proximis censoribus*. Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Crassus were censors, but did not make a new enrollment of citizens.

Page 155, 2. **se iam tum gessisse**: 'at that time had already conducted himself.'

3. **criminaris**: 'charge.'

4. **iudicio**: 'opinion,' 'judgment.' — **in iure esse versatum**: 'acted as if having the rights.' — **testamentum fecit**, etc.: only a Roman could do these things.

6. **in beneficiis**: only a citizen could receive rewards from the treasury. Translate, 'for a reward.'

8. **numquam**: this negative is strengthened by the two *neque's*, which follow.

9. **revincetur**: 'will be put in the wrong.' This ends the strictly legal argument. In Greece, in classic times, the contestants in a lawsuit had orations written for them and pleaded their own cases. It was customary, in such an oration, for a man to tell of his achievements, services to the state, etc. It would not, therefore, be a departure from Greek models to introduce into this oration a relation of Archias's literary achievements. Cicero goes farther when he adds general praise of literature.

11. **ubi**: 'a place where.' It equals *id quo*, and with *reficiatur* makes a purpose clause. H. 589, II (497, I); A. 531, 2 (317, b); B. 282, 2; HB. 502, 2, ft. N. 4.

12. **convicio**: 'jangle.'

13. **suppetere nobis posse**: 'that we should be able to have in store.'

17. **vero**: denotes opposition. Cicero is contrasting himself with others with different predilections, the *ceteros* mentioned in the next clause. The *me* below is also emphatic, 'why should *I* be ashamed (of my devotion to letters).'

21. **vivo**: with *ita* it has a perfect force. — **nullius**: remember that this is the genitive of *nemo*. — **tempore**: 'the emergency.'

25. **ceteris**: dative. — **quantum**: modified by *temporum*.

27. **ipsam requiem**: 'mere rest.'

28. **tempestivis conviviis**: 'daylight dinners'; *i.e.* at hours usually devoted to business.

30. **recolenda**: freely, 'reviewing.'

32. **oratio et facultas**: 'facility in public speaking.'

33. **amicorum periculis defuit**: 'has failed my friends in danger.'

Page **156**, 1. **illa**: 'those qualities.' He goes on to explain.

2. **nisi mihi suasissem**: 'had I not been convinced.'

4. **laudem atque honestatem**: 'reputation with honor.'

6. **parvi**: 'of small account'; genitive of indefinite value. — **ducenda**: in the sense of 'think,' 'consider.'

10. **voces**: 'the sayings.'

12. **imagines**: 'ideal representations.'

13. **expressas**: 'well pictured.'

23. **habitu**: 'nature,' 'character.'

27. **contendo**: 'claim.'

28. **ratio . . . doctrinae**: 'really systematic and developing education.'

29. **nescio quid**: 'something.'

31. **Africanum**: the younger, adopted grandson of the elder Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal, and himself the destroyer of Carthage. — **C. Laelium**: a friend of Scipio Aemilianus.

32. **L. Furium**: consul in 136. — **moderatissimos et continentissimos**: 'well balanced and self-controlled.' In the case of these men Greek letters had not injured character.

Page **157**, 1. **M. Catonem**: Cato, the Censor, who died in 149. He was a violent aristocrat and was considered a typical Roman of the old school. He wrote books on trite subjects.

2. **adiuvarentur**: it has the use of the pluperfect here. H. 579, 1 (510, N. 2); LM. 939; A. 517, a (308, a); G. 597, R. 1; B. 304, 2; HB. 581.

5. **animi remissionem**: 'mental occupation.'

6. **liberalissimam**: 'most noble.'

7. **ceterae**: sc. *remissiones*. — **temporum sunt omnium**: 'belong to all times.'

12. **sensu nostro gustare**: 'taste their excellence with our own powers of feeling.'

14. **videremus** takes the same form as *deberemus* by attraction.

16. **Rosci**: a distinguished actor. He was a friend of Cicero, who defended him in an extant oration.

18. **corporis**: owing to the distance from most of the audience, the ancient actor made more use of motion of the body than of vocal or facial expression.

20. **motus**: 'activities.' — **celeritatem**: 'prompt readiness.' An example follows.

26. **revocatum**: sc. *Archiam.*

28. **ad laudem perveniret**: 'equaled the reputation.'

33. **mentis viribus excitari**: 'is stimulated by mental powers.'

Page 158, 2. **Ennius**: Quintus Ennius, considered the first great Latin poet. Fragments of his *Annales* remain to us.

11. **barbaria**: 'barbarous nation.'

14. **bestiae**: the allusion may be to the Orpheus and the Arion myths.

16. **consistunt**: 'keep their place.'

20. **Homerum**: besides the cities mentioned, three others are said to have claimed Homer. The verse: Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis Rhodos, Argos, Athenae, names seven cities claiming the great poet. Cicero's *permulti* would indicate that there were other claimants.

32. **olim**: 'once,' explained by the following sentence.

Page 159, 1. **Cimbricas**: Marius defeated the Teutones and Cimbri in 102 and 101.

5. **Themistoclem illum**: 'the famous Themistocles.' He was the foremost Greek at the time of the second Persian invasion. The victory of Salamis was due to his leadership.

7. **acroama**: 'entertainment.' The word also meant performer as well as performance.

9. **L. Plotium**: poet and teacher of rhetoric.

12. **totum**: not to be taken literally; parts of the war not favorable to Lucullus were omitted.

Page 160, 2. **natura et regione**: hendiadys. The region is mountainous.

4. **non maxima manu**: 'with a very small force.' Battle of Tigranocerta, fought in 69.

7. **nostra**: 'as ours.' The battle will remain a glorious memory because celebrated by Archias, a Roman citizen.

10. **pugna navalis**: date 73.

11. **quae quorum . . . ab eis**: 'and by those by whose intellectual powers these achievements are extolled (*efferuntur*).'

14. **in sepulcro Scipionum**: the tomb was discovered in 1780. On one of the sarcophagi, removed to the Vatican museum, now stands a bust, also found in the tomb and often supposed to be the likeness here mentioned. The tomb is on the Appian Way.

16. **huius**: M. Porcius Cato, called Uticensis after his death by suicide at Utica, seems to have been present at the trial.

18. **Maximi**: Q. Fabius Maximus, famous for his deeds in the Second Punic War. — **Marcelli**: M. Claudius Marcellus conquered Syracuse in 212. — **Fulvii**: M. Fulvius Flaccus Nobilior, consul in 189, conqueror of Aetolia.

20. **Rudinum**: Ennius was born at Rudiae in Calabria.

21. **Heracliensem**: the contrast is between Rudiae, a village, and Heraclea, an important city.

22. **civitatibus**: dative of agent.

Page 161, 1. **Graeca leguntur**: 'Greek is read.' Greek culture was so respected and cherished that cultivated people throughout the ancient world read Greek literature. Latin was, as Cicero proceeds to say, confined to Latium and the Colonies.

4. **quo, eodem**: 'whither, thither.'

5. **cum, tum**: see vocabulary under *cum*.

6. **ampla**: 'valuable.'

15. **noster hic Magnus**: Pompey.

16. **Theophanem**: a Greek historian.

18. **dulcedine quadam gloriae**: 'by a certain charm of the desire for fame.'

21. **ut . . . donaretur**: object of *perficere*.

22. **potuit**: for the indicative in a condition contrary to fact, see H. 583 (511, 1, N. 3); L M. 940; A. 517, c (308, c); G. 597, R. 3; B. 304, 3, a. Translate the *ut*-clause, 'to succeed in acquiring the gift of citizenship.'

23. **credo**: as usual when parenthetic, ironical. — **hunc petentem**: 'this man if he had asked.'

24. **quem**: subject accusative of *iubere*.

25. **populo**: 'the common folk.' — **epigrammæ**: 'poetical address.'

26. **tantum modo . . . longiusculis**: 'merely an affair of alternating lines somewhat long,' perhaps elegiac meter. — **eis rebus**: goods that had been seized in war.

31. **quid ?**: 'again ?'

Page 162, 1. **pingue quiddam peregrinum**: these are cognate accusatives.

4. **prae nobis ferendum**: 'to be boasted of.'

5. **gloria**: 'ambition for fame.'

7. **in eo ipso**: 'in this very connection.'

8. **praedicari de se ac nominari**: 'to be talked about and, what is more, mentioned by name.'

10. **Brutus**: Decimus Junius Brutus, consul in 138. He subdued Lusitania.

11. **Acci**: Lucius Accius, a tragic poet.

12. **iam vero** denotes transition. 'And again.'

23. **attigit, inchoavit**: 'has set for a theme,' 'made a beginning.'

24. **quibus auditis**: 'and upon hearing of this.'

25. **hunc adornavi**: 'provided him with materials.'

Page **163**, 1. **nos**: direct object of *exerceamus*.

5. **angeretur**: passive used in a middle or reflexive sense.

6. **nunc**: almost equivalent to 'but in fact.'

10. **an vero**: 'or indeed.' The first half of a double question is often suppressed.

14. **imagines**: Cicero refers to the *ius imaginum*.

16. **virtutum**: 'good qualities.'

18. **expressam**: see note above on *expressas*, p. 156, l. 13.

22. **sapientissimi homines**: the Greek philosophers.

25. **pudore eo**: 'with such a sense of honor.'

27. **vetustate**: 'duration (of friendship).'

Page **164**, 5. **divina**: poets were considered sacred.

6. **ut**: belongs with *accipiatis*. *Eum* is the object of *accipiatis*.

19. **qui iudicium exercet**: the praetor, Quintus Cicero.

PRO MVRENA

Page **166**, 1. **precatus sum**: one of the consuls presided at the election of new consuls. — **iudices**: these were senators and knights in proportion of one third and two thirds.

2. **illo die**: consular elections were held in July. — **auspicato**: ablative absolute; 'when I had taken the auspices.'

3. **renuntiavi**: 'announced the election of.' Each century cast one vote.

4. **fidei magistratuique**: 'to the good name of my term of office.'

7. **obtinendum**: 'upholding.' — **et ut**: *i.e. et idem precor ut*.

Page **167**, 6. **me rogante**: as presiding officer Cicero 'asked' the people whom they desired as consuls.

9. **communicata**: 'imparted.'

10. **commendat**: 'committed them.'

15. **susceptio causae**: 'my taking the case.'

Page **168**, 6. **M. Catoni**: Marcus Porcius Cato, grandson of the great censor, born in 95. He was a Stoic and was famous for stern-

ness, uprightness, and moral character. He died by his own hand at Utica, in Africa, in 46, rather than yield to Caesar. — **rationis**: 'of philosophic system.'

7. **momenta**: 'the relative claims.'

9. **legis ambitus**: 'of a law concerning bribery.' Cicero's law was especially severe.

10. **tam severe gesto**: 'being characterized by so great severity (toward criminals).'

13. **rationem probem**: 'justify the motive.'

16. **coniunctior**: 'nearer.'

18. **in eis rebus repetendis . . . sunt**: 'in a suit for damages in regard to things which belong to a formal purchase.'

19. **periculum praestare**: 'undergo the risk.' Cicero compares himself to one who has sold something, guaranteeing his ownership of the thing sold, so that he must indemnify the purchaser or prove his ownership if the original bill is attacked by a third party.

22. **auctor, defensor**: 'prompter, preventer.'

23. **non nullis in civitatibus**: *e.g.* in Athens.

25. **adfecto**: dative, indirect object of *daretur*.

27. **solventibus**: sc. *navem*; 'starting the ship,' 'setting sail.'

29. **rationem**: 'the state.'

32. **iactatione**: continues the figure of the returning mariner.

33. **rei publicae**: 'of state affairs.'

Page 169, 8. **quod . . . tuli**: 'as for my having proposed.' — **ita tuli . . . non abrogarem**: 'I proposed it in such manner as not to repeat that law which I had long since proposed to myself,' etc.

11. **defenderem**: 'I maintained.'

18. **has partis** (accusative plural) **egi**: 'I have played this part.' The figure in this passage is taken from the drama.

20. **personam**: 'character' (as in a play).

21. **impositam**: sc. *personam*. — **huius imperi**: 'of my high office.'

31. **Ser. Sulpici**: a talented advocate, who was praetor in 65 and stood for the consulship against Murena in 63. If the election of Murena should be declared void, he might obtain the vacant office; hence his willingness to believe Murena guilty of bribery. He actually became consul in 51. Cicero's espousal of the cause of Murena did not interrupt the friendship and intimacy existing between Cicero and Sulpicius.

Page 170, 2. **vosque adhibere arbitros**: 'call you in as umpires.'

4. **accuseris**: the subjunctive is used because the sentence involving the condition expresses a general truth. The indicative in the sentence's condition would imply too strongly the existence of the fact, instead of, as is desired, merely suggesting a supposed case. Cf. *si studui* at the beginning of section 8.

5. **petitione**: 'canvass (for the consulship).' — **studia atque officia**: 'dutiful zeal.'

8. **gratioso**: adjective used as noun.

9. **mutata ratio est**: 'conditions are altered.'

14. **eodem pacto**: 'for the same reason'; lit. 'contract.'

18. **in capitis dimicatione**: 'in a struggle for his civil rights.' Degradation in rank and exile were the penalties in case of conviction of bribery under Cicero's law.

19. **honoris contentione**: 'contest for civil honors.'

20. **quae si . . . esset**: 'if there were not this chance (for defending Murena).'

22. **infamiam inussisset**: 'would have branded upon me the disgrace.'

24. **tanti periculi**: to avoid the cacophony of a literal translation of the two modifiers of *causam*, these words may be translated, 'attended with great peril.'

29. **adeptus sis**: cf. *accuseris* in sect. 7. Supply *haec tanta praemia*.

33. **desidiam**: object of *coarguit*, as are also *superbiam* and *improbitatem*.

Page **172**, 4. **coniecturam**: 'inference,' 'conclusion.' — **studio**: 'profession,' *i.e.* of advocate.

6. **respondere**: 'to give legal advice.' The word as used here is a Latin law term.

7. **te advocato**: ablative absolute.

8. **causa cadere**: 'to lose his suit.' The expression specifically applies to a suit thrown out of court for defect in the form of presentation. The literal translation would be 'fall from his case.'—**fontes**: 'resources.'

13. **magni**: 'as of great value.' The argument here is that, inasmuch as all the great lawyers were friends of Servius, if this friendship were to keep them out of the case, Murena would be poorly defended.

15. **patronum**: it will be noted that, as in our time, even the lowest criminal must have a legal defender. — **ego . . . defuissem**: a compound sentence of three members. The main verb in each is *defuissem*.

18. **ut tecum agam** is parenthetic; 'to give you your answer.'

22. **amici periculo**: freely, a 'friend in peril.'

23. **tris partis**: 'three divisions' or 'counts.'

Page **173**, 2. **lex accusatoria**: 'the custom in accusations.'

3. **vera facultas**: 'a real opportunity.'

5. **Asia**: *i.e.* Murena's conduct in Asia.

7. **meruisset**: sc. *stipendia*; 'had performed military service.'

9. **sedere in equis**: the triumphing general rode in a chariot. His sons, of the age represented by *praetextati*, not little children but under seventeen years of age, rode on horseback beside the chariot.

10. **huic fugiendum fuit**: 'ought to have refused?' The *donis* mentioned were insignia conferred for bravery. The father had been *legatus* in Asia, appointed by Sulla.

11. **ut**: concessive.

21. **meruisse**: dependent upon *virtutis fuit*.

23. **meruisse**: dependent upon *pietatis fuit*.

27. **saltatorem**: 'dancer.' It may be that Cato accused Murena of having imitated a Greek dancer at some banquet of young men. — **maledictum est**: 'this is abusive language.'

28. **sin falso**: sc. *obicitur, maledictum est*.

29. **maledici conviciatoris**: 'of an insulting calumniator.'

30. **adripere maledictum**: 'catch up abuse.'

Page **174**, 3. **tempestivi convivi**: 'of an all-night banquet.' The adjective literally means 'early,' *i.e.* beginning early and lasting long. The regular heavy meal of the day (*cena*) began about three o'clock.

4. **comes extrema**: 'the closing accompaniment.'

5. **mihi adripis**: 'cast up against me.' *Mihi* is the ethical dative. H. 432 (389); L M. 541; A. 380 (236); G. 351; B. 188. 2,b; H B. 368.

11. **umbram**: 'the accompaniment,' 'the attendant.'

13. **sic**: 'on this condition.'

16. **iacta sunt**: 'have been laid.'

19. **defendimus**: 'are prepared to prove.'

Page **175**, 6. **contempsisti**: 'you have belittled.'

7. **si tibi hoc sumis**: 'if you take this upon yourself.'

9. **sevocanda**: this refers to the First Secession (494) commonly considered to have been to *Mons Sacer*, the Sacred Mount, but here stated to have been to the Aventine.

12. **ex praetura**: 'after the praetorship.' The second *et* in this sentence (before *proavus*) may be translated 'both,' the next *et* 'and,' and the next *et* 'and also.' — **hoc**: ablative of degree of difference. H. 479 (423); L M. 655; A. 414 (250); G. 403; B. 223; H B. 424.

Page **176**, 2. **is**: refers to *consulatus*.

3. **nobilitas summa est**: the Gens Sulpicia was a conspicuous patrician family.

4. **literatis et historicis**: 'to delvers in books and antiquities.' — **suffragatoribus**: 'to the voters.'

7. **ex annalium vetustate**: = *ex vetustis annalibus*.

8. **nostrum numerum**: *i.e.* Cicero and others who were the first of the line to hold high office.

12. **Q. Pompeio**: Quintus Pompeius Rufus, consul in 141, is mentioned merely as an example of one who was the first of his gens to attain to the consulship.

13. **M. Aemilio**: Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, consul in 115 and 107, was the first of his gens, the patrician gens Aemilia, to attain to the consulship in many generations.

16. **intermortuam**: 'almost dead.'

19. **ne . . . obiceretur**: this clause is the subject of *esse perfectum*.

20. **non modo Curiis . . . sed his recentibus . . . commemorandis**: a long ablative absolute phrase, best translated by a concessive clause; 'although not only the Curii, etc., but also these men fresh in memory, etc., must be recalled.' — **Curiis**: especially Manius Curius Dentatus, who conquered the Samnites in 275. — **Catonibus**: especially Marcus Porcius Cato, 'the Censor.'

22. **Mariis**: especially Gaius Marius, seven times consul. Famous about 100. — **Didiis**: Titus Didius (consul 98) triumphed twice. — **Caeliis**: especially C. Caelius Caldus, consul in 94.

25. **apud maiores**: the consulship was opened to the plebs in 366.

29. **cum duobus patriciis**: Catiline and Galba.

32. **id** refers to Cicero's defeat of the patricians. Cicero himself was not a noble, being of equestrian rank.

Page **177**, 3. **quaesturam . . . prior**: spoken by Sulpicius at the time referred to. — **sum ego factus prior**: '*I* was chosen first.' As soon as a candidate had received the necessary number of votes he was declared elected, before the voting had been completed for all candidates. — **non est respondendum**: 'it is not necessary to answer.'

5. **fugit**: 'does it escape (fail to impress)?'

9. **prope modum . . . sortis**: 'attended by almost equal opportunity of destruction.' Neither found in his quaestorship much opportunity to win distinction.

10. **lege Titia**: we know nothing about this law except what may be inferred from this passage.

11. **acclamari**: 'derided.' Of the six quaestors, two were assigned to the city and four to other Italian posts. The post at Ostium, port of entry for Rome, was 'laborious and troublesome.'

13. **consedit** seems to be a horse-racing term. It may be translated 'took a rest,' 'rested.' The racing figure is continued in the following sentence.

15. **reliqui temporis spatium**: 'their after life.'

16. **vocatur**: (historical present), 'was devoted.'

18. **militiam**: 'warfare,' used ironically to contrast the peaceful pursuits of Sulpicius with the military service of Murena.

19. **scribendi**: 'drawing papers.' — **cavendi**: 'acting as counselor.'

22. **exsorbuit**: 'drained to the dregs.'

26. **Lucullo**: Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul in 74. He is famous for his luxurious banquets and as the conqueror of Mithridates.

27. **legatione**: 'lieutenancy.'

29. **et eandem delicatam**: 'and also enticing.'

30. **obiit**: 'encountered.'

31. **reliquerit**: the subject is *Asia* implied.

Page 178, 3. **testata**: an adjective meaning 'clear,' 'manifest.' *Publicae litterae* were 'official dispatches.'

8. **agitat**: sc. *Servius*. Translate, 'attacks.'

9. **adsiduitatis . . . putat esse consulatum**: 'he thinks that the consulship is the reward of these daily services.'

11. **mihi**: ethical dative; 'I argue.'

18. **desiderium**: sc. *nostri*, 'a longing for us (due to absence).'

20. **qui**: 'how.'

22. **de nocte**: 'through the night.'

26. **capiantur**: this is somewhat zeugmatic, but the one expression, 'be lost to the enemy,' will cover both meanings.

27. **aquae pluviae**: 'drain water.' The reference is to an action to restrain a person from draining so as to injure another's land. The humor is obvious.

28. **finibus**: there is here a humorous comparison of the bounds of the empire and the bounds of a man's estate, determined by lawsuit.

Page 179, 3. **increpuit**: 'is heard'; lit., 'has made a noise.'

4. **ilico**: 'at once.'

6. **nescio quid**: used in ridicule. It may be translated, 'hobby' or 'fad,' but literally means 'something or other,' 'I know not what.'

8. **virtutibus**: ablative of cause. This word is modified by the genitives following. *Ceteris omnibus* usually repeats *aliis virtutibus*.

12. **munitam ad consulatum**: 'built toward the consulship.' *Munitam* refers to the construction and protection of a military road.

13. **studia**: 'favor.'

18. **summa etiam utilitas**: sc. *est in iis*.

22. **posse**: 'to be able,' in apposition with *facultas*.

23. **qui res iudicant**: the jurors were at first senators, but later the restriction was removed, only to be again restored. The final arrangement was that one third of the jurors must be senators and two thirds of them of the equestrian order.

30. **tenui**: 'trifling.'

31. **in . . . occupatae**: 'concerned with,' 'busied with.'

32. **interpunctionibus verborum**: 'division of words (by points).' The difficulty would arise from the writing of words one after another without spaces. Ambiguities would thus easily arise.

Page 180, 2. **posset . . . necne**: 'whether an action might be brought or not.' On *dies fasti* courts might sit; but not on *dies nefasti*. The calendar (*fastos*), as well as the proper procedure, was kept secret at first, but afterwards was made public.

5. **Chaldaeis**: the most famous of ancient astrologers.

6. **cornicum oculos confixerit**: 'fastened shut the eyes of the crows.' This is a proverbial expression for 'caught them napping.'

10. **verba quaedam**: 'a fixed phraseology.'

12. **bellissime**: 'beautifully.'

13. **noluerunt**: (the jurisconsults) were unwilling (to declare the sale). Cicero is ridiculing the persistence in the old form of pretended struggle for the land when it changed owners, and the insistence upon the cant forms of the law.

14. **inquit**: used of direct quotations only. The subject is the plaintiff. The words in capitals are *formulae*, or fixed phrases which were used in the legal procedures. It is these *formulae* that Cicero is ridiculing. In this case a clod was brought from the farm into the presence of the praetor, and upon this clod the symbolical contest was acted.

15. **cedo**: this is an ancient imperative, second singular; 'pray tell.'
— **iure Quiritium**: 'laws of Roman citizens.'

16. **inde . . . voco**: 'I summon you from here (*inde*) to join battle (*manum consertum*) there (where the farm is) out of court (*ex iure*); that is, unless you admit that the land is mine.'

18. **unde petebatur**: 'from whom (the land) was to be purchased.' — **non habebat**: 'did not know.'

19. **transit**: sc. *ad eum*; 'goes over to him.' — **tibicinis Latini**: the flute player accompanied each actor in turn, and therefore had to pass across the stage.

21. **te revoco**: — 'I, in turn, summon you.' — **pulchrum ac beatum**: 'fine and fortunate.'

23. **carmen**: 'formula.'

24. **suis utrisque superstitibus**: 'all the witnesses of both sides.'

25. **istam viam**: 'that as the way' (pointing to the sod as if it were the farm).

26. **sapiens ille**: the jurisconsult employed. The buyer and seller walk over to the clod and back, as if they had gone to the farm and had fought over the land.

27. **barbatos**: 'bearded men (of ancient times).'

31. **in iure**: 'in court.' — **anne tu dicas**: 'will you tell me?'

32. **vindicaveris**: 'have claimed it.'

33. **ab eis**: 'from those.' — **tenebant**: 'knew.'

Page 182, 1. **inanissima prudentiae**: 'entirely devoid of sense.'

4. **iure consultorum**: = *iurisconsultorum*.

6. **in tutorum potestate**: 'under the charge of guardians.' The Roman woman was always in some one's charge; her father's till marriage, her husband's while married, some guardian's if widowed. The power of father, husband, and guardian was absolute. A woman could be freed only by a legal trick. — **hi**: 'these lawyers of to-day.'

7. **potestate mulierum continerentur**: (freely), 'consent of those who control women.'

8. **sacra**: an inheritance descending to a woman might be so encumbered with provisions for the performance of sacred rites as to be practically worthless. The clever lawyers evaded this by having the woman, with her guardian's permission, sell herself to some old man along with all her property. He would take the property subject to the necessity of performing the sacred rites for the rest of his life. He would then release her and give her back her property as a gift, receiving an annuity to cover the cost of the sacred rites. At the death of the old man, the property was hers without encumbrance.

9. **coemptiones**: the *coemptio* was the conveyance of a woman in marriage (*matrimoni causa*) or for legal trickery (*fiduciae causa*).

11. **reliquerunt**: 'they abandoned.' — **in alicuius libris**: the author is not known.

13. **Gaias**: cf. 'John Doe,' etc., in English law. Cicero is now referring to case law terms, some of which were in dispute.

20. **gratiae**: genitive, dependent on *minus*. It may be translated 'esteem' in contrast with *dignitas*.

24. **licet consulere?**: 'may I consult you?' the question that used to be put to lawyers when procedure was a lawyers' secret.

26. **rebus prolatis**: 'in vacation'; lit. 'business being set aside.'

30. **litteris**: 'writings.' Cicero refers to books on procedure and to books containing edicts of praetors and other publications of laws. — **mihi stomachum moveritis**: 'excite wrath in me.'

32. **quae de scripto aguntur**: 'written forms'; lit. 'things which have to do with writing.' *Scripta* may be translated 'found in books.'

Page **183**, 1. **qua de re agitur**: a phrase that might be added to any document. — **quae consuluntur**: (contrasted with *quae de scripto aguntur*), 'verbal advice.'

3. **quod Servius**: 'what Servius would have argued,' a complaint to Servius.

4. **controversum ius nosse et tractare**: 'to know of a disputed point of law and to be discussing it.' *Nosse* = *novisse*.

7. **dicendi**: 'of oratory' or 'of pleading,' as distinct from the business of technical law.

8. **ad honorem**: 'with regard to distinction.'

9. **hoc**: oratory.

10. **istuc**: 'to that,' *i.e.* technical law.

15. **salubritas**: (contrasted with *salus*), 'comfort.'

18. **parcius**: 'more sparingly.'

Page **184**, 5. **ab hoc, ab illo**: 'by the latter, by the former.'

9. **ad honorem appositis**: 'adapted to the gaining of distinction.'

11. **excutiuntur**: the figure is that of a weapon flung away because it is useless under the circumstances. — **aliqui**: consult the grammar carefully for the form of this word.

12. **poeta**: Ennius.

18. **manum consertum**: cf. sect. 26.

19. **rem repetunt**: 'reclaim their property.'

21. **umbra**: 'the shadow,' *i.e.* the quiet life. — **soli**: 'to the sunshine,' *i.e.* the 'strenuous life.'

23. **nimium** modifies *magna*.

26. **que**: 'but.'

27. **in hoc continetur**: 'is concerned with this.'

29. **M'. Curi**: Manius Curius Dentatus conquered Pyrrhus in 275. — **T. Flaminini**: Titus Quinctius Flamininus conquered Philip of Macedon in 197 at Cynocephalae.

30. **M. Fulvi**: Marcus Fulvius Nobilior conquered the Aetolians in 188. — **L. Pauli**: Lucius Aemilius Paulus conquered Perses in 168 at Pydna.

31. **Q. Metelli**: Quintus Caecilius Metellus defeated Jugurtha and triumphed in 146. He triumphed because of his defeat of Andriscus, who claimed that he was Philip, son of King Parscus. — **L. Mummi**: Lucius Mummius captured Corinth in 146.

33. **ille hostis**: Mithridates.

Page **185**, 2. **Antiocho**: King of Syria, 223–187. There were other kings of the same name.

6. **ille, hic**: *i.e.* Publius, Lucius.

8. **prae se ferebat**: 'boasted.'

13. **proavi tui**: Cato, the stern censor, was the grandfather of the Cato whom Cicero is addressing.

14. **quo**: 'therefore.' — **ut mihi statuo**: 'as I estimate him'; lit. 'determine for myself.'

21. **cum P. Africano egisset**: 'would have endeavored to persuade P. Africanus'; lit. 'would have pleaded with P. Africanus.'

33. **non rudis**: a case of litotes.

Page **186**, 1. **cum pace dimisit**: 'let go in peace.'

4. **aliquot annis**: for seven years after 84 Mithridates simply gathered strength. — **confirmandas rationes**, etc.: 'establishing his plans and resources for war.'

7. **duobus consulibus**: Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta. This was the beginning of the Third Mithridatic War.

8. **alter**: *i.e.* Lucullus. Cotta suffered defeat.

13. **Cyzicenorum**: Cyzicus was a city on the coast, loyal to Rome.

14. **constitisset**: 'had gathered.' *Impetus* may be translated 'force' or 'strength.'

19. **Tenedum**: an island northwest of Asia Minor, near ancient Troy. — **contento cursu**: 'with pressing haste.'

24. **rege Armeniorum**: Tigranes.

Page **187**, 2. **acerrima**: (*pugna*). It is supposed that the battle fought near the Euphrates in 66 is here intended.

4. **Bosphorum**: between the Propontis and the Euxine, called the Cimmerian Bosporus. See map.

8. **anima**: 'life.'

9. **adierat**: 'he had attacked.' — **sperarat**: 'he had hoped for,' *i.e.* supremacy in Asia Minor.

14. **arbitrarentur**: an extraordinary instance of a deponent used in passive sense.

16. **defendimus**: 'assert in defense.' *Igitur* near the beginning of this clause carries us back to the early part of chap. 14.

19. **at enim** introduces the statement of an objection.

20. **tamquam ex syngrapha**: 'as if holding a bond.' Remember that Cicero is stating the supposed words of an opponent.

23. **Euripum**: the strait between Euboea and Boeotia. *Quod* and *quem* are interrogative adjectives.

24. **quantas**: 'as are the, etc., which.'

25. **ratio comitiorum**: translate simply 'the comitia.'

27. **parva aura rumoris**: 'a mere breath of rumor.'

29. **atque**: 'than.'

32. **ratione tota comitiorum**: 'the whole scheme of elections.' — **L. Philippum**: Lucius Marcius Philippus, defeated in 93, but elected consul in 91.

33. **M. Herennio**: an obscure person, as were also Cn. Mallius and Q. Maximus.

Page **188**, 1. **Q. Catulum**: Quintus Lutatius Catulus, defeated in 105, and elected in 102. He was the colleague of Marius.

3. **M. Scaurum** stood for the consulship in 116.

7. **certo aliquo caeli signo**: 'upon the appearance of a certain constellation.'

10. **quo signo commota sit**: 'by what disturbing cause it has been occasioned.' — **obscura est**: the subject is *comitiorum tempestas*.

12. **ratio**: 'theory.'

14. **muneris**: 'benefactions.' Probably free entertainments.

15. **studiis sermonibusque**: 'partisan tales' or 'talk.'

19. **ad triumphum**: this took place in 63.

21. **munus amplissimum**: the *ludi Apolinares*, celebrated July 5.

22. **restituit**: 'afforded (instead).'

24. **cum, cum, tum**: 'not only, but also, and.'

27. **imperatores**: 'as commanders.' — **verborum interpretes**: 'as exchangers of phrases.'

33. **religio**: 'superstition.'

Page **189**, 1. **omen praerogativum**: 'the omen of the first vote.' In the election the *tribus praerogativa*, chosen by lot, voted first. This vote, being announced to the remaining 34 tribes, determined their vote.

2. **in hoc**: 'in this matter.'

4. **noli contemnere**: 'do not despise.'

9. **causae**: 'case.'

12. **nosmet ipsi**: Cicero is speaking to people of the upper class.

16. **L. Otho**: Lucius Roscius Otho proposed a law giving fourteen rows of the theater to the knights, thus restoring former legislation. Remember that Cicero belonged to the equestrian order and sought to reconcile the senators and the knights, that they might make common cause against the popular party.

23. **competitricem**: 'to rival my opponents.' — **trinos**: 'three separate.'

24. **Antoni**: Antonius, afterwards Cicero's colleague.

25. **casu**: 'by chance.' Murena by lot secured the management of the games.

26. **argenteam**: it would appear that silver was used to decorate the theater. Perhaps the word may be used here metaphorically.

27. **sit**: 'granting that.'

33. **iuris dicundi**: = *dicendi*; 'holding court.' Sulpicius when praetor received by lot the office of president of the 'court of embezzlement of public money,' while Murena became *praetor urbanus*.

Page **190**, 4. **provincia**: 'sphere of office.' Cf. our English expression, 'it is within the province.'

7. **peculatus**: genitive depending on *quaestio*. — **ex altera . . . indicum**: 'on the one hand full of tears and filth, on the other full of accusers and witnesses.'

9. **scriba**: all city officials had clerks, either assigned to them or employed by them. — **ordo**: supply *scribarum*.

10. **alienus**: 'composed of non-voters.'

11. **lites aestimatae**: 'damages assessed.'

12. **cui placet**: 'the one who is pleased.'

13. **provinciam**: *i.e.* as propraetor. After his year of office in Rome a praetor was sent as propraetor to govern a province in which there was no army.

14. **in me ipso**: see Introduction, pp. 13 and 21.

15. **multas bonas gratias**: 'excellent favor.'

16. **proficiscens**: 'as he went.'

18. **conficiuntur**: 'are contained.'

20. **exigerent**: the verb may be approximately translated, 'recover.' The clause *ut . . . exigerent* is the object of *perfecit*.

22. **studia minui**: because they expected offices.

25. **provincialium**: 'official.'

29. **re integra**: *i.e.* before the election. — **nescire**: 'did not know how.'

Page 191, 2. **adipiscendi**: 'that you will gain your point.'

4. **animadversum**: 'noticeable.'

10. **copiis**: 'crowds (of friends).'

11. **praenuntia repulsae**: 'since it presages defeat.'

13. **denuntiatio**: 'the threat of a lawsuit.'

14. **omnium**: *i.e.* all 'candidates.'

18. **abiecit hastas**: a more familiar idiom in English would be 'he has thrown away his sword.'

19. **inquirere**: 'is seeking information.' — **in**: 'against.'

24. **accedit eodem**: 'to this is also added.'

26. **non posset ponere**: *i.e.* while he was planning a lawsuit against his opponent.

28. **te**: like an indefinite 'you.' — **comparare ea**: 'devise measures.'

32. **alienissimis**: 'to absolute strangers,' indirect object of *praestamus*.

33. **capitis periculis**: 'danger to their lives.' *In* = 'in the case of.'

Page 192, 2. **molestiam**: object of *expertus* and modified by *petendi*, etc. With *petendi* sc. *consulatum*.

3. **acerrimum** may be translated 'most keenly needed.' — **officium**: 'earnestness.'

6. **unum sustinere**: 'sustain one character.' *Sustinere personam* means to 'personate,' and the same idea seems to be implied here.

12. **erat**: 'there existed.'

13. **Calpurnia**: sc. *lex*. It was one of the enactments concerning bribery. It was proposed in 67 and provided as penalties expulsion from the Senate and loss of political rights. — **gestus est mos**: 'gratification was afforded.'

18. **nostrum ordinem**: *i.e.* the senatorial.

19. **fortunae communi**: 'the common lot (of us senators).'

20. **morbi excusationi**: 'the plea of ill health,' upon which witnesses begged for postponement of a trial.

22. **incommodo morbi**: 'along with the distress of illness.'

24. **is**: Cicero, himself, contrary, apparently, to his own judgment.

26. **mea summa voluntate**: 'with greatest willingness on my part.'

27. **confusionem suffragiorum**: 'indiscriminate voting.' Sulpicius seems to have favored doing away with voting by centuries and the substitution of individual voting. A law proposed by Gaius Manilius, but declared void by the Senate, provided for this change. The words *praerogationum legis Maniliae* are hopelessly corrupt, and there is no need of trying to translate them.

31. **esse pugnatum**: 'that it had been urged.'

32. **editicios iudices**: 'jurors selected by the plaintiff,' instead of by lot, and challenged by the plaintiff.

Page 193, 1. **continentur**: 'are confined (to).'

5. **maxima** agrees with *plaga*, and is to be construed with *ex omnibus*.

6. **Q. Hortensio**: Quintus Hortensius, Cicero's greatest rival, assisted him in this trial. Marcus Crassus was also Cicero's fellow counsel.

13. **sed tamen** carries the hearer back to the argument pursued in sections 23–27. — **iniecisse**: 'hurled at.'

17. **inquirere**: 'were gathering information,' *i.e.* against your rivals.

18. **testificationes**: 'collecting testimony.' — **seductiones**: 'drawing aside,' *i.e.* in order to get from them what they knew.

19. **secessiones subscriptorum**: 'the gathering apart of counsel.' The plurals of these abstract nouns indicate repeated acts.

20. **obscuriores**: 'less brilliant.'

22. **indicibus**: 'spies.'

23. **conlegae mei**: Antonius, to whom the promises were made.

24. **Arretinorum**: 'of Arretium,' a town of Etruria.

25. **Faesulanorum**: 'of Faesulae,' near Arretium.

26. **distinguebant**: 'set off,' 'distinguish.' The men had been driven from their farms to make place for Sulla's veterans.

28. **domi conditus**: 'stored in his house.'

30. **ei**: refers to Sulpicius.

33. **factus esset**: 'had been elected.'

Page 194, 2. **voces habuisse**: the idiom = 'deliver a speech.'

3. **contione domestica**: 'meeting at his house.'

7. **consumpta replere**: 'replenish their wasted means.'

8. **spectarent**: 'they should consider.'

16. **apertissimus**: 'outspoken.' — **indicavit atque induit**: 'incriminated himself, and put around his neck the cord.'

21. **ideo**: 'for this reason,' explained by the *quia*-clause following.

28. **ruina**: cf. our practice of blowing up buildings to check a conflagration, when other means fail.

30. **campum**: the Campus Martius, where the *Comitia* were held.

Page 195, 2. **boni**: as noted elsewhere, this word refers frequently to the well-born and has then no moral significance beyond the fact that the well-born are on the whole better citizens.

8. **magna**: 'of great weight.'

9. **incubuit**: although perfect, is best translated, 'it includes.'

14. **minanti**: sc. *Servio Sulpicio.*

16. **fuisse**: the subject is *Catilinae subitam spem consulatus adipiscendi*; 'Catiline's sudden hope of gaining the consulship.' *Huic* is the second dative with *magno adiumento.*

Page 196, 2. **perpurgatus**: 'cleared up.'

3. **a me**: you might expect *mihi.*

4. **C. Postumo**: nothing is recorded concerning this man, beyond this mention of him. — **divisorum indiciis**: 'evidence of the distribution of bribes.'

5. **deprehensis pecuniis**: 'confiscated money (taken from the agents).'

7. **senatus consulto**: see sect. 67, chap. 32.

8. **re publica**: 'the question of the state.'

10. **cum, tum**: 'although, still.'

16. **omnium nostrum**: Cicero means himself and all others with political ambition.

18. **ex**: 'in consequence of.' — **honoribus continuis**: 'successive honors.'

20. **relicta**: 'bequeathed.'

22. **discrimen**: 'risk (of losing).'

24. **inimicitiarum**: the genitive denotes the source of the hatred and may be translated 'arising from,' etc.

25. **descenderint**: 'have had recourse.'

Page 197, 3. **protulit**: 'has cited.'

5. **Ser. Sulpicius**: this man must have been one of the prosecutors. — **sodalis filius**: 'son of a clubmate.' The *sodalitates* were originally religious and later social fraternities somewhat like our college fraternities, except that the obligation to stand by one another descended from father to son. — **paterni necessarii**: 'his father's friends.'

6. **munitiores**: 'prime objects of his support.'

7. **ea condicione natus**: 'born in such station.'

12. **consularem**: sc. *candidatum*. — **desultorius**: 'a trick rider,' who would be out of place in the chariot race. The idea is that Postumus, being a candidate for he praetorship, a lower office, ought to have kept out of the quarrel over the consular election.

13. **competitores**: *i.e.* for the praetorship.

14. **petere**: sc. *praeturam*.

15. **expetendus**: 'worth seeking.' This is ironical.

de Postumi criminibus, etc.: this is the title of omitted matter.

22. **exspectatio tribunatus**: Cato was to enter upon the office of tribune on the following tenth of December.

27. **Cottam**: Lucius Aurelius Cotta was accused of extortion by Scipio Africanus, about 130. Cotta managed to be acquitted, through bribery.

Page 198, 3. **Galbam**: Servius Galba was accused by Cato the elder and others of breaking faith with the Lusitani. The trial took place and Galba was acquitted in 149.

7. **multum prospicientes**: 'looking far into the future.'

9. **adferat**: the conjunction introducing this subjunctive is omitted. — **non, non, non**: the *non* in each case simply repeats the *non* in *nolo* (= *non volo*).

16. **instituet**: 'he will set up.' — **periculis hominum**: 'for men on trial.' — **si . . . oportere**: 'if he thinks that the judgment of the accuser ought to have the force of an argument against the accused.'

19. **non nulla**: sc. *consilia*.

20. **leviter**: 'gently.'

21. **fortissimo viro**: Achilles, who in the old play, unknown to us, here quoted is addressed by Phoenix (*ille senior magister*).

22. **non te**: sc. *regere possum*.

25. **ad**: 'for' or 'in the direction of.'

28. **istuc**: 'to that (natural trend of character).' — **doctrina**: 'a training.' The reference is to Cato's Stoic creed.

Page 199, 1. **bona**: 'good qualities.' — **ipsius esse propria**: 'are his own.'

2. **requirimus**: 'we miss.'

4. **Zeno** was born in Cyprus but taught in Athens. The date of his birth is uncertain, but he taught sometime in the fourth century. The spot he chose for his school was the Stoa or Porch; hence his followers

were called Stoics. His principles are outlined below. — **cuius inventorum aemuli**: 'the imitators of whose discoveries.'

5. **sententiae et praecepta**: 'principles and teaching.'

10. **servitutem serviant**: 'undergo servitude.'

14. **gallinaceum** is superfluous as far as the translation is concerned.

15. **nihil opinari**: 'conceives no opinion.'

19. **ut magna pars**: 'like most people.'

20. **petunt**: = *si petunt*. An apodosis must be supplied, such as 'the answer is.' The point Cicero is making is that Cato has an apt reason for refusing all requests that are not unmistakably honest in their intent and made by absolutely worthy petitioners. Sympathy and pity are foreign to his creed. The grammatical structure of the following sentences is the same as of this one.

27. **nihil opinatur**: 'does not surmise.'

28. **hac ex disciplina**: 'in accordance with my training.'

29. **nobis** (ethical dative) **illa sunt**: 'express my feeling.' — **me delaturum**: 'I would bring up.'

31. **at temporis causa**: 'but you spoke from expediency.'

33. **nostri**: 'my teachers.' These were of the Academic school of philosophy, or of the Epicurean school.

Page 200, 3. **a Platone**, etc.: 'the followers of Plato,' etc.

4. **gratiam**: 'humane feeling.'

9. **quod dixerit**: 'with regard to what he had said,' or 'after speaking.' — **de sententia decedere**: 'abandon his decision.'

10. **mediocritate quadam**: 'by what I may call "the golden mean."'

18. **in eiusdem anni custodia**: 'in the same guardianship for a year.' Cato would be a tribune during the consulship of Murena.

22. **interpretarere**: = *interpretareres*.

25. **iam**: 'soon.'

27. **finis protulisse**: 'extended the sphere,' or 'widened the bounds.' Cicero means that even the Stoics perceived that some allowance must be made for slight falling short of performance of duty.

29. **nihil ignoveris**: this is a precept of the Stoics, answered in the next sentence.

32. **etiam**: 'yes.' *Vero* is used a little farther on.

Page 201, 4. **Panaetium**: Panaetius of Rhodes, a Stoic. Athenodorus of Pergamus was the Stoic who for a time lived in the house of Cato.

6. **a senibus**: Scipio died in 129. Contemporaries of Scipio might have been living while Cicero was a young man.

7. **C. Laelio**: Gaius Laelius, an admirer of the Greeks and an intimate friend of Scipio.

9. **L. Philo**: Lucius Furius Philus, consul in 136. — **C. Gallo**: Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, an astronomer and consul in 166. He is said to have been the first at Rome to predict an eclipse of the sun.

15. **tamen**: 'although.'

16. **naturae similitudo illius**: 'the reproduction of his character.'

18. **tam, quam**: 'as much, as.' — **exemplar illud**: 'the pattern which he set.'

20. **asperseris**: the figure is that of condiments sprinkled over substances in cooking.

21. **condita**: note the quantity of the *i*. The verb is *condio*, not *condo*.

22. **revertar**: 'to return.'

25. **congredere mecum criminibus ipsis**: 'join issue with me on the charges alone.'

27. **non defendo**: 'I do not admit the charge.'

28. **punivi**: 'I provided punishment for.'

29. **si**: = *si qui*.

31. **conducti**: 'hirelings.'

32. **gladiatoribus**: 'at the gladiatorial combats.' — **volgo**: 'generally.' — **tributim**: 'by entire tribes.'

33. **legem Calpurniam**: see note on p. 192, l. 13.

Page 202, 2. **decernit quod nihil opus est**: 'it makes a useless decree.' — **dum candidatis morem gerit**: 'while it humors the candidates.'

7. **iudicare**: 'to declare judicially.' The only doubt is as to whether or not Murena is guilty. To pass a decree that such and such things are illegal, if done, shows, necessarily, no hostility to Murena and is no reflection upon him.

13. **eccui**: indefinite, 'any one.' — **non proditur**: (impersonal); 'do not people go to meet?'

15. **istam rationem**: = *de ista re rationem*; 'a reason for this circumstance.' — **quid habet admirationis?**: 'what wonder is it?'

19. **rogatos esse**: 'were invited.'

21. **filios**: the reference is to the custom of relatives accompanying a young man who, after taking the *toga virilis*, makes his first visit to the Forum. — **de nocte**: 'far into the night,' or 'just before daybreak.' — **deductum**: (supine); 'to escort (to the Forum).'

24. **societates**: 'companies of knights,' formed to farm revenues.

26. **officiosissima natio candidatorum**: 'watchful set of candidates.'

27. **non honeste**: 'without display.'

29. **habet ista multitudo**: 'does that gathering occasion?'

31. **exercitum totum Luculli**: the fact is that Pompey permitted about 1500 of Lucullus's old soldiers to attend Lucullus's triumph.

32. **gratuitam**: the emphasis is upon the word, 'without pay,' since the accusation turns upon bribery.

Page 203, 5. **unum locum**: 'one opportunity only.' There being no regular system of fees for service, those who could not reward an advocate by political influence could only assist him in some election as a mark of gratitude.

10. **a quibus** modifies *celebratur* and also *observari* and *coli*. The idea is, if our house is occasionally thronged with friends and we are occasionally escorted, we seem to be fully honored by them, if they are wealthy. On the other hand, an influential man is continually surrounded by his poor friends and dependents.

11. **uno basilicae spatio**: 'by only the length of a public building.' The *basilicae* or business exchange stood on the Forum.

16. **sine**: imperative of *sino*.

23. **legi Fabiae**: nothing is known concerning this law beyond what may be inferred from this passage.

25. **L. Caesare**: Lucius Julius Caesar, consul in 64. — **restiterunt**: 'disregarded.'

27. **spectacula**: 'stands' (for viewing processions, etc.).

30. **re ipsa**: 'by the mere mention of the thing.'

32. **punctorum**: 'votes.' Construe with *quantum* above.

33. **haec**: explained by the clause *ut . . . daretur*. Its gender is to be explained by the proximity of *ambitio* and *liberalitas*. English might require for it, 'this privilege,' or something similar.

Page 204, 1. **non fuerit**: 'did not exist.'

7. **haec omnia**: preceding these words several sentences, fragments of which exist, are omitted.

12. **sed** may be translated, 'except.'

15. **L. Natta**: Lucius Pinarius Natta was a stepson of Murena. He is said to have joined the infamous Clodius, his brother-in-law, in attacks upon Cicero.

17. **et ad, et ad**: 'both regarding, and regarding.'

18. **hoc officium necessitudinis**: 'this service of friendship.'

28. **mihi**: ethical dative.

30. **petas**: 'supposing you to seek.' — **deleniendis animis**: 'cajoling hearts.'

31. **lenocinium**: 'position as pimp.'

Page 205, 3. **usus**: 'experience.' — **vita**: 'the lives of citizens.' — **civitas ipsa**: 'the very notion of state.'

4. **cotidianis epulis**: 'at the daily meal (taken in common).'

5. **in robore**: 'on hard oak,' instead of upon soft couches like Greeks and later Romans. — **Cretes**: the Cretans were conquered, not utterly destroyed, as might be inferred from the following sentence, in 67, by Quintus Caecilius Metellus.

14. **Q. Tubero**: Quintus Aelius Tubero, grandfather of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and distinguished for his severity of life.

15. **epulum**: 'memorial feast.' — **Q. Maximus**: Quintus Fabius Maximus, grandson of Paulus and consul in 121. This man obtained the title *Allobrogicus*, and built a triumphal arch on the Via Sacra. — **P. Africani**: Publius Scipio Africanus Minor, who was a son of Paulus and had been adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio.

17. **ut triclinium sterneret**: 'that he should provide the furnishings for the feast.' — **eiusdem Africani sororis**: Aemilia, daughter of Paulus.

20. **vasa Samia**: (cheap) 'Samian ware.'

21. **quem** refers to the death of Africanus. *Laudaret* may be translated simply 'celebrated,' although it indicates the custom of halting the funeral train in the Forum while an oration was pronounced upon the dead from the rostra.

22. **supremo eius die**: 'on the day of his burial.'

23. **potissimum**: 'rather (than elsewhere).'

Page 206, 4. **rogas tu me ut mihi praesis**: 'you ask my support in order that you may direct me.' The idea of this and the preceding sentence is that Cato, who had just been elected tribune, asked for votes during his canvass, not as a favor to himself, but because his election would be a benefit to the voters. Such notions were foreign to ordinary Roman elections.

7. **nomenclatorem**: the slave that went with the candidate to remind him of the names of those he met, lest he should lose opportunities to further his canvass.

12. **admoneris**: 'you are reminded.'

14. **ad rationem civitatis**: 'according to the interest of the state.' Cicero means that Cato's success was of real value to the community,

but that the means he used were, according to the Stoic teaching (*disciplina*), improper.

20. **res publica**: 'regard for the state.'

26. **adrogantius, tantum dicam**: 'too boastfully, whatever I may say.'

29. **ea copia**: = *iis copiis*. This singular is rare.

32. **equus Troianus**: the wooden horse, by means of which the Greeks gained entrance into Troy, issuing from the monster in the night.

Page 207, 5. **in capite atque in cervicibus**: 'hovering above our heads and necks.'

7. **natura**: = 'character.' — **fortuna**: = 'social standing.'

9. **vestris sententiis**: 'by your votes.' Defeat of Murena would give encouragement to the conspirators, since Catiline was one of the rejected candidates for the election.

14. **egi**: 'strove for.'

18. **quaeritur**: 'is in question.'

24. **vicarium diligentiae**: 'the successor to my watchfulness.'

26. **incolumem**: predicate adjective with *defendendam*; 'to be defended and kept safe.'

30. **designati tribuni**: Quintus Metellus Nepos. Cicero looked upon Cato to foil any evil projects that Nepos might have in view.

33. **a L. Catilina**: here again we find reference to a former conspiracy of Catiline.

Page 208, 5. **multo etiam**: 'still more.'

6. **meo nomine**: 'on my own account.'

15. **fore**: the subject may be supplied by *hoc*, referring to *ne sufficiatur consul*, in the preceding sentence.

18. **tuum**: 'your task.'

19. **mihi**: ethical dative. It may be rendered, 'as I feel.'

22. **ad amplexandum otium**: 'to value peace.'

Page 209, 4. **rationes illius**: 'that man's plans.'

7. **idem, quod**: 'the same thing, as.'

16. **apud Anienem**: Hannibal, in 211, advanced from Capua as far as the Anio, crossing this river within a few miles of Rome.

18. **non nemo**: remember that the *litotes* emphasizes the negation.

25. **redundarint**: the metaphor likens the uprising of the conspiracy to the destructive overflowing of a river.

26. **in sufficiendo conlega**: 'in supplying the place of his colleague.'

28. **prorumpet**: Catiline was at this time in the Apennines. The text from *hunc iam* to *minatur* is defective.

Page **210**, 10. **corporis morbo confecti**: Roman usage required the defendant to be present in court even if he were ill.

12. **modo**: just now.'

19. **hac cum re**: 'along with the deprivation of this office'; lit. 'along with this matter.'

24. **ut levissime dicam**: 'to speak lightly,' *i.e.* to put the matter mildly. Cicero means that in fact Murena not only was not hated but was beloved in the army.

28. **invidiam habere nullam**: may be freely translated, 'awake no envy.'

Page **211**, 6. **imaginem parentis sui**: Murena's great-grandfather was the first of his line to gain the praetorship and thus bring the *ius imaginum* into the family. Cicero in this passage appeals to the strongest sentiments of the jury.

7. **laureatam**: *i.e.* crowned with the laurels of a triumph.

18. **Gallia Transalpina**: subject of *videat*. In 64 he went to Gaul as propraetor.

21. **C. Murenam**: Gaius Murena was at this time *legatus* in Gaul.

27. **ipse nuntius**: 'himself as messenger.'

PRO MILONE

Cicero's object in the *exordium*, which begins here, is to secure the favor of the jury, rouse their interest in his plea, and explain his plan of defense.

Page **218**, 1. **turpe**: 'shameful,' 'unseemly.'

2. **cum perturbetur**: 'though T. A. is concerned.' Usually the accused presented themselves before their judges in mourning garments. Milo appeared in magnificent dress, and this circumstance contributed not a little to his conviction.

4. **animi magnitudinem**: 'courage.' Throughout the speech Cicero attributes to his client the character outlined in the first sentence.

5. **novi iudici nova forma**: 'the strange appearance of this novel tribunal.' This is explained below. Pompey had occupied with his soldiers all the avenues of the Forum and had placed troops on the steps and in the porticoes of the neighboring temples. — **terret oculos**: 'is at first sight alarming.'

6. **inciderunt**: with relative adjectives or adverbs, which signify that an action is or can be repeated, the perfect indicative is found in Cicero when the time of the principal verb is primary. — **consuetudinem**: 'the customary aspect.' Usually togas and not arms would be in evidence.

7. **corona**: 'ring of spectators.' This circle would consist of *advocati* and interested citizens. The present crowd is made up of soldiers, slaves, and citizens.

9. **non illa praesidia non adferunt**, etc.: 'nor can yonder troops fail to disconcert an orator.' — **templis**: the temple of Saturn, of Castor and Pollux, of Vesta, and of Concord were in the Forum (see Introduction, pp. 38–46). These temples were sometimes occupied by rioters.

10. **contra vim**: 'to repel violence.'

13. **ne non timere quidem**: 'not even be free from fear.'

14. **timore**: 'a sense of fear.' *Aliquis* with the *timor* indicates that the fear is real but indefinite. The sense of the passage is that the freedom from fear secured by armed guards involves a sense of fear.

15. **tempori**: 'necessity,' 'stress of circumstances.'

17. **consilium**: 'good sense.'

18. **nec iustitiae suae putaret esse**: 'would never think it compatible with his sense of justice.' *Iustitiae* is predicate genitive.

19. **tradidisset**: has general sense of consigning; *dedere*, that of surrendering to an enemy.

Page 219, 1. **sapientiae**: same construction as *iustitiae* above. — **temeritatem multitudinis**: 'reckless crowd.' — **concitatae**: 'hastily summoned.' The tribune T. Munatius Plancus had called together the throng. — **auctoritate**: 'support.' The mob might control the situation if troops were absent, inferring that the absence of troops meant license to work its will.

6. **quae quidem est civium**: 'the part at least which consists of citizens.' The *togati* are meant.

7. **tota nostra est**: 'is wholly ours.'

9. **cum, tum**: 'not only, but also.' — **virtuti Milonis favet**: 'silently prays for the valorous Milo.'

12. **eorum**: 'namely those.' Genitive of definition.

13. **furor**: 'mad career.' — **omnibus exitiis publicis**: 'every national calamity.'

14. **pavit**: 'has glutted.' — **hesterna etiam contione**: 'as late as yesterday's meeting.' The *contio* is a meeting held by a magistrate or a *sacerdos publicus*. It had no formal power, but a magistrate could put

a question to a great man on these occasions. Plancus called a meeting on April 7. Cf. sect. 8.

15. **voce praeirent quid iudicaretis**: 'dictate how you should decide.' The subjunctive *iudicaretis* represents a subjunctive (dubitative) of the direct question, which is the question a juryman would put to himself: *quid iudicem?*

16. **si qui fuerit**: 'if there shall have been any,' *i.e.* 'if any outcry is raised.' — **eum civem**: in predicate apposition; 'him as citizen.'

18. **prae**: 'in comparison with.'

19. **adeste animis**: 'give attention'; lit. 'be present with your minds.'

21. **bene meritis**: *i.e.* who have shown their loyalty by the life they have led. — **si denique** marks the climax.

22. **amplissimorum ordinum**: the *iudices* were at this time selected from the Senate, knights, and tribunes of the treasury. In this case there were 81 at first, which were reduced to 51, by the challenge of 5 of each order by each of the parties.

24. **significassent**: subjunctive because this description of their sympathy is that given by the *iudices* themselves. They are to prove by their votes the regard they have often professed. *Voltu*, 'looks,' is contrasted with *re*, 'actions'; *verbis*, 'ordinary words,' with *sententiis*, 'formal verdicts'; *significo*, 'hint,' with *declaro*, 'openly express.'

25. **omnem**: translate 'and you only,' after the *habetis*. It is equivalent to *omnino*.

26. **dediti fuimus**: 'have in the past been devoted.' The *iudicia* had been suspended because there were no praetors.

27. **miseri lugeamus**: 'must lament in abject woe.' The subjunctive represents a jussive; *lugeatis*, 'ye shall mourn.'

28. **aliquando**: *i.e. tandem aliquando*, 'at length.' — **fidem**: 'honor': respect for the juror's oath in particular being in the orator's mind.

29. **sapientiam**: 'discernment.' — **quid enim**: in translating, substitute the masculine for the neuter in the two interrogative sentences that follow.

30. **sollicitum**: 'harassed.'

31. **exercitum**: 'sorely tried.' — **amplissimorum praemiorum**: the state offices which an ambitious citizen hoped to win.

32. **crudelissimorum suppliciorum**: 'perpetual banishment.'

33. **equidem**: is answered by *vero* in the next sentence.

Page 220, 1. **in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum**: 'at least (but only) in the troubled waters of political meetings.'

3. **senserat**: sometimes the adverb *bene* is added in this sense. *Sentire* is used of political views.

4. **ex cunctis ordinibus**: these are the senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*. Pompey chose 360; 81 formed the *consilium*. — **iudicarent**: subjunctive in clause forming essential part of dependent notion.

5. **numquam . . . infringendam**: 'never did I think that Milo's enemies would entertain hope of tarnishing his glory through the agency of such men, still less of taking his life.' — **spem habituros ad** may be noted as a rare construction.

7. **quamquam**: concessive, making a transition to a brief sketch of his defense; 'however.'

10. **abutemur**: 'take advantage of.' — **nisi oculis videritis**: 'unless you come to see as clearly as if you had been eye witnesses.' *Videritis* is future perfect indicative. — **insidias esse factas**: 'that a treacherous attack has been made.'

12. **crimen hoc condonetis**: 'make us a free gift of the act laid to Milo's charge.'

14. **salus vestra**: the nominative here instead of the more common dative is more rhetorical; 'was neither less nor more than your deliverance.'

16. **clariores hac luce**: freely translated, 'clear as daylight.'

18. **audacia telisque**: 'reckless violence.'

20. We should expect the narration to begin here, but Cicero had first to destroy the unfavorable impressions already made upon the judges' minds before he could hope for success, and then to take up his line of defense. — **eam orationem . . . quaestionis**: 'that part of my speech which is relevant to this inquiry.'

21. **quaestionis** is genitive after *propria*.

Page 221, 3. **rem plane, quae veniat videre**: *videre plane quae res veniat*. The grammatical figure is prolepsis. Cf. in English, 'I know thee who thou art.'

5. **tandem**: 'pray.'

6. **nempe**: our 'why' prefacing a reply. — **quae . . . vidit**: 'which witnessed as its first capital trial that of the brave M. Horatius.' This trial is so called because it was the first instance of an appeal to the people and was thus the first *iudicium populi*.

7. **nondum libera civitate**: 'even in the days of despotism.'

11. **aut . . . defendi**: 'or the plea is set up that the act was lawful (*iure factum*) or right (*recte factum*).' *Recte* is to *iure* as *fas* is to *ius*.

12. **nisi vero** is always used in an ironical sense, to introduce an untenable alternative. Madvig, 442, c, obs. 1.

13. **qui . . . responderit**: 'for answering,' as shown by inverted position of *dementem*; cf. sect. 87 (p. 255, l. 28), *pateretur* in relation to *dura*.

14. **seditiose**: the question was asked with the intent to make political capital out of the reply. The younger Africanus answered, *si is occupandae rei publicae animum habuisset iure caesum videri*.

15. **neque enim**: 'and in fact neither.' The words introduce the continuation of a proof already begun.

16. **Ahala ille Servilius**: the transposition of *cognomen* and *nomen* is rare in Cicero. *Ille*, 'in the old days.'

17. **me consule**: the allusion is to the punishment of Cethegus and the other accomplices of Catiline.

19. **itaque**: 'and therefore,' because homicide is sometimes justifiable.

20. **doctissimi homines**: the poet is not necessarily learned in our sense of the word, but rather refined and possessed of insight. *Doctissimi* may be translated here, 'most skilled' or 'well versed.' — **eum**: Orestes. Aeschylus tells part of his story in the *Eumenides*.

21. **variatis hominum sententiis**: 'when the votes of men are divided.' *Homines* are the Areopagitae.

22. **divina**: sc. *sententia*, 'by the votes of the gods.'

23. **duodecim tabulae**: for this law see Allen's *Fragments of Early Latin*, p. 90.

24. **quoquo modo**: 'under every circumstance.' The complete expression would read *quis interficeretur*. *Quoquo modo* below may be translated, 'no matter under what circumstances.'

26. **puniendum**: 'that punishment must necessarily follow.'

29. **atqui** marks the transition from the general statement to the particular.

31. **pudicitiam cum eriperet**: the occurrence belongs to the Cimbrian War, 101 B.C.

33. **propinquus**: his nephew, C. Lucius.

Page **222**, 1. **probus**: 'virtuous,' 'chaste.'

2. **atque**: 'and accordingly.' — **scelere solutum**: 'loosed from the chains of his sin.'

5. **volunt**: 'mean.'

6. **est igitur** begins the summing up of what the examples given teach.

7. **nata**: = *innata*. A law of nature, not a law of any nation's code. — **didicimus**: 'have learned,' from oral tradition or from books (*accepimus*, *legimus*).

8. **adripuimus**: 'have acquired' by natural processes of draught and pressure (*hausimus*, *expressimus*).

9. **ad quam**: used loosely; we should expect *quam docti*, *qua imbuti*. 'Which was not taught us, but was inborn; which we reached, not by training, but by instinct.'

11. **incidisset, esset**: the tenses seem to be either attracted to *imbuti sumus* or dependent upon *est* as an historic present. — **honesta**: 'morally right.'

13. **cum ei, qui velit . . . repetenda**: 'when he who is willing to wait for legal protection must suffer injustice before he can get justice.'

14. **etsi**: used very much as *quamquam* on p. 220, l. 7.

15. **persapienter**: 'with great wisdom.' — **ipsa lex**: 'the written law,' 'the actual law.' The law was the *Lex Cornelia de Siciariis*.

16. **non, sed**: 'not exactly, but.' To say that it is unlawful to carry weapons for one purpose implies that it is lawful to carry them for some purposes, for instance, for self-defense.

17. **causa, non telum**: 'the cause and not the fact of carrying weapons.' — **ut iudicaretur**: 'in order that he who used a weapon in self-defense might be judged.' The tense of *iudicaretur* is justified by the historic sense of the present *vetat*.

20. **hoc maneat in causa**: 'this may be considered settled in dealing with the case.'

24. **sequitur illud**: the decision of the Senate, *ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat*, was considered by the supporters of the Clodian side of the case to constitute a *praeiudicium* which would have great weight with this jury.

25. **caedem, in qua** is milder than *caedem qua*, which would suggest willful murder.

26. **vero** emphasizes *caedem*, for which *illam* stands. The Senate approved of his death. There may be a play upon the word *caedes*, which means both 'bloody combat' and 'homicide.'

27. **studiis**: 'real sympathy.'

31. **summum**: 'at the most'; cf. *primum*.

32. **huius** indicates a gesture. — **ambusti**: 'singed.' Plancus was literally singed in the flames of the Senate house on Jan. 19. He was at the time speaking in the Curia.

33. **intermortuae contiones**: 'harangues stifled at birth.' The burning of the Curia put an end to the harangues of Jan. 18 and 19.

Page 224, 3. **potentia**: 'power,' arising from rank or wealth.

4. **in bonis causis**: 'in support of good men,' *i.e.* Republicans. — **auctoritas**: 'weight.'

6. **gratia**: 'popularity.' *Officiosos* in this connection means 'dutiful' as regards the relation of advocate with client. The *labores*, 'efforts,' are those of the advocate. The advocate at Rome in the time of Cicero did not undertake a case professionally; he was supposed to undertake it as a matter of duty.

7. **hanc vero quaestionem**: *vero* reënforces the statement *illam . . . comprobavit*. Cicero is about to show that the Senate was really opposed to the establishment of this *quaestio* as a special commission.

8. **non est iniqua**: Cicero does not attack Pompey openly, although he disapproves of the *nova quaestio*.

9. **leges**: *Lex Plotia de Vi nova* and *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis*.

12. **cuius enim . . . putasse**: 'for who can suppose that the Senate thought a new form of trial necessary to investigate the death of the man when it had not been allowed to decide the method of trial in the case of his infamous sacrilege.' Clodius in December, 62, had profaned the rites of the Bona Dea by entering Caesar's house disguised as a woman when the annual sacrifice was in progress, from which males were excluded. It was thought that he was prosecuting an intrigue with Caesar's wife. — **iudicium decernendi**: 'of determining the court,' *i.e.* the *iudices*, who ultimately were chosen by lot from the three orders, — senators, knights, and *tribunii aerarii*. At first the Senate wished the jurors to be chosen by the praetor.

15. **incendium curiae**: already referred to. — **oppugnationem aedium M. Lepidi**: two days after the death of Clodius, M. Aemilius Lepidus was proclaimed *interrex*. The partisans of Clodius demanded of him a call of the Comitia. He refused, and they attacked his house. At this movement the partisans of Milo armed to make the same demand and a scuffle followed.

19. **non enim est ulla defensio contra vim**, etc.: 'for the use of any force in self-defense is always undesirable but sometimes inevitable.'

20. **nisi vero**, etc.: 'otherwise we shall have to suppose that the day upon which Gracchus was slain or that upon which his brother Gaius was slain, or the arms of Saturninus (though doubtless it was for the common good (*e re publica*), that they were crushed), did not after

all (*tamen*) wound the state.' *Nisi vero*, as always, introduces an incredible assumption.

24. **decrevi**: 'voted.'

26. **sed, cum inesset**: 'but since the affair involved violence and treachery. I left the question where the guilt lay for a court of law, but censured the act itself.'

28. **tr. pl. [tribunum plebis]**: Munatius Plancus.

29. **decernebat**: 'was about to vote.' The Senate met on the last day of February. It desired that Milo should be tried at once under the existing laws.

30. **extra ordinem**: 'out of its turn,' *i.e.* at once, and not according to its place in the docket.

31. **divisa est**: a single senator could demand that a resolution, which presented several points, should be divided. — **nescio quo**: thus Cicero ignores Q. Fufius Calenus, who had been bribed by Plancus.

32. **reliqua auctoritas sublata est**: 'the rest of the resolution was invalidated.'

33. **empta intercessione**: 'by opposition that was bought.' The original motion was that the frays on the Appian Way, etc., were dangerous to the State, and that an inquiry *extra ordinem* should be held under existing laws. The motion being divided, the first part was carried and the second vetoed by Plancus. — **at enim**: 'but, it will be objected.'

Page 225, 1. **rogatione**: so called because the magistrate asks a question (*rogo*) of the people: *velitis iubeatis, Quirites, hoc fieri?* — **et de re et de causa**: 'the question of fact and the question of law.'

2. **tulit**: 'he proposed it' — **facta esset**: subjunctive implying that the *rogatio* and not Cicero stated this.

4. **nempe**: see p. 221, l. 6.

5. **paret**: archaism for *apparet*, 'is plain.'

6. **etiam in confessione facti**: 'even with avowal of the deed.' — **iuris defensionem**: 'a legal justification.' *Iuris* expressed in full would be *iure factum esse.*

7. **quod nisi**: 'but unless.' Cf. *quod si.*

8. **cum videret**: 'seeing as he did.'

9. **hanc salutarem litteram**: a *iudex* had a tablet assigned him, stamped with A. in front and C. on the back. To acquit he erased C. (*condemno*); to condemn he erased A. (*absolvo*). Thus 'this letter of mercy as well as of doom.'

14. **causam interitus,** etc.: 'the circumstances of the death, not the death itself.'

15. **iam illud ipse dicet profecto**: 'secondly, *this* no doubt he will himself explain.' *Iam* marks a transition to a fresh subject. — **sua sponte**: 'on his own responsibility.'

16. **tribuendum putarit**: 'considered it a concession due.' Pompey will tell why he proposed a special *quaestio.*

17. **domi suae**: we now have instanced the murders of greater Romans than Clodius which were not followed by special inquiries.

19. **M. Catonis**: afterward known as Uticensis.

20. **M. Drusus**: M. Livius Drusus, tribune in 91 proposed a law conferring upon Italian subjects full Roman citizenship. — **nihil populus consultus**: *i.e.* there was no *rogatio ad populum.*

23. **cum P. Africano,** etc.: 'when P. Africanus in his bed at home fell a victim to a midnight murder.' Scipio Aemilianus was perhaps poisoned by Papirius Carbo. He had opposed the agrarian laws of Ti. Gracchus and Carbo.

25. **quem . . . mortem**: 'that death was not even left to take its natural course with one for whom all would wish immortality, if it were possible.' — **cuperent**: subjunctive subordinate in indirect discourse, dependent upon *arsit dolore.*

26. **necessariam mortem**: 'natural death'; a classic expression of Cicero's time.

28. **alio facinore . . . necantur**: 'the murder of the humble is as criminal as the murder of the great.'

29. **vitae dignitatem**: 'position in life.'

30. **quidem**: 'however'; adversative.

31. **nisi forte magis erit parricida**: 'unless you will accept the issue and say.'

33. **necarit**: future perfect indicative. The effect of the tense is that of vividness, making the instance seem a possibility of actual experience. In the use of *si qui* and *si quis* no attempt need be made to distinguish. Perhaps the orator used the different pronouns for the sake of variety. — **in monumentis maiorum**: 'upon the memorial of his ancestor.' Appius Claudius Caecus laid out the Appian Way. The plural *maiorum* expresses a *genus,* but implies an individual. *Monumentis* is plural because in this sense the word is not used in the singular.

Page 226, 1. **sit interfectus**: subjunctive because Cicero is quoting Milo's opponents.

3. **munierit**: 'built,' regularly used of making a military road.

4. **itaque**: 'and therefore'; *i.e.* because, I suppose, this was Cato's purpose. The Appian road, starting at the Porta Capena and ending at Capua, was built by Appius Claudius in 444. Julius Cara built it on to Brundisium, making its length about 350 *milia passuum*.

5. **M. Papirium**: it happened that the son of Tigranes, King of Armenia, had been intrusted by Pompey to the praetor Flavius. Clodius wished to abduct the prisoner and made the attempt on the Appian road. In the combat Papirius, a friend of Pompey, was killed.

7. **nobilis**: in contradistinction to *equitem*.

8. **tragoedias**: 'storm of pathos.' *Excitat* suggests the fury of a gale.

10. **silebatur**: 'was ignored.' — **usurpatur**: 'is brought into use,' possibly with the idea of *wrongly*.

11. **parricidae**: the word 'assassin' is applied to the murder of a citizen as well as to that of a father by his son. — **imbuta**: 'stained'; milder than *cruentata*.

12. **illa**: the cases of Africanus and Drusus. — **comprehensus est**: Pompey entered the temple of Castor Aug. 11, 58.

15. **caruit publico**: 'kept away from public resorts.'

17. **quae** in connection with *num* means 'any.'

19. **haec omnia**, etc.: *i.e. digna res, vir, tempus*, 'these circumstances were of paramount importance in his case,' or 'were found in the highest degree,' etc.

20. **atque**: 'yes,' interjection. — **vestibulo ipso senatus**: *senatus* = *curiae*, 'at the entrance of the Senate house.' Meetings of the Senate were frequently held in the temple of Castor.

22. **eo . . . tempore**: Cicero was in exile, Caesar in Gaul, and Cato in Cyprus.

23. **nisi vero** confirms *atqui si*, etc.

24. **proinde quasi**, etc.: 'as if the law punished results and not motives.' *Exitus* is plural.

26. **puniendum**: see note, p. 221, l. 26.

27. **quotiens**: after Cicero's return in 57, Clodius tried three times to assassinate him.

31. **stulti qui audeamus**: plural of modesty; 'fool that I am to venture.' The irony is evident.

32. **audeamus**: subjunctive in a *qui* causal clause.

Page 227, 1. **luget**: note the synonyms here. *Adflictantur* denotes

the violent expression of grief, but the purpose in having different expressions seems to be for the sake of variety.

2. **confecta senio**: 'broken down by affliction.' — **squalent**: 'are in sackcloth and ashes.' — **municipia, coloniae**: *municipia* were towns that had received partial suffrage only; their citizens could not vote in the *comitia*, nor be chosen magistrates. *Coloniae* were either *Romanae*, composed of Roman citizens, or *Latinae*, of colonists who had only the *ius Latinum*. After 90 these *coloniae* had full Roman citizens. See Introduction, p. 28.

5. **profecto**: Cicero has shown that Pompey could not have moved for the special *quaestio* as a tribute to the merits of Clodius. He now gives his own opinion (*profecto*) that Pompey yielded to political necessity (*tempus*), feeling certain that the jury would acquit.

6. **alta et divina quadam**: 'a truly lofty and prophetic.' *Quidam* often qualifies a seemingly strange or inaccurate expression. 'Truly' or 'almost' best fits it.

9. **ne videretur infirmior fides**, etc.: 'lest the sincerity of the reconciliation should be discredited.' Clodius and Pompey had become reconciled shortly before the murder.

11. **quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset**: 'however severe has been his own motion.'

12. **florentissimis**: 'illustrious.'

13. **secrevit**: 'set aside.'

16. **non enim**, etc.: 'for my influence is not confined to my most intimate friends'; lit. 'friendships.'

18. **consuetudines victus**: 'close and constant intercourse.'

21. **maxime ad fidem suam pertinere**: 'that this very nearly concerned his own sense of honor.'

22. **mei**: objective genitive after *studiosos*.

23. **L. Domiti**: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. He had been consul in 54, two years before the trial of Milo.

24. **iustitiam**: 'power to judge justly.' — **gravitatem**: 'character to inspire respect.' — **humanitatem**: 'courtesy.'

25. **fidem**: 'integrity.' — **ut consularem necesse esset**: sc. *praeesse huic quaestioni.*

26. **munus**: 'official responsibility.'

27. **temeritati**: see note, p. 219, l. 1.

28. **popularis insanias**: 'violence of demagogues.'

29. **documenta maxima**: in 58, as a praetor, he broke up a meeting in

which a law was proposed giving freedmen the right to vote in all thirty-five tribes.

Here follows a recapitulation of the *exordium* and *refutatio*.

Page 228, 1. **causam crimenque**: 'the charge which brought on the case.' It was a *causa* to the judges, but a *crimen* to the contestants.

2. **si neque omnis confessio**: 'if avowal is not altogether unprecedented.'

5. **iuris disceptationem**: 'a discussion of the question of right.'

6. **ei lecti iudices isque**, etc.: 'such a jury has been chosen and such a president,' etc.

7. **qui disceptet**: 'as should discuss.'

8. **uter utri**, etc.: 'which laid a plot for the other.'

9. **argumentis**: 'by means of my proofs.' The proofs follow in sections 32 ff., but to make them clear, a *narratio* precedes them, giving a statement of facts (*res gestae*). — **possitis**: subjunctive of purpose in a *quo*-comparative clause. Here begins the *narratio*.

13. **tracta esse comitia**: 'the elections had been postponed.' The elections of the preceding year had been put off from day to day, so that Domitius Calonnus and Valerius Messala did not enter upon the consulship until the seventh month. The praetors also served only five months. The elections had been delayed until July, 53.

15. **qui non spectaret**: 'since his object was not mere promotion.' Most people took office for the honor, and would not care how they performed the duties. Why subjunctive?

16. **L. Paulum**: L. Aemilius Paulus had been quaestor in Macedonia. He was nominated praetor in the year before the trial of Milo. He became consul in 50.

18. **annum suum**: *i.e.* the earliest year in which he could hold a curule magistracy under the Lex Villia. Clodius might have been elected in 54.

19. **religione aliqua**: 'by reason of any religious scruple.' The auspices might have been unfavorable and this might have induced him to postpone his candidacy.

20. **hoc est**: 'or, to state the fact.'

21. **plenum annum atque integrum**: 'a full and complete year.' — **occurrebat**: 'the thought was continually suggesting itself.'

24. **fieri**: 'was in process of election.' The canvassing is regarded as part of the election process. — **competitores**: Plotius Hypsaeus and Q. Metellus Scipio, for whom Clodius canvassed the thirty-five tribes.

27. **convocabat tribus**: the canvasser usually began his work upon the tribes. — **se interponebat**: 'acted as a go-between.' — **Collinam novam**, etc.: 'was registering a new Colline tribe by enrollment of most disreputable citizens.' *Collina* was the worst of the four city tribes, and they were the worst of the thirty-five. Clodius did not form a thirty-sixth tribe, but founded a *sodalicium* or *collegium*, a political organization in which members were enrolled (*conscripti*) and divided into *decuriae* (classes of ten).

28. **quanto plura miscebat**: 'the more disturbance he made.'

Page 229, 1. **tanto magis convalescebat**: 'the stronger he grew.'

4. **sermonibus**: 'by the voice of the people.' — **suffragiis**: 'by the votes.' The herald announced the vote of each century, as it voted. So far as the voting had been permitted to go, Milo had been in the lead.

5. **palam**: 'publicly.'

6. **aperte**: 'plainly.' — **agrestis et barbaros**: 'rude and wild.'

7. **quibus**: ablative of instrument. — **silvas publicas**: forest tracts rented to graziers by the state.

8. **ex Appennino**: Clodius, perhaps, had rented forest tracts in the Apennines and kept herdsmen there.

12. **Favonio**: a friend and imitator of Cato. — **qua spe fureret**: 'what aim he had in his violence.'

17. **sollemne, legitimum**: 'annual, prescribed by law.' Yearly sacrifices were held at Lanuvium in January.

18. **Lanuvium**: an old town of Latium on the *Via Appia*, about twenty miles from Rome. — **ad flaminem prodendum**: 'to nominate a flamen.' The flamen was a priest of Juno Sospita.

20. **fundum** includes land and buildings. — **re**: 'by the sequel.'

21. **ita . . . ut . . . relinqueret**: 'his departure involved his leaving behind a mass meeting, in which his violent spirit was sorely missed.'

23. **obire** usually means 'to meet'; here = 'to secure.' Milo, like other Romans, wore the *toga* and *calcei* on all public occasions. For traveling he would wear a kind of footwear more suited to the road. The *paenula* was a long, thick, sleeveless cape.

26. **paulisper . . . ut fit . . . commoratus est**: cf. Lane's translation: 'he had to wait a bit, as is always the case, while his wife was putting on her things.'

27. **id temporis, cum**: 'at the time when.' *Temporis* is the partitive genitive limiting *id*, a neuter singular denoting amount, and *id* is accusative without a preposition.

28. **potuisset**: 'would have been able.' This subjunctive is both a result subjunctive and a contrary-to-fact.

29. **raeda**: 'family coach,' a four-wheeled vehicle.

30. **Graecis comitibus**: 'with no Greek retinue, as was his wont.' A great Roman household of this period was not complete without Greeks to furnish amusement.

31. **uxore**: Fulvia, who afterwards married Antonius and, tradition says, pierced the tongue of the dead Cicero with a needle. — **insidiator**: ironical. — **qui apparasset**: the clause defines *insidiator*, 'this man who is a plotter, since he had planned that expedition (*illud*).'

33. **muliebri . . . comitatu**: 'the feminine troop of maids and the feeble following of pages.'

Page 230, 2. **Clodio**: dative after *obviam*. — **hora fere undecima**: the eleventh hour would be one hour before the setting of the sun. — **aut non multo secus**: lit. 'or not much otherwise,' *i.e.* 'or thereabout.'

3. **complures**: Clodius, on a height above the road, sends slaves to stop the horses and cut off the escort. He led the attack upon the escort.

4. **adversi**: 'in front.'

5. **reiecta paenula**: 'throwing back his cloak.'

9. **putarent**: subjunctive according to the idiom placing the principal verb of the indirect discourse in the subjunctive, instead of the verb dependent upon it. H. 588, II, 1 (516, II, 1); L M. 851; A. 540, 2, N. 2 (321, R.); G. 541, N. 3; B. 286, 1, a; H B. 535, 2, a, N. 3.

13. **servi Milonis**: these words seem unnecessary, but are artfully introduced to emphasize the fact that Milo's slaves, and not Milo, killed Clodius.

17. **sicuti exposui**: see sects. 6 and 23.

19. **consecuta sit**: 'has gained.'

Page 231, 1. **nihil habeo quod defendam**: 'I have nothing to urge in his defense.'

2. **doctis**: 'the civilized.' — **gentibus**: 'to the nations of men.'

5. **quin simul iudicetis**: 'without at the same time deciding.'

6. **omnibus pereundum** (*esse*): 'that all must perish.'

8. **optabilius fuit**: 'it could have been preferable.' The apodosis lies in the *dare*; the expression is equivalent to *si ita putasset, iugulum dedisset nam optabilius fuit*. H. 583, 3 (511, 1); L M. 940; A. 517, 6 (308, c); G. 254, R. 3; B. 304, 3; H B. 582, 3, a. — **dare iugulum**: 'to offer his throat,' *i.e.* to be cut.

10. **tradidisset**: subjunctive because the clause is an essential part of the dependent notion.

11. **ita**: a common redundancy.

16. **rem, non hominem notavit**: 'has blamed the act, not the man.' Cf. sects. 14 and 15.

19. **ut ne sit impune**: 'that he may not go unpunished.' *Impune* = *impunitas*.

Sections 32–37 contain the Proof. Sections 32–35 give Clodius's reason for killing Milo. Cicero distinguishes three periods: that preceding the fight, that of the fight, and that which followed the fight.

23. **magnam ei causam**: 'he had a strong inducement.' Sc. *occidendi Milonis*.

24. **illud Cassianum**, etc.: 'Cassius's famous maxim, "Always consider who gained by the crime."' L. Cassius Longinus, tribune in 137, and consul and censor later, used to advise the jury sitting on a murder case to ask "for whose advantage" was the murder.

25. **cui bono**: both words are dative; lit. 'to whom was it for good?' *i.e.* who gained by it? This phrase is often misquoted. — **fuerit** depends on a *quaerite* implied. — **in his personis**: 'in the case of the people before us.'

26. **fraudem**: 'crime.' Cassius proposed a crude test, but Cicero will accept it in dealing with Clodius and Milo.

27. **atqui**: note the logic here. Hope of advantage is an incentive to crime, but (*atqui*) Clodius had the hope. — **adsequebatur**: 'was likely to gain.' Cf. *fiebat* in sect. 34 and *veniebat* in 43.

28. **quo**: sc. *consule*.

Page 232, 1. **quibus**, etc.: 'with whose connivance, if not with their help, he hoped to have free play (*eludere*) in those deliberately planned (*cogitatis*) mad schemes of his.'

3. **cuperent**: simply 'would wish.' *Vellent* denotes wish with purpose and may here be translated 'should try.'

8. **peregrinantur**, etc.: 'are your ears in foreign lands, and out of reach of this widespread rumor?'

11. **impositurus atque inusturus**: 'stamp and actually brand upon us.' The allusion seems to be to the branding of slaves. The Clodian laws would enslave the citizens.

12. **Sexte Clodi**: the secretary of P. Clodius; not a blood relation of P. Clodius, but probably the son of a freedman. — **librarium**: lit. 'book-chest'; here, 'code,' 'collection.'

13. **eripuisse e domo**: *i.e.*, when the mob surrounded the house of Clodius on the night of the murder.

14. **turba nocturna**: of Jan. 18, when the body of Clodius arrived in Rome. — **Palladium**: the image of Pallas, which fell from heaven and protected Troy. According to one account this was brought to Italy by Aeneas, and was once saved by L. Metellus in a fire. The allusion in the text may be to this incident.

15. **videlicet**: 'as indeed it was.' — **munus atque instrumentum**: 'gift or rather weapon.' — **tribunatus**: freely, 'for a tribune.'

17. **et aspexit me**: 'there, he looked at me.' Cicero pretends to be frightened by a glare in Sextus's eyes.

19. **lumen curiae**: 'the torch of the Senate house,' *i.e.*, the man who set on fire the Senate house.

21. **punitus es**: the deponent *punior* is rare.

23. **spoliatum imaginibus**: *imagines* were men wearing masks representing the ancestors of the dead men. The train of mourners (*exsequiae*) formed part of the funeral procession (*pompa*) which waited in the Forum while one of the family pronounced the eulogy (*laudatio*). The body was cremated or buried outside of the city.

24. **infelicissimis**, etc.: 'half-charred on those accursed cinders.' The cinders were those of the benches of the Senate house.

27. **laudare non possum**, etc.: two clauses which are contradictory placed side by side. For translation into English we need to subordinate the *laudare non possum*: 'though I cannot praise you.' The 'though' employed in this English translation has nothing to do with the *etsi* above.

31. **cur admitteret**: sc. *in se scelus*. The subject represents a *cur admittitet* of the direct thought. Translate: 'why he should desire to do so (*optaret*), much less yield to the temptation (*admitteret*). *Sed* here = *sed etiam*.

Page 233, 3. **fiebat**: sc. *consul*. The imperfect indicates that the process was going on.

8. **sibi proponeret**: 'pictured to himself.'

10. **solutam**: 'unfettered,' 'unshackled.'

14. **usitatis rebus**: 'the customary devices.'

15. **dignitatem**: 'his position.' If he could not gain the consulship, his political career would be ruined.

16. **cotidie** here violates the rule that *cotidie* is used of daily repetition, *in dies* of daily increase.

18. **metueretis**: see Madv. 383. The *ne*-clause is object of *adepti estis*. — **exercitationem**: 'a scope for exercising' his courage.

19. **suffragationem consulatus**: 'the gaining of votes for his election.'

21. **temptari coeptus est**: *coepi* is passive when the complementary infinitive is passive.

25. **doloris**: 'grievances.' — **haec**: *i.e.*, hatred and desire for revenge.

28. **odisset**: dubitative subjunctive. 'Why should Milo hate Clodius?' — **segetem ac materiam suae gloriae**: 'the field of his glory and its very substance.'

29. **praeter odium**: lit. 'beyond the hatred,' not very different in effect from *nisi odio*, 'except with the hatred.' — **civile**: 'political.' — **ille erat ut odisset**: *i.e.*, *erat ut ille odisset*, 'it was a fact that he hated.'

30. **primum**: 'in the first place.'

Page 234, 2. **quantum odium**, etc.: 'how great was his hatred and how just even, for a man without respect for justice (*in homine iniusto*)?'

4. **iam**: 'still' or 'next.' For position of *iam* cf. sect. 23 (p. 228, l. 8). — **natura ipsius consuetudoque**: 'his own character and life.' The idea is that a man's character is more his actual self than the passions that may possess and sway him from time to time.

6. **nihil per vim**: sc. *fecit*. Words of a supposed supporter of Clodius.

7. **cessi**: date, 58, when he was banished.

10. **credo**: ironical, as often. Perhaps the best translation is effected by making the statement a question in English: 'had he given notice of a day?' 'Had he moved for the imposition of a fine?' 'Had he had me indicted?'

11. **perduellionis**: 'high treason.' — **et mihi videlicet**, etc.: 'and I suppose I had to fear a verdict in a case that was either a bad one or purely personal, not excellent and of public concern to you.'

12. **iudicium**: *i.e.*, *populi*. Cicero implies that Clodius's legal course was to bring Milo before the people, in centuries or in tribes.

15. **Q. Hortensium**: in 58 Hortensius, the great rival of Cicero, was assaulted as he was leaving the Curia.

17. **adesset**: 'was supporting.' Hortensius was one of a deputation to petition against Cicero's banishment. — **C. Vibienus**: Cicero may have made a mistake about this man's being killed on this occasion.

19. **itaque**: 'and so, when afterward did that dagger which he had received from Catiline rest?'

22. **Pompeio**: see sect. 18.

23. **sui nominis**: *sui*, as if *Clodius* were the subject.

24. **longo intervallo**: this occurred perhaps on some day when the partisans of Milo were routed in an election riot in the Via Sacra. Clodius was quiet from 56 to 53.

25. **regiam**: Numa's palace at the head of the Via Sacra. — **quid simile Milonis?**: connect *quid* and *Milonis*. 'What in Milo's actions was like this?'

28. **quantae . . . fuerunt**: 'what great, what glorious chances he had and how often!'

Page 235, 1. **potuitne**: *ne* in a rhetorical question may equal *nonne*. — **domum**: Nov. 12, 57. The house of Milo which was attacked stood on the northwest side of the Palatine Hill.

3. **Sestio, Fabricio**: tribunes in 57. Caecilius was praetor in the same year. All these had worked for Cicero's recall.

Page 236, 2. **quo est lata lex**: the law was proposed Aug. 4, 57.

3. **mea salus**: = (almost) 'desire for my safety.'

4. **facti . . . vindicaret**: 'would gladly have recognized the glory of his deed, so that, though Milo had done it, all the state would claim the credit as its own.'

6. **tempus**: 'opportunity.'

8. **patronus**: 'champion.'

9. **salutis meae**: 'of my civic rights.' — **septem praetores**: there were eight praetors and ten tribunes in all.

11. **auctor**: 'promoter.' — **dux**: 'director.'

12. **gravissimam et ornatissimam**: 'most powerful and eloquent.'

13. **est cohortatus**: *i.e.*, in a *contio* (see Vocabulary).

14. **cum . . . fecisset, dedit**: 'passed a resolution and (thus) gave.' — **Capuae**: Pompey was *duumvir* of Capua in 57.

15. **fidem**: 'assistance' or 'protection.' *Eius* because *imploranti* = *cum imploraret*.

17. **quem qui tum**: = *ut si quis eum tum*.

19. **in iudicium bis**, etc.: the second is the best known. Clodius was summoned by Milo under the *Lex Plotia de Vi* in 57, for an attack upon his house. The case was not tried because Clodius was elected aedile. Translate: 'twice to a trial at law, but never to a contest of force.'

21. **reo ad populum**: 'standing accused before the people.' Clodius had retaliated by a counter prosecution; this was in 56, when Clodius had become aedile. The trial took place before the comitia tributa. — **accusante P. Clodio**: 'P. Clodius being his accuser.'

24. **nuper**: in 53, during the election riots, Cicero supported Antony, who had been sent from Gaul by Caesar, for the quaestorship. Antony married Clodius's wife, Fulvia.

25. **gravissimam rei publicae partem**: 'a very important public duty.'

27. **iudici laqueos**: 'foils of justice.'

29. **in scalarum tenebras**: Clodius hid under the stairs of a book dealer's shop. The space under the stairway formed a room or closet.

30. **magnum fuit**: 'would it have been a great matter?' lit. 'was it a great matter?' — **nulla sua invidia**: 'without drawing anger upon himself.'

32. **comitiis**: 'at the comitia,' for the election of consuls for 52. For ablative see Madv. **275**, obs. **2**.

33. **saepta**: 'pens,' in which the centuries were arranged for voting at the comitia.

Page **237**, 2. **uti virtute sua**: 'to give free play to his courageous spirit.'

5. **iure, loco, tempore, impune**: 'lawfully,' 'in a favorable place,' 'at a proper time,' 'without fear of punishment.'

8. **contentio**: 'struggle to obtain.' For genitive *honoris*, see Madv. **282**, obs. **3**.

10. **ambitio**: 'movements of the candidate.' *Ambitio* is candidacy for office, with all that such candidacy implies. — **sollicita**: 'anxious.'

11. **cupiditas**: 'eagerness.' — **reprehendi palam**: 'be openly urged in censure.'

13. **rumorem**: 'report' (false or true). — **fictam**: 'deliberately invented.'

14. **molle, tenerum**: 'sensitive,' 'delicate.'

17. **in recte factis**: 'in the case of right actions.'

18. **fastidiunt**: 'are apt to take offense.' — **campi**: sc. *Marti*, 'of election,' metonymy for *comitiorum*.

19. **sibi proponens**: 'while looking forward to.'

20. **prae se ferens et confitens**: 'proclaiming and confessing.' — **ad illa augusta . . . veniebat**: 'did he intend to come to the solemn taking of auspices for the centuries?'

23. **quid? quod caput**, etc.: 'again, that which is the main source of

crime, who does not know that the hope of impunity is the greatest temptation to sin?'

29. **quod . . . liceret**: 'which nature sanctioned or the laws allowed.'

Page **238**, 1. **M. Cato**: said to have voted for Milo's acquittal. — **divina quaedam sors**: 'some divine interposition.'

3. **vivo Clodio**: 'when Clodius was alive,' *i.e.* and could contradict it. — **post diem tertium**, etc.: 'three days after he had said it.'

7. **quem ad modum**: 'how did he hit upon the day?'

8. **dictatoris Lanuvini**: it may be the title of the ancient office held by Milo by virtue of his Lanuvian descent. — **stata sacrificia**: Milo was going some days before the date (Feb. 1) to elect a flamen.

10. **quo die**: Sallustius and Pompeius, tribunes, met on the eighteenth. Pompeius may be referred to as *mercennarius*.

12. **concitata**: 'inflamed to passion.'

14. **approperaret**: 'was in a hurry to accomplish.'

15. **ne causa quidem**: 'not even a pretext,' but Clodius is said to have met the town council of Aricia.

17. **ut**: 'while.' — **scivit**: 'learned.' *Sciebat* would mean 'was coming to know.'

19. **qui**: 'how.' — **in Clodio quaerere**: 'to investigate in the case of Clodius.'

20. **ut**: 'although.' H. 586, II (515, III); A. 527, a (313, a); G. 608; B. 308; H B. 532, 2, b.

25. **quaesierit, corruperit**: 'suppose that he had asked, bribed.' — **quid largiar** 'what concessions I make.'

28. **Interamnanus**: 'an Interamnanian.' **Interamna** was 80 miles from Rome, in Umbria, on the Nar.

29. **Albano**: sc. *agro*; 'his place at Alba.'

Page **239**, 3. **C. Clodius**: not a near relative of Publius Clodius.

4. **sint confectae**: 'have been established.'

5. **liberatur non . . . esse**: 'is acquitted of having set out with the design.' We might expect some verb meaning 'prove' or 'recognize,' in place of *liberatur*.

6. **quippe, si**, etc.: 'of course, if Clodius (*ille*) was not to meet him at all.'

7. **deinde**: we should expect it to be followed by *ego quoque liberor*.

8. **meum agam negotium**: 'do myself a good turn.'

9. **hac rogatione suadenda**: 'supporting this measure.'

10. **alicuius**: this is stronger than *cuiusdam*.

11. **latronem ac sicarium**: 'as a thief and an assassin.'

12. **iacent**, etc.: 'they are refuted by their own evidence.' The *a* is not used because *testes* are here mere means.

15. **occurrit illud**: 'I am met by this objection.'—**igitur**: 'then.'

16. **si quidem**, etc.: 'no doubt that would have been the case if he had not intended to leave the house to commit the murder' (but he did so intend). The form of the protasis is rare.

17. **video**: 'I am sure,' implied in 'I clearly see.'

21. **obsignavi**: 'sealed' the will. The witnesses sealed the tape (*linum*), which bound the will, and wrote their names by the side of their seals.—**una**: 'in the same room.'

22. **palam**: 'in the hearing of witnesses.'

24. **hora decima**: 'only at the tenth hour.'

25. **age**: 'well.'—**quae causa**, etc.: 'what reason was there for his hurrying?'

26. **in noctem**: 'into the perils of the night.'—**quid . . . quod**: 'was any of this hurried preparation due to the fact that.'

27. **nihil erat . . . esset**: 'in brief, there was no need of haste.' The construction *properato opus* is rather rare in Cicero. H. 477, III (414, IV); LM. 646; A. 411, a (243, e, N.); G. 406; B. 218, 2; HB. 430, 1.

30. **ut . . . sic**: 'just as . . . so.'

Page 240, 1. **cum**: ironically used for *si*.

4. **nemo . . . credidisset**: 'nobody could have refused to believe him if he denied it.'

7. **sustinuisset crimen**: 'would have borne the brunt of the charge.'—**ille latronum occultator et receptor**: highway robbery about Rome at this time reminds us of similar conditions about London in the seventeenth century.

8. **locus**: 'the locality, a concealer and receiver of robbers.' *Locus* refers to the Appian Way near Rome.

11. **citaretur**: 'might be indicted.'

12. **atque**: 'but in fact.'—**certe**: 'as a matter of undisputed fact.'

13. **quod ut sciret**: 'now grant that Milo knew.'—**Ariciae**: on the Appian Way.

17. **venturus esset**: 'would probably come.' There was a lurking place of thieves on the *Via Appia* near Rome.

18. **constare**: 'point in one direction.'

27. **exiturum**: *se* is omitted because it is readily supplied from the next clause.

Page **241**, 5. **id, quod caput est**: 'which is the main point.' — **locus**: subject of *fuerit*. The effect obtained by separating the subject in this manner is similar to that of prolepsis of the subject in Greek.

7. **id vero**, etc.: 'on this point there is still room for doubt and further consideration.' Note that the gerundive here does not have the force of 'must' or 'ought.' *Vero* is ironical.

9. **substructiones**: Clodius cut back into the hill, raised the lower ground, and erected pillars for the support of the ground floor of the house.

10. **edito adversarii atque excelso loco**: 'though the position of his adversary was commanding and high.'

13. **qui ipsius loci spe**, etc.: 'who through reliance upon the very ground had planned to make the attack there.'

Page **242**, 2. **gesta**: 'is a statement of fact.' — **picta videretis**: 'were looking at a picture of it.'

3. **uter**: 'which of the two,' *i.e.* in the picture.

5. **horum**: see note on *illa*, p. 226, l. 12. — **impeditissimum**: 'very embarrassing.'

6. **quid minus promptum**; 'what could be less like preparation for battle.'

7. **inretitus**: 'entangled.' — **paene constrictus**: 'almost pinioned,' by his wife's presence.

9. **qui convenit**: 'how was that reasonable?'

11. **Alsiensi**: sc. *praedio*. Pompey had a villa at Alsium, on the coast of Etruria.

12. **quid ergo**: 'what then?' — **mora et tergiversatio**: 'delay and shuffling.'

14. **age**: singular because it has become a mere interjection. — **iter**: 'mode of traveling.'

15. **impedimentis**: 'cumbersome escort.'

17. **castra**: *i.e.* estates. See sect. 26.

18. **nugarum nihil**: 'no puppets,' *i.e.* starveling Greeks.

19. **symphoniacos**: 'choristers.' — **uxoris**: Fausta, daughter of Sulla.

20. **qui duceret**: 'the kind of man who always took.'

21. **nisi ut**: short for *nisi talem ut*. — **virum a viro lectum**: 'that each man had picked another.' Ten men chose another ten, and so on.

25. **tamen**: here best translated 'also.' It was like a woman encountering men.

27. **ipse** here refers to Milo.

28. **illi odio esset**: *alicui odio esse* is the passive of *odi*. *Quanto*, etc., 'how much he was hated by him.'

30. **quam maximis . . . addictam**, etc.: 'which he knew to be the subject of a great reward and almost forfeited.' *Praemiis* is ablative of attendant circumstances.

Page 243, 1. **praesidio**: 'care against attack.'

2. **custodia**: 'precaution against surprise.'

3. **communem**: 'impartial.'

4. **perculit ab abiecto**: 'struck him down with a blow from his prostrate victim.'

5. **inscitiam**: 'stupidity.'

8. **haesit in eis poenis**: 'he was entrapped.' The metaphor may be from liming birds.

11. **scilicet**: ironical.

14. **occideritne**: sc. *Clodium*.

15. **nihil ad tortorem**: 'is nothing to the inquisitor.'

17. **quod . . . hic**: 'let us here, then, attend to that which is in doubt in the case.'

18. **manu miserit**: 'did he free.' The thought here is: you do not know how to attack your enemy if you only call attention to his having forced them, instead of also calling attention to his not having generously rewarded them.

21. **constanter et fortiter**: 'acts with determination and spirit.'

24. **caput**: 'life.'

26. **propter quos**: *propter* = *per*.

27. **non tanti est, quam quod**: 'is less important than the fact that.'

Page 244, 1. **dedendi fuerunt**: see sect. 31.

2. **quod minus moleste ferat**: 'which gives him so much comfort.'

3. **accidat**: *i.e.* if he is condemned.

5. **sed**: 'but, I must admit.'—**quaestiones**: 'examinations (by torture).'—**urgent**: 'are telling against.'

6. **nunc**: 'lately.' Domitius had allowed Appius Claudius to examine Clodius's slaves, Milo's slaves having been freed. This was unjust.—**atrio Libertatis**: later, part of the Forum of Trajan.

8. **unde? 'ab Appio'**: 'from what house? From Appius's.'—**quid potest agi severius?**: 'what more strictly just proceeding could there be?'

9. **proxime deos**: 'very near to the gods.'

10. **ad ipsos**: 'into their very presence,' *i.e.* committing adultery with Caesar's wife during the sacrifice to *Bona Dea*.

11. **tamquam de caerimoniis violatis**: 'as if concerning a sacrilege.' — **sed tamen** resumes the narrative, after the personalities against Clodius, suggested by the exceptions to the law about examining slaves under torture. Translate: 'yet, however this may be, our ancestors did not intend slaves to be examined against their master, not because the truth would not thus be discovered, but because this seemed unnatural and a sadder misfortune than the very death of the master.'

16. **quae aut qualis**: *i.e.* in what did it consist, or of what character was it? — **Rufio**: 'Ginger.' Slaves on the stage had red hair. — **verbi causa**: 'to take any name at random.' The colloquy may be translated (*cave sis mentiare = cave, si vis, ne mentiaris*): 'Listen, you Redhead, be careful not to lie! Did Clodius set snares for Milo?' 'Yes.' 'You'll swing for this.' 'No.' 'You may hope for liberty.'

18. **sperata libertas**: so stated to balance *certa (est) crux = spes (est) libertatis*. — **quid . . . certius**: 'what could be surer than this kind of examination?'

19. **subito . . . coniciuntur**: 'even (*tamen*) when carried off without notice for torture, slaves are isolated from one another and thrown into dungeons.' Slaves' evidence was so under suspicion that even if arrest was unexpected and there could have been no previous tampering with them, slaves were carefully isolated in the prisons.

22. **ab eo ipso accusatore**: 'from the very accuser's house.' Cf. *ab Appio*, above (l. 8).

24. **cum**: concessive. — **res ipsa**: 'the story of the deed,' *i.e.* apart from Milo's behavior after the murder.

25. **pura mente atque integra revertisse**: 'had returned with a conscience clear and unsullied.'

27. **nulla conscientia exanimatum**: 'paralyzed by no remorse.'

Page **245**, 1. **neque vero**, etc.: 'yes, and he intrusted himself not only to the people.'

9. **conscientiae**: here *conscientia* is very much like our 'conscience,' except that it omits the faculty of moral judgment and restraint. — **in utramque partem**: 'in both directions,' *i.e.* to comfort and to punish.

10. **neque, et**: 'not, but.'

11. **versari**: 'dwell.'

12. **ratione certa**: 'rational grounds.'

13. **videbant . . . constantiam**: 'wisest of men, they discerned the motive of his action, his imperturbable spirit and the firmness of his defense.' *Constantia* here means, nearly, 'persistent courage.'

17. **imperitorum**: 'the ill-informed,' *i.e.* those who, without judgment, believe what they heard last.

18. **illud fecisset ut trucidaret**: 'he had been guilty of killing.'— **animo irato ac perdito**: 'under the influence of passion or madness.'

20. **tanti ut . . . careret**: 'of so much importance that (for it) he would go into exile with resignation.'

22. **non dubitaturum**: 'would not hesitate.' Translate following *quin*-clause by English infinitive.

24. **cederet**: 'bow.'

25. **haec**, with appropriate gesture, indicated Rome.

27. **loquebantur**: 'prated of.' *Portenta*, 'monstrosities,' refers to the Catilinarians. — **erumpet**, etc.: cf. *Cat.* 2, 1.

28. **miseros**, etc.: 'how unhappy sometimes are the most deserving patriots!' Men not only forget their brilliant achievements, but even suspect them of treason.

31. **ergo**, etc.: 'so then, those reports were groundless (he did not return), but surely they might have been true,' etc.

33. **defendere**: 'include in his defense.'

Page 246, 2. **quamvis . . . conscientiam**: 'any consciousness of even comparatively venial misdeeds.' — **perculissent**: 'would have crushed.'

3. **ut**: 'how!'

7. **deprehendi posse indicabatur**: 'rumor declared that might be seized.'

8. **vicum, angiportum**: 'street,' 'lane.'

9. **Miloni**: dative of advantage. — **Ocriculanam**: above Rome, on the Tiber.

10. **domus**: subject of an *indicabatur*, supplied from above.

12. **delata**: *i.e.* to Pompey.

13. **quaesita**: 'investigated.' The ordinary expression would be *de iis quaesitum est*.

17. **popa**: 'the slaughterer,' who killed the victim for the priest. The *popa* sold what the priest did not use.

18. **servos Milonis**, etc.: *cum diceret servos Milonis*, etc.

19. **coniurasse**: sc. *se* from following clause.

22. **de amicorum sententia**: 'after getting his friends' opinion.'

23. **non poteram non**: 'I surely must.'

26. **pro probari**: 'be taken for,' 'pass for.'

28. **aliquid**: used instead of *quid* in emphatic contrast with *omnia*.

29. **oppugnata**: sc. *esse*. — **domus C. Caesaris**: Caesar was *pontifex maximus*. His official *domus* was the *Regia*.

31. **audiebatur**: '(the story) was given a hearing.'

Page 247, 6. **fidem non faciebat**: 'was not sufficient assurance.' The *ut* places itself in the English thought before *quoniam*. *Loqueretur* is consecutive, 'so that the fact spoke without his uttering a word.'

9. **non tamen**, etc.: 'and yet, if Milo is not an object of dread, not now on this account do we fear the charge of having killed Clodius, but we are frightened by your suspicions, etc.' Thus we may make something of a difficult passage.

11. **exaudire**: 'to catch what I say.'

15. **conquisitores**: 'recruiting officers.'

16. **excubiae, vigiliae**: 'sentries,' 'watches.'

20. **non unius viri vires atque opes**: 'the powers and resources of more than one man.'

23. **aegras et labantis**: 'diseased and enfeebled.' Note the correspondence of *aegras* and *sanares*, and of *labantis* and *confirmares*.

24. **locus**: 'an opportunity.'

25. **neminem**: instead of *nullum*.

Page 248, 3. **defensum**: cf. sect. 40. — **in petitione**: for the praetorship of 55.

4. **habere sperasse**: 'trusted that he had.' The more usual expression would be *se habiturum sperasse*.

5. **probaret** and following subjunctives: the tenses are mixed but the meaning is plain.

8. **ne**: 'assuredly.' *Ipse* here refers to client.

10. **ante testaretur**: 'would have you a witness of his protest.' *Antestatio* is the summoning of a bystander as a witness when a defendant has refused to follow the plaintiff into court, and the plaintiff has to use force. The expression does not apply literally to the circumstances, but is suggestive of Milo's attitude. — **quod facit**: '(his protest) which he now makes.'

11. **vides**, etc.: the words of Milo. — **vitae ratio**: translate simply 'life.'

12. **vaga volubilisque**: 'restless and unstable.' — **infidelitates**: 'instances of unfaithfulness.' Note the use of plural abstract substantives to express concrete instances.

13. **ad tempus aptae**: 'time-serving.'

16. **motu aliquo communium temporum**: 'in some revolution of public affairs.'

17. **experti scire**: 'know by experience.'

19. **unius fortissimi**: 'quite the bravest.'—**post homines natos**: 'since the birth of mankind.' For subjunctive *desideres* see Madv. 358, obs. 4.

21. **iuris publici**: 'constitutional powers.'

23. **ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet**: the formula by which a dictator was appointed.

24. **versiculo**: 'line'; in Latin a line of poetry or of prose.

25. **nullis armis datis**: what is meant is not clear, since the *ultimum decretum* gave this power.

27. **tolleret**: 'as you say, was subverting.'

Page 249, 1. **quod**: 'the fact that.'—**in illo loco**: *i.e.* where he can command the Forum.

4. **in quem animadvertere posset**: 'whom he might have punished.'

5. **suo iure**: 'under his own jurisdiction' (without a trial in a court).

6. **contra**: 'despite.' For the *contio* cf. sect. 3 (note, p. 219, l. 14).

8. **nec vero**: Cicero here takes up the thread where he leaves it at the end of sect. 67.

10. **expers**: here = *ignarus*, a very rare use of the word.

11. **si iam**: 'supposing for the moment.'

12. **mentiri gloriose**: 'glory in the lie.' Milo's slave killed Clodius.

13. **iacturis**: 'sacrifice.'

15. **conlegae**: Ti. Gracchus passed a law depriving his colleague, M. Octavius, of his office.

16. **per seditionem**: 'by seditious means.'

20. **comprehenderunt**: 'detected.' The word most often used would be *deprehenderunt*.—**cuius supplicio**, etc.: 'by whose punishment the Senate often declared that the sacred rites should be cleansed from pollution.'

22. **sorore**: the younger sister of Clodius, who was the wife of Lucullus.

23. **quaestionibus habitis**: to be construed with *comperisse*. The *quaestiones* were in this case an investigation before a family council, at which slaves were tortured. The testimony thus elicited was used by Lucullus at the trial of Clodius.

24. **civem**: here, Cicero; below, Pompey.

Page 250, 1. **regna**, etc.: by a law proposed by Clodius, the title of king was given to Brogitarus of Galatia in 58. He deposed Ptolemy of Cyprus, and gave Macedonia and Asia to Piso and Gabinius, the consuls of 58.

4. **nefas**: 'sinful (in his own regard).'

5. **aedem Nympharum**: perhaps in the *Campus Martius*, a natural place for the keeping of registers of votes. Clodius wished to destroy the *tabulae censoriae*, that he might place foreigners and freedmen among his followers on the lists of citizens entitled to vote, when new lists were made.

7. **cui . . . termini**: 'who had ceased to regard statute, law, or boundary.'

8. **civile ius**: the code governing the Roman citizens in their relations to one another.

9. **calumnia litium**: = *calumniosis litibus*, 'dishonest and vexatious lawsuits.' — **vindiciis**: in a dispute concerning property the claimant made a formal claim (*vindiciae*) before the praetor and deposited a sum of money (*sacramentum*) to be forfeited by the loser. The name *sacramentum* is sometimes given to the claim for which the deposit is taken; *vindiciae et sacramenta* may be translated 'challenges and claims.'

11. **Etruscos**: see sects. 26, 50, 55.

17. **splendido**: 'magnificent.'

18. **Prilio**: a small lake in Etruria.

20. **trans ripam**: 'from the other shore.'

21. **qui viro**: 'a man like that.' The contrast is with *muliercula* and *adulescens* in the parenthesis.

22. **muliercula**: 'the poor woman.'

25. **sed**: with this word Cicero resumes, as if he had had a verb governing the accusative and infinitive.

26. **quantam posceret**: 'the whole sum that he demanded.' — **mortuum**: 'a corpse'; used here as a singular noun.

27. **qua invidia**: = *cuius rei invidia*.

28. **conflagrandum**: cf. note on *ambustus*, p. 222, l. 32.

29. **mihi**: Cicero, who succeeded him as governor of Cilicia in 51.

30. **vestibulum**: 'fore-court,' a large space in front of a house, surrounded on three sides by the house, but open toward the street.

32. **aditu**: 'entrance' (from the road).

Page 251, 1. **quamquam**: 'and yet.' — **tolerabilia videbantur**: 'had seemingly become matters of course.'

2. **aequabiliter**: 'equally,' in equal measure; not in similar fashion (*aequaliter*).

3. **nescio quo modo**: 'in some (unfortunate) manner.'

4. **iam**: emphatic.

6. **imperium**: the praetorship.

7. **si nactus esset**: there is no apodosis.

8. **vota faceretis**: 'you could be praying.'

9. **pecunias**: 'property.'

10. **me dius fidius**: the original form was *me Dius Fidius iuvet*.

13. **tenentur**: 'are understood.'

19. **ius aequitas**: *ius* is law and courts — the embodiment of justice; *aequitas* is justice in the abstract.

20. **pudor**: 'modesty.' — **pudicitia**: 'chastity.' — **esset timendum**: ironical.

28. **victorias**: over the Cimbri, Teutones, Spartans, and Mithridates.

Page 252, 2. **verissimam**: 'well-grounded.'

5. **constitutis**: 'set in order.'

6. **hoc**: 'this,' *i.e.* this prosperous condition.

8. **ius possessionis**: 'firm tenure of ownership.'

10. **odio inimicitiarum**: 'hatred caused by personal enmity.'

11. **libentius quam verius**: 'with more jest than justice.'

12. **praecipuum**: 'conspicuous.'

14. **paene aequaliter versaretur**: 'hardly rose above the average.'

16. **quin sic attendite**, etc.: 'but regard the matter thus, jurymen. Obviously,' etc.

17. **cogitationes**: 'the imagination.'

18. **ut . . . videmus**: 'as we perceive what we see.' This is a doubtful passage, and it is best not to found any opinion regarding *cerno* and *video* upon it.

19. **fingite . . . meae**, etc: '(form an imaginary conception of, *i.e.*), imagine, then, these alternatives; suppose that I might cause you to acquit Milo, but with the condition that Clodius live again?'

21. **quid voltu extimuistis**: before these words there is an aposiopesis. 'Would you accept the terms?' is omitted. *Extimuistis voltu* (*ex*, intensive prefix) may be translated, 'have you this look of fright?'

25. **aut . . . aut**: 'either move this trial concerning Clodius's death or recall the man himself from the dead.'

31. **lege eadem**: Cicero means that no law would have been passed if the *lex quaestionis* had been a law recalling Clodius from the dead. The language is confused, but the thought is obvious.

33. **ab eisne**: more regularly, *abne eis*.

Page **253**, 2. **Athenis**: monuments to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus.

4. **cantus**: 'tunes.' — **carmina**: 'poems.' — **ad immortalitatis religionem**: 'to the sanctity of the immortals.'

8. **magno animo**: 'boldly.'

11. **negat**: that he killed Clodius in self-defense.

12. **ignoscatur**: sc. *sibi*. — **fateri**: that he killed Clodius for patriotic reasons. — **praemia laudis**: 'the rewards of his glorious deeds.'

13. **nisi vero**: see note on p. 224, l. 20.

14. **cum praesertim**: 'and that too, though.' The clause modifies *dubitaret*.

17. **sed tamen**: see note on p. 244, l. 11.

18. **minus grata cecidisset**: 'had failed to prove acceptable.' The metaphor is that of casting lots.

21. **laetarentur**: cf. sect. 71.

25. **tantum ausus essem**: 'ran so great a risk.'

26. **sine maximis dimicationibus meis**: 'without a very great struggle on my part.'

Page **254**, 2. **fortiter fecisse**: freely, 'his patriotic conduct.'

6. **conscientia**: cf. sect. 61 (p. 245, l. 9).

7. **Fortuna**: this word does not mean good luck, but rather divine agency that we feel but do not see. Here it means something like 'destiny,' 'fortunes.'

11. **caeli signorumque motus**: 'the moving constellations of the heavens,' *i.e.* the sign of the Zodiac.

12. **vicissitudines**, etc.: 'the alternation and order (of nature).'

13. **sacra**: 'worship.'

16. **neque in his corporibus**, etc.: 'nor can it be that in these bodies of ours and in this feebleness of ours there is something which has activity and consciousness, and that at the same time this is not also in the mighty and glorious motion of the Universe.' The sentence illustrates parataxis.

19. **putant**: 'believe in it.'

21. **haec ipsa**: 'the matters of the moment.'

23. **felicitates atque opes**: 'prosperity and power.' The plural *felicitates* may have been used here for symmetry with *opes*.

24. **primum**: the 'secondly' is in *nec vero non*, etc., at the beginning of chap. 32, below. — **mentem iniecit**: the familiar thought of *quem deus perdere vult, prius dementat*.

26. **habiturus esset**: 'hoped to enjoy.'

28. **ne mediocri quidem cura**: 'not even by any ordinary providence.'

Page 255, 2. **in illo**: sc. *puniendo*. — **retinuisse**: 'reasserted.'

4. **obrutae**: perhaps by Clodius in building his villa, perhaps by time. — **sociae et aequales**: 'friends and contemporaries.' Alba was, according to the legend, actually older than Rome.

5. **praeceps amentia**: 'in the torrent of his madness.'

9. **Latiari, Iuppiter**: presided over the Latin League and had a temple on Mt. Alba, visited at the *Feriae Latinae*. — **finis**: 'boundaries.'

11. **vobis**: note the emphatic position.

13. **nisi, etc.**: another *reductio ad absurdum*. If it was by chance that he was slain in the presence of the *Albana sacra*, then his fall *ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae Deae* was also chance; but this is impossible.

18. **iudicio nefario**: see on sect. 13 (p. 224, l. 12).

20. **nec vero non**: 'surely, also.'

21. **imaginibus**: cf. sect. 33 and note, p. 232, l. 23. *Cantus* means the *cornicines* and the *tibicines*; *ludi* are the gladiatorial games; *lamenta* are dirges of the *praeficae funere*, 'a bier.' The word may mean 'proper funeral,' but it is safe to translate it 'bier.'

24. **celebritate**: 'solemnity.'

26. **formas**: *i.e.* the *imagines*. — **aliquid**: here used in the negative sentence because *aliquid adferre* is a stereotyped phrase.

27. **loco**: the Senate house. — **mortem**: for *mortuum*, 'corpse.'

29. **quae . . . pateretur**: causal.

Page 256, 1. **gesta resciderat**: 'had undone what had been accomplished.' The reference is to the Catilinarian conspiracy and the banishment of Cicero.

2. **domum incenderat**: in November, 57, after Cicero's recall, Quintus's house was burnt.

6. **capere**: 'contain.' Cf. our word 'capacity.'

7. **incidebantur**: *i.e. in aes*, 'were engraved.' Laws were engraved after their passage. Clodius was sure of being praetor and of having his laws pass.

8. **servis nostris**: see note on p. 256, l. 25.

11. **illum**: Pompey. — **novo reditu in gratiam**: 'by their renewed good understanding.'

13. **casu**: 'exile.'

17. **suo iure**: 'by an exercise of its authority.'

18. **circumscripsisset**: 'would have restrained.' The Senate could criticize a magistrate's conduct, but would not punish him.

19. **cum solebat**: in 61, when Clodius was quaestor elect.

20. **aliquid**: emphatic. Indicate this in translation.

22. **suos consules**: 'consuls of his own kind.' Hypsaeus and Scipio. — **in eo praetore**: *in* = 'in the case of.'

25. **lege nova**: Clodius had perhaps some scheme affecting the status of slaves.

29. **ille vero consul**: 'and what is more as consul.' In time he would have been consul. — **templa**: cf. sect. 66.

Page **257**, 1. **sanctitatis, amplitudinis**: *sanctus* and *amplus* are conventional epithets of *senatus*. Cf. *Othello*, I, iii, 76–77:

> 'Most potent, grave, and reverend signiors,
> My very noble and approved good masters.'

— **mentis, consili publici**: 'enlightenment, statesmanship.'

3. **funestari**: 'be desecrated.' Governed by *vidimus*, supplied for *quod vidimus?*

4. **imperita**: see note, p. 245, l. 17.

6. **signifer**: 'as a leader of men.' As *ustor* Sextus acted as an individual, as *signifer* he would have Clodius's following.

8. **et**: 'and then,' expressing indignation. — **via Appia**: see note, p. 226, l. 4.

9. **spirante**: 'in life.'

10. **restiterit**: 'though,' etc.

12. **furias**: the dead man's vengeance, incarnate.

14. **Castoris**: this temple occupied a strong position on the Forum. In 58 it was held by a mob of Clodius.

15. **volitaverunt**: generally used by Cicero of defiant movement.

16. **disturbari**: 'broken up.' — **silentio**: for this reason the attack of the followers of Clodius was the more unjustifiable. Caelius exhorted the populace to side with Milo; the Clodians dispersed the assembly and wounded several persons.

17. **in suscepta causa**: *i.e.* while defending individuals.

18. **auctoritati** means the will of a superior; *voluntas*, the will of an equal.

21. **de causa**: sects. 24–71 inclusive: that Clodius was a plotter. — **extra causam**: sects. 72–91 inclusive: that the death of Clodius was a blessing.

Page **258**, 1. **exposco**: not found elsewhere in Cicero. It is used here in the common duplication of synonyms; cf. *orem et obtester*.

2. **nullam lacrimam**: Plutarch comments upon this defiant attitude of Milo, Plut. *Cic.* 35. Cicero transmutes this defiance into heroism.

5. **in infimi . . . fortuna**: 'in the case of persons whose position and lot are of the lowest class.'

8. **ipsos** (as if *ultro*): 'voluntarily.' The gladiators will be found described in the Dictionary of Antiquities; this will serve as a *locus classicus* for their qualities.

12. **exanimant et interimunt**: 'distress and afflict.' There are several instances of duplication of synonyms in sects. 92 and 93. Pleonasm of this kind pleased the Roman ears.

16. **patria**: Rome. Milo was born at Lanuvium but was a Roman citizen. — **quoquo modo**, etc.: 'however ill she has served me.'

19. **at**: 'at any rate.'

Page **259**, 1. **mala**: sc. *re publica*, 'misgovernment.' — **mōrātam**: not *morātam*.

3. **suscepti**: it has a dative of agent several times in Cicero. *O* is more often joined with the accusative.

4. **tribunus plebis**: in 57.

5. **exstinctum**: 'annihilated.' — **equitibus, viris, mihi**: datives after *dedissem*.

7. **Clodianis armis**: 'in the fear of Clodius's violence.'

8. **putarem**: cf. *odisset*, sect. 35 (p. 233, l. 28).

12. **tui** refers to Cicero's attachment to the *equites*.

13. **Italiae voces**: see sect. 39.

14. **vox atque defensio**: 'eloquent advocacy.'

16. **nec vero**: 'and yet, not.'

17. **quo videtis**: this differs from *quem videtis* in binding the relative clause, through the correspondence in case between relative and antecedent, more closely to the main sentence.

19. **plebem et infimam multitudinem**: these words are thrown forward for emphasis, and are resumed in the word *eam*. By means of the periphrasis of *fecisse ut*, Cicero throws weight upon the result of the act rather than upon the act itself.

23. **patrimoniis**: (1) from the Papian gens, to which by birth he belonged; (2) from his adoptive father, T. Annius, and (3) from his mother or from his wife.

24. **muneribus**: *i.e. gladiatoriis*, 'shows.'

27. **ordinum**: perhaps the knights and the *tribuni aerarii*, since the Senate has just been mentioned. — **occursationes** includes *salutatio* (attendance at levies), *deductio* (escort from his home to Forum or Campus), and *adsectatio* (general attendance), and means 'constant attendance and friendly advances.' — **quemcumque . . . ceperit**: 'whithersoever Fortune leads him.'

29. **vocem praeconis**: cf. sect. 25. The election was over, but the result had not yet been proclaimed by the herald, when the interruption took place.

32. **haec**: 'the present proceedings.' — **facinoris suspicionem**, etc.: 'suspicion of some intrigue and not a charge of crime.'

Page 260, 6. **beneficio vicerint**: 'surpassed in conferring benefits.' — **sed tamen**: cf. sects. 59 (p. 244, l. 11) and 81 (p. 253, l. 17). 'Although the virtuous do not count upon a reward, still.'

7. **esset habenda ratio**: 'an estimate must be made.'

10. **consolaretur**: 'compensate for,' 'consoles us for.'

14. **vetustas**: 'future age,' 'posterity.'

15. **cum**: 'although.' — **faces invidiae meae**: cf. sect. 75 (p. 250, l. 27).

16. **gratiis agendis**: 'formal vote of thanks.'

17. **gratulationibus habendis**: 'congratulations.'

18. **omitto**: here Cicero himself speaks; Milo's words begin again at *inquit*. — **et actos et institutos**: 'celebrated or appointed to be celebrated.'

19. **opinor**: this is a rhetorical device to give an air of unpremeditated assertion. The figure is exact.

20. **ea**: construe with *fama*.

21. **de illo**: *i.e. interitu Clodi*.

Page 261, 1. **eriperis**: future instead of future perfect to denote that Cicero feels the separation already beginning. — **illa saltem**, etc.: 'the last poor means of consolation, complaint.' *Ut . . . accepero* explains *querela*.

4. **nullum umquam**, etc.: 'no pain that you can inflict, will ever be so great (and yet what pain can equal the present) — no, not even this pain can be great enough to make me forget how great a value you have always set upon me.'

8. **aliquid**: see sect. 67 (p. 247, l. 14). — **offendistis**: 'fall foul of,' a rare use of *offendo*.

10. **vixero**: 'I shall end my life.' — **acciderit**: see note, p. 244, l. 3.

12. **pietatis**: 'gratitude.'

16. **in communionem tuorum temporum**: 'to share in your adversities.'

18. **dimicatio capitis**: 'struggle for life,' *i.e.* for your life. — **deposco**: 'I claim it.'

22. **in huius salute**: 'by sparing this man (Milo).'

23. **aut . . . videatis**: 'or else to recognize that in his destruction is involved the overthrow of your kind acts.' The alternative seems too long; it would have sufficed to say, 'or else they will be overthrown.'

25. **quodam incredibili robore**: *quodam* modifies the noun, 'a real strength that is beyond belief.' — **exsilium**, etc.: the thought is not altogether certain. The idea seems to be: wherever there is no room for virtue, there is exile for Milo. But there is room everywhere for virtue, and therefore there is no possible exile for Milo.

26. **naturae finem**: 'the end appointed by nature.'

27. **hic ea mente**: sc. *est*.

30. **virtutem**: *i.e. virtutem consularem*. — **procreavit**: cf. sect. 93.

Page 262, 5. per hos: *i.e.* the *iudices*. A gesture showed who were meant.

8. **abes**: *i.e.* as Caesar's *legatus* in Gaul. — **temporum illorum**: the events connected with the banishment of Cicero.

10. **potuisse**: dependent on *respondebo*. — **quae . . . potuisse**: trans. as though it read: *quae est grata gentibus omnibus. At a quibus non potuisse? Ab eis*, etc.

12. **quo deprecante?**: 'who was the intercessor?'

13. **quodnam . . . exstinxi**: 'of what crime so great was I guilty, what misdeed did I allow myself to commit, jurymen, when I tracked, opened, brought to light, and annihilated the evidences of a plot that threatened national destruction?' *Exstinxi* seems strained with *indicia*, but this is passionate language.

23. **scelerate**: 'sinfully.'

24. **pie**: 'rightly.'

26. **a vobis**: more emphatic than the dative and lays more stress upon the activity of the agent.

28. **'luerit**: 'well that he has paid!' Note the antithesis *debitas, non debitas*.

29. **patriae natus**: more fully, *non sibi sed patriae natus*.

30. **si forte**: 'possibly.'

Page 263, 6. **is**: Pompey.

PRO MARCELLO

Page 264, 1. **diuturni silenti**: see Introduction, pp. 23 and 24. — **eram usus**: the perfect might be more common in English; but in Latin the pluperfect is used in a subordinate clause denoting time previous to another past tense in the same sentence. — **his temporibus**: *i.e.* the time of the war between Pompey and Caesar.

Page 265, 1. **verecundia**: 'diffidence.' — **idemque**: 'and also.'

2. **vellem, sentirem**: subjunctives by attraction, being influenced by the gerund, *dicendi*, which is much like an infinitive in this use. H. 652 (529, II); L M, 793; A. 593 (342); G. 629; B. 324, 2; H B. 539.

3. **mansuetudinem**: others, gaining the supreme power, had made the streets of Rome flow with the blood of the proscribed.

4. **summa potestate**: Caesar was now dictator with a ten years' term, censor, and for the third time consul.

5. **rerum omnium**: 'in all things.'

10. **dolebam et vehementer angebar**: 'I was grieved and exceedingly vexed.'

11. **in eadem causa**: '(partner) in the same cause.'

12. **in eadem fortuna**: '(partner) in the same good fortune.'

14. **aemulo**: used here as substantive, meaning 'rival.' It is the ablative with *distracto*. What use of the ablative is this? Marcellus was an orator and had been *socius*, 'congenial friend,' and *comes*, 'traveling companion' of Cicero.

15. **quasi quodam socio et comite**: 'as if one rightly called my comrade and companion.' The word *comite* seems to suggest the metaphor of a journey, used in the next sentence.

16. **mihi**: ethical dative.

19. **mihi**: dative of agent. — **in**: 'in the case of.'

20. **omnibus**: agent; 'by all,' to be construed with *intellectum est*.

21. **offensionibus**: 'his (Marcellus's) hostile acts.'

23. **vel, vel**: not in the least mutually exclusive; almost equivalent to *et, et*. — **doloribus, suspicionibus**: 'grievances,' 'suspected plots.' — **anteferre**: depending on *intellectum est*.

25. **cum, tum**: 'not only, but also.'

26. **maximo**: 'very important,' and therefore showing the importance of Marcellus.

Page **266**, 2. **ventura sit**: it would take weeks to carry the news of the pardon to Mitylene.

4. **illo**: construe with *praestantior*.

5. **innocentia**: 'integrity.' — **laudis**: 'of merit.'

7. **nullius**: used instead of the genitive of *nemo*; it is not an adjective here.

8. **exornare**: 'embellish.'

9. **sed**: 'but even.' — **enarrare**: 'fully relate.'

10. **pace tua**: 'with your permission.'

16. **numero**: if we may believe Pliny, this was greater than fifty.

17. **regionum**: East, South, and North. Britain and the Rhine naturally suggest themselves. — **celeritate**: one of the characteristics of Caesar's military genius was swiftness of action.

18. **disiunctissimas**: during the Civil War (49–46) Caesar carried on his campaigns in several provinces.

19. **cuiusquam**: the emphatic, 'any one.'

22. **mens aut cogitatio**: 'the intellect or the imagination.' — **capere**: 'grasp.'

23. **bellicas laudes**: these words are in an emphatic position and are contrasted with another kind of glory.

24. **ducibus**: dative of separation. H. 427 (386, 2); L M. 539; A. 381 (229); G. 345, R. 1; B. 188, 2, d; H B. 371.

25. **et certe in armis**: 'and certainly in war.'

28. **suo iure**: 'by inherent right.'

Page **267**, 1. **at vero**: denoting emphatic opposition to the immediately preceding statement.

2. **es adeptus**: by pardoning an implacable enemy, like Marcellus. This was very different from the proscriptions of other conquerors.

3. **quantumcumque est**: 'to its utmost greatness.'

6. **decerpit**: 'plucks away.' — **quin etiam**: 'yea, even.'

7. **Fortuna**: 'Luck.'

8. **esse**: *gloriam*, implied from the previous clause, is the subject.

9. **numquam**, etc.: luck would have *temeritas* and *casus*.

11. **gentis barbaras**: *i.e.* of Gaul. — **immanitate**: 'in their cruelty.'

12. **copiarum**: 'of resources.'

15. **animum**, etc. Introduce the English here with 'But.'

16. **victo**: dative with *temperare*.

19. **haec**: sums up the various expressions preceding. For the anacoluthon see A. 640 (385); G. 697; B. 374, 6; H B. 631, 8.

20. **deo**: for a possible *dei*.

21. **illae**: note the position of this word, which gives emphasis.

22. **sed**: 'but also.'

24. **obstrepi**: 'to be drowned out.'

27. **factum**: 'that has been done.' *Aliquid* is the object of *audimus*; *factum* modifies *aliquid*.

30. **fictis**: *i.e.* the epic and the drama. *Rebus* supplies itself with *fictis*.

32. **os**: 'expression of face,' showing his *mentem* ('thought') and *sensus* ('feeling').

33. **reliquum fecerit**: = *reliquerit*.

Page 268, 2. **me dius fidius**: 'on my word' (*me dius Fidius iuvet*).

4. **illa auctoritas**: 'that distinguished influence (of Marcellus).

6. **C. Marcelli**: a relative of Marcus.

7. **pietate**: 'loyalty.' Here it means loyalty to blood relations.

8. **Marcellorum**: these were a distinguished race. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was famous in the Second Punic War.

9. **suam**: for its use referring to an oblique case, see H. 503, 2 (449, 3); L M. 1043; A. 301, b (196, c); G. 309, 2; B. 244, 4; H B. 264, 2.

10. **nobilissimam familiam**: 'their illustrious line.'

11. **vindicasti**: 'you have reclaimed.'

12: **gratulationibus**: the student will remember that a thanksgiving was decreed for Caesar after his success against the Belgae in 57. Twice afterwards (55 and 52) while he was in Gaul and again in 46 he was similarly honored.

14. **gestae**: sc. *sunt*. — **multo magnoque**: 'large and numerous.'

15. **comitatu**: 'band of comrades.' May be ablative absolute or ablative of accompaniment with *cum* omitted.

16. **tanta est**: this sentence is troublesome because the *ut—sit* clause is not logically the result clause depending on *tanta*. In effect the *ut—sit* clause is concessive and the *at—florescet* clause shows the result of Caesar's noble deed. Translate 'this deed is so noble that, though time will put an end to your spoils and your memorials, etc., this instance of your justice and clemency of judgment will be daily more famous,' etc.

17. **opere et manu**: hendiadys.

21. **victores**: Sulla, Cinna, Marius.

23. **ut**: 'that not.' 'I fear that, when heard, this that I shall say cannot be understood just as I in thought feel it.' — **perinde atque**: 'precisely as.' — **auditu**: lit. 'as to the hearing,' or 'in the hearing': ablative of specification.

26. **occidissemus**: 'should have fallen victims.'

28. **condicio visque**: 'the (usually) violent circumstances.' There is a passage in one of Cicero's letters that pursues this thought farther. In it he says, 'All the circumstances of cruel wars are wretched, but nothing is more wretched than the victory (of one faction).'

30. **hoc iudicium . . . quam late pateat**: the prolepsis, by which the subject is rather withdrawn from the dependent clause and made the object of *attendite*, emphasizes both *iudicium* and *quam late pateat*; 'how far-reaching is this decision.'

31. **qui**: 'we who.' — **illa arma**: *i.e.* Pompey's army or party.

33. **aliqua** softens the word *culpa*.

Page 269, 1. **sumus**: with *compulsi*.

2. **mihi**: *i.e.* to my peaceful mode of life. — **rei publicae**: *i.e.* to his public duties.

3. **nullo**: ablative of *nemo*.

7. **metu**: of Caesar's ambitions. It is known that Caesar caused the letters found after the great battles to be burned. He desired to take all opponents back into favor, assuming that they had been led to Pompey by honorable, if mistaken, promptings.

8. **quo in bello**: here Cicero begins an explanation of his position at the beginning of the Civil War.

9. **audiendum**: 'ear should be given.'

10. **civium**: including Cicero himself.

11. **neque enim**: 'but (this was not surprising), for.' — **ulla** refers to the contention between Sulla and Marius.

13. **hominem**: Pompey.

14. **privato officio**: 'for private reasons.'

15. **grati animi**: see Life of Cicero in Introduction for the relations between Pompey and Cicero. Translate, 'of a grateful heart.'

16. **prudens et sciens**: 'foreseeing and knowing what was to come.'

19. **integra re**: 'when the matter was still fresh.' — **etiam cum**: 'even (when it was) with.'

21. **quae . . . fuerit**: Caesar was always willing to pardon those who would lay down their arms. Cicero was pardoned before armed opposition to Caesar had been stamped out.

23. **ceteris fuerit iratior**: the asyndeton is such that we should perhaps use our word 'while' to introduce this statement and bring out the antithesis, *pacis auctores . . . ceteris*. *Ceteris* is dative after *iratior*.

27. **huius rei**: *i.e.* favoring peace.

30. **certorum**: 'well known.' All present could know who were meant. These leaders of the senatorial party had gone so far as to divide prospective offices and booty. The scenes of the triumphs of Marius and Sulla might have been reënacted.

Page 270, 5. **ex eadem acie**: 'of the same army.'

6. **alterius partis**: Pompey's.

10. **ubi fuisset**: Pompey leaving Rome said that he should regard those who had remained in Rome as if they had been in Caesar's army. The threat was that only the fact would be considered whether a man had been in Pompey's or in Caesar's camp, not what his real sentiments had been.

16. **bono**: 'good quality.'

17. **cum, tum, etiam**: correlatives. — **natura et moribus tuis**: almost equivalent to 'your natural character.'

20. **felicitati**: on the whole Caesar will rejoice in his good luck more often than in his ability as a commander. Moral satisfaction will come to him when he considers the men whom he has pardoned. This will bring him the *summa bona*, the highest good of the Stoics, virtue.

26. **donata**: 'given.'

27. **commodata**: 'loaned.'

29. **opinione offici**: 'an idea of duty.'

30. **specie**: 'an appearance of service.'

31. **contraque**: 'but on the contrary.'

32. **quod**: 'because.' — **timendum**: 'occasion to fear you.' — **senserunt**: 'they have discerned.'

Page 271, 1. **suspicionem**: of a plot against your life.

3. **providenda**: 'guarded against.' The subject *quae* may be rendered in English, 'as regards the realization of which.'

4. **cautio**: 'safety.' In fact, Cicero was killed in the next year after Caesar's assassination.

7. **tuis**: 'your immediate friends.' — **tametsi**: 'and after all.'

8. **quibus**: 'those to whom.'

12. **inimici**: subject of *cogitent sceleris* implied.

13. **fuerunt**: sc. *inimici atque supersunt*. — **pertinacia**: by continuing the war in Africa.

16. **latebrae**: 'hidden depths.'

19. **nihil umquam cogitans**: 'always thoughtless.' — **nec, nec**: the English wants 'either, or.'

21. **ex unius tua vita**: 'on your life alone.' H. 446, 3 (398, 3); L M. 555; A. 302, e (197, e); G. 321, R. 2; B. 243, 3, a; H B. 339 b. — **omnium**: sc. *vitam*. The word *omnium* is neatly emphasized by the order of words.

22. casus **dumtaxat humanos**: 'accidents that are simply the lot of man.' There is a mournful tone to this entire passage which is the reflex of Cicero's feelings concerning the Civil War. See the Introduction, pp. 23, 24.

31. **quod necesse fuit**: 'as was inevitable.'

32. **fides**: 'confidence' or even perhaps 'credit.'

33. **libidines**: 'sensuality.' — **propaganda suboles**: the Civil Wars had depleted the population. Caesar encouraged marriage. — **omnia . . . diffluxerunt**: 'all ties that have become loosened and have fallen apart.'

Page 272, 1. **non fuit recusandum**: 'there was no shrinking from it.' The English sense is clearer by translating, 'it could not be avoided.'

10. **naturae vel gloriae**: 'for length of life and fame.' Caesar was now fifty-three.

13. **prudentiam, sapiens**: to avoid repetition, translate, 'wisdom,' 'wise.'

16. **id audirem**: 'I would hear this (willingly).'

20. **hic**: 'at this point.' — **modum definies**: 'will you set a limit?'

22. **istud** refers to *satis diu*.

23. **parumne magna**: sc. *opera*.

28. **futurus fuit**: 'was going to be.'

31. **magnorum meritorum**: 'due to great services.'

Page 273, 1. **pars**: the familiar comparison of life to a stage upon which the play of life is acted. *Elaborandum* is a term of literary composition.

3. **ea**: *i.e. re publica*. — **in primis**: 'more than all others.'

6. **dicito**: note the future imperative and its relation to *tum*. See H. 560, 4 (487, 2); L M. 727; A. 449 (269, d); G. 268, 2; B. 281, 1, a; H B. 496. — **diu**: used as a noun, 'this very long enough.'

7. **extremum**: sc. *finem*.

9. **quamquam**: particle of transition, 'and yet.' — **his angustiis**: 'these narrow views.'

10. **fuit, semper**: the English needs a conjunction. Cf., for the sentiment, the beginning of the 9th Chapter of the *Pro Archia*.

12. **ducenda est**: 'must not be regarded as.'

15. **inservias**: the subjunctives here are coördinate with *oportet*. L M. 782; A. 565, N. 1 (331, i, N. 2); B. 295, 8.

16. **huic**: *i.e. immortalitati*. It is difficult to personify this in English, but we may say boldly, 'to her.' — **quae miretur**: 'to admire.'

20. **munera**: 'public entertainments.' — **audientes et legentes** have for objects all the preceding accusatives.

27. **requirent**: 'will find lacking.'

28. **fati**: 'the work of fate.'

29. **consili**: 'the work of wisdom.' *Fati* and *consili* are predicate genitives. —**servi**: 'have regard for.'

30. **haud scio an**: 'probably.'

32. **id** refers to personal immortality.

33. **falso** sounds uncertain in meaning and is possibly an interpolation.

Page 274, 3. **diversae fuerunt**: 'the aims of the people have been conflicting.'

5. **obscuritas quaedam**: 'an evident uncertainty.'

8. **quid liceret**: 'how far they would be allowed to go.'

9. **bello**: what case?

10. **fortuna inflammaret odium**: an awkward expression in the literal English. Translate, 'let good luck set fire to his (natural) grudge.'

11. **eosdem**: 'in equal measure' is what 'same' means here.

16. **quae**: 'that which.'

20. **nisi te salvo et manente**: *i.e. nisi tu salvus es et manes.*

22. **haec**: accompanied by a gesture.

25. **subesse**: 'threatens.'

27. **laterum** does not add to the picture in the English; 'the interposition of our bodies' seems sufficient in our tongue.

Page 275, 1. **habemus**: 'we feel.' — **idem sentiunt**: 'have the same feeling.'

3. **stantibus**: 'on their feet,' *i.e.* in a set speech. — **necesse**: as a friend of Marcellus and leader of the Senate.

7. **quod . . . est**: 'as far as this is a matter of good will.'

8. **quae . . . illum**: 'which on my part toward him.'

10. **fratri, praeter**: English wants an 'and' between. — **id** refers in a general way to an anxious friendliness, implied in the first clause of the sentence.

11. **praestiterim**: 'displayed.' The word is again used toward the end of the sentence.

14. **ut . . . accesserit**: a clause explaining *gratias*. — **me conservato**: the ablative absolute may be rendered, 'now that I have been,' etc., or 'although I have been,' etc. — **omnibus rebus**: 'in every way.'

16. **quod . . . arbitrabar**: put in the English at the end of the sentence, as if after *accesserit*; 'which I thought could no longer be done.'

PRO LIGARIO

Page 276, 1. novum crimen, etc.: note the vein of irony in the first few lines. The alliteration in *fretus fortasse familiaritate* would be a blemish in less humorous diction.

2. **Q. Tubero**: Quintus Tubero had been a supporter of Pompey, and had been pardoned by Caesar. He may have been connected by marriage with the family of Cicero.

Page 277, 1., C. Pansa: C. Vibius Pansa, consul in 43.

4. **cum . . . potuisses**: obviously this is ironical. Caesar could hardly have been ignorant of the fact.

8. **integrum**: 'a fact to be determined.' At this point Cicero grows serious, and addresses himself to Caesar's clemency.

11. **liberationem culpae**: 'a release from the charge of wrongdoing.'

14. **in ea parte**: 'in that party,' *i.e.* of Pompey.

15. **patrem**: the man's name was Lucius Tubero. For the use of the accusatives here (*te virum*) see H. 643, 1 (524, 1); L M. 1027; A 583, b (336, c.); G. 635; B. 314, 4; H B. 535, 1, b. — **confiteamini**: for this subjunctive without *ut*, see H. 564, II, 1, ft. N. 2; L M. 782; A 565, N. 1 (331, i, N. 1); B. 295, 8; H B. 502, 3, c, ft. N. 3. It is a coördinate construction with *necesse est*, in which *ut* is not used at all.

18. **C. Considio**: C. Considius was governor of Africa in 50. When he returned to Rome to stand for the consulship, he left Ligarius in charge.

27. **salutis ducem**: 'a leader in measures of safety.'

28. **cum Ligarius**: the *cum inversum*, introducing the main thought.

Page 278, 2. P. Attius Varus had commanded troops for Pompey in Italy, but later went to Africa and became ruler there in the interests of Pompey. He had regularly been assigned to this province several years before.

3. **Uticam**: a town north of Carthage, which became famous from the fact that Cato the Younger killed himself there.

6. **consilio**: 'authorization.'

7. **conquievit**: 'obtained rest.' Construe *paulum* as a modifier of *conquievit*.

12. **ei**: *i.e. provinciae*.

15. **habuit**: 'proceeded from.'

19. **quod**: 'during which.'

24. **desideri**: 'longing.' Here almost equivalent to 'homesickness.'

25. **quendam**: 'really.' — **hic**: 'such being the case.'

28. **alienae a**: 'hostile to.'

Page 279, 4. **defendit**: 'states in defense.' — **se**: *i.e.* Cicero.

10. **voce contendam, ut,** etc.: 'I shall strive, with my voice, to bring it about that,' etc.

15. **ante quam vidit**: Caesar, being still in Egypt, had not yet seen Cicero since Cicero's active espousal of the case of Pompey.

17. **imperator unus, alterum** (*imperatorem*): for Cicero's right to assume the title *imperator*, see Introduction, p. 21, third paragraph.

19. **fascis laureatos**: the laureled fasces were the tokens of victory accompanying the victorious general.

23. **ut audeam**: 'how I venture.'

24. **de Ligari**: sc. *facto*.

Page 280, 4. **prohibitum a Ligario**: Ligarius, acting for Varus, seems to have prevented the landing of Lucius Tubero, who had been constituted governor of Africa. Quintus, the son of Lucius Tubero, must have been with his father.

7. **acie Pharsalica**: the battle of Pharsalus, 48. In this battle Caesar crushed Pompey.

8. **sensus**: 'motive.'

11. **isdem in armis** (freely): 'under the same flag.'

13. **impunitas**: 'escape from punishment.'

16. **desidero**: 'I miss.'

19. **quam**: 'rather than.' The *maluisset* = *magis voluisset*; hence the *quam*. — **agi** is used impersonally. In translating supply a subject such as 'case.'

23. **vim**: 'effect.'

25. **levium Graecorum**: 'fickle Greeks.' Treachery and disregard of law were attributed by the Romans to foreigners, especially to the Greeks.

27. **T. Broccho**: Titus Brocchus, maternal uncle of Ligarius, was present at the trial. *Eius* refers to Brocchus.

29. **num est**: 'is that your purpose?'

31. **vita vis**: sc. *hunc privare*.

32. **dictatorem**: Sulla, who offered a reward for the killing of any one who had been proscribed.

Page 281, 2. **ab hoc eodem**: *i.e. a Caesare.* — **aliquot annis**: 78 to 64, seventeen years. Caesar evidently punished some of Sulla's tools.

5. **novi**: from *nosco*.

17. **supplicum voce**: 'from petitioning as suppliants.'

18. **domi**: sc. *Caesaris*.

20. **cave ignoscas**: for this prohibition see H. 561, 2 (489); L M. 729; A. 450 (269, a): G. 271, 2; B. 276, c; H B. 501, 3, a, 2. *Ut* is not omitted, but the two expressions are coördinate.

21. **misereat**: note the accusative of the person (*te*) and the genitive of the cause of the feeling (*fratrum*) with this verb.

22. **hoc**: 'this' (that I am about to say). *Quod* agrees with it, and *id* explains it.

26. **per te**: 'of your own self.'

28. **de victoribus, de victis**: used because the genitive plural of *victor* and *victus* being the same would cause ambiguity.

29. **quam multi**: sc. *essent*.

30. **ignosci nemini**: impersonal construction.

31. **hi**: Lucius and Quintus Tubero.

Page 282, 1. **saluti esse vellemus**: 'wished to defend' (as consul).

4. **alicuius**: 'any one's business.'

6. **tum**: 'in the former case,' *i.e.* through unwillingness that Caesar should be deceived.

13. **nullo de alio**: 'concerning no one else.'

15. **adferret**: is zeugmatic. With the two instances of *quod* in the earlier part of the sentence the notion would be 'wished to say'; and the third meaning is 'produced.'

16. **illa causa**: *i.e.* the support of Pompey in the Civil War.

17. **qui durius, qui gravissime**: sc. *appellant* or *dicunt*.

23. **esse miseros**: sc. *nos*, the supporters of Pompey.

26. **fuerint**: 'admit that they have been!' H. 559, 3 (484, III); L M. 716; A. 440 (266, c); G. 261; B. 278; H B. 532, 1. — **crimine**: 'accusation.'

29. **contumeliam**: the Senate in 49 decreed that Caesar should re-

sign his governorship of Gaul. This was within the prerogative of the Senate, but under the circumstances was in the nature of a political move in favor of Pompey. The act was an insult to a successful commander.

Page 283, 3. ut tibi conveniret: 'that you might come to an agreement.'

8. **incolumi dignitate**: 'unimpaired in position'; lit. 'of unimpaired dignity.' — **illam**: the pronoun is here attached to the gender of *secessionem*.

9. **hostile odium**: 'wrathful strife with a foreign foe.'

13. **non par**, etc.: the Senatorial party, which supported Pompey, contained more important men.

17. **occiderit nemo nisi armatus**: perhaps a covert allusion to the proscription of Sulla.

21. **poteramusne**: sc. *in Africam non venire*.

22. **nullo modo**: 'by no means!'

28. **sors**: lots were drawn for the assignment of provinces.

Page 284, 2. excusari: 'to decline.'

4. **militiae contubernales**: in the Social or Marsic War. — **adfines**: Tubero married into the *gens Tullia*.

7. **quidam**: doubtless the person was known and Caesar understood the reference.

11. **causa**: 'interest.' The praetors to whom were assigned provinces proceeded to their several commands.

12. **iam occupatam**: Varus had assumed command. See sect. 3.

16. **quam aliquem se maluisse**: 'than that some one should have preferred to hold it.' The reference in *aliquem* is to Varus; in *se*, to Africa. Supply *obtinere*.

18. **quoquo modo se illud habet**: 'however that may be.'

20. **essetis**: *i.e. recepti essetis*.

25. **cuius interfuit**: 'to whose advantage it would have been.' Note the genitive with *intersum*.

31. **huic victoriae**: 'to the present victorious cause.'

32. **rex**: Iuba, the king of Numidia, favored Pompey.

33. **conventus**: 'of the commons.' The reference is to the association of Romans residing in the province. *Firmi atque magni* may be translated 'numerous and determined.'

Page 285, 6. quod si veniebatis: the indicative here seems to admit the fact, for the sake of argument; 'if you had been going.'

11. **in hoc quidem**: 'indeed, in this connection.' — **vel cum mendacio**: 'even falsely.'

12. **per me**: 'for all I care.'

16. **constantiam**: spoken with stinging sarcasm. Tubero easily transferred his attachment from Pompey's cause to that of Caesar. Ligarius, even after he was pardoned by Caesar, seems to have remained at heart obdurate in opposition to Caesar.

21. **quotus quisque fecisset**: 'how many would have done?' implying that few would.

23. **cum crudelitate**: the reference is to the refusal to allow Quintus Tubero, who was ill, to land.

24. **magni cuiusdam animi atque eius viri, quem**: 'it is a token of a truly great spirit, and characteristic of such a man as.'

27. **ut**: 'although.' For this concessive use of *ut* see H. 586, II (515, III); L M. 901; A. 527, a (313, a); G. 608; B. 308; H B. 532, 2, b.

29. **praecipuum**: 'the chief advantage' or 'a special advantage.'

Page 286, 2. aliquam: 'any other.'

5. **ista res**: 'your plight.'

6. **nihil commovisset**: Pompey did not see fit to disturb Varus.

7. **credo**: simply emphasizes the irony. — **in praesidiis**: 'among his defenders.'

8. **animi**: 'your hearts.' — **an . . . reliquis**: the omitted predicate may be *eventum exspectabitis* or *vincendi studio tenebamini*, from the next sentence.

11. **auctor**: 'an advocate.'

13. **tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses**: the direct form would be *tibi erit pereundum nisi viceris*.

16. **vos constantiae**: H. 457 (410, IV); L M. 585; A. 354, b (221) G. 377; B. 209, 1; H B. 352, 1.

19. **in illa causa perseverantia**: 'adherence to that cause.' Cicero wishes to drive Tubero to an admission that he is either hounding a former ally in an ungraceful act on the part of one who had been pardoned for the same political acts, or is seeking to avenge private wrongs.

20. **qui putetis**; 'in thinking.'

22. **num videor**: the negative answer implied indicates that Cicero had placed no reliance upon legal argument or rebuttal of testimony concerning the acts of Ligarius. — **tibi**: *i.e.* to Caesar, who is sitting as judge.

23. **ad unam summam**: 'to one consideration.'

26. **in foro**: Caesar had been a successful advocate. He prosecuted Dolabella and other tools of Sulla. — **ratio honorum tuorum**: 'your aim at distinction.'

Page **287**, 2. **si posthac**: sc. *erraverit, poenae sunto.*

6. **conligo**: 'do I adduce.' — **valerent**: sc. *si conligerem.*

11. **ut ignoscatur**: sc. *ei.* — **adroganter**: sc. *ago.*

15. **studiis**: 'zealous pleading.'

20. **sed quam illius** 'but how much a friend he was of him.'

21. **tribuis . . . sed video**: 'although you confer (as many benefits, etc.) . . . still I perceive.'

25. **iustissimum**: 'most appropriate.' The idea is that the pleaders are those whose intimate associates are in danger.

28. **quod soles**: sc. *considerare.* Cicero has already stated that this is the cause rather than the person.

29. **Sabinos**: Ligarius belonged to the Sabines. People related to him in that district were evidently present at the trial.

32. **T. Brocchi**: see note on *T. Broccho*, p. 280, l. 27.

33. **squalorem**: 'misery.'

Page **288**, 7. **tua vox illa**: 'your expressed policy.'

10. **tuos**: 'your friends.' — **hunc splendorem omnem**: 'all these glorious men.'

11. **Corfidium**: it is related that Corfidius was dead before the oration was delivered and the insertion of the name was made in the writing out of the speech.

12. **veste mutata**: as suppliants they would appear as mourners.

14. **requirebamus**: 'sought out for attack.'

15. **suos**: for this use see H. 503, 4 (449, 4); L M. 1043; A. 301 c (196, g); G. 309, 2; B. 244, 4; H B. 264, 2.

16. **hoc verissimum reperiatur**: this refers to his claim, mentioned above, that all who were not against him were his friends.

21. **conspirantem et paene conflatum**: 'harmonious and almost unanimous.'

22. **in hac prope aequalitate fraterna**: 'among these almost similar brothers.'

25. **tempestate**: *i.e. belli.*

27. **ierit**: 'grant that he went.'

30. **T. Ligarius**: brother of Q. Ligarius. The allusion in this passage is obscure to us, but must have recalled to Caesar some instance

in which Cicero favored some project of Caesar for which funds were needed. — **quaestor urbanus** was the city treasurer.

Page 289, 1. **hoc est**: 'this is characteristic.'

2. **animi**: sc. *tui*.

3. **de aliis quibusdam quaestoribus**: these quaestors, whom Cicero had in mind but does not name, did not assist Caesar.

5. **haec**: 'this present affair.'

7. **quam cum dederis**: 'and when you have granted it' (*i.e.* safety to Ligarius).

8. **utrisque**: Ligarius and his brothers.

12. **in curia**: Cicero had shortly before pleaded for M. Marcellus, whom Caesar thereupon pardoned.

15. **ille dies**: when Caesar pardoned Marcellus.

18. **nihil, nec, nec**: the *nec*, *nec* distribute but do not destroy the negative *nihil*. The English uses 'either, or.' — **populare**: 'of repute with the people.'

22. **quam ut possis, quam ut velis**: 'than that you could, than that you should wish.' Note the careful antithesis in this sentence.

LETTERS

Page 290, 1. **Quantum . . . acceperim**: 'what a loss I have sustained.'

2. **forensi**: Lucius Cicero was a cousin of the orator. He helped collect evidence for Cicero in the case against Verres. — **fratris**: sc. *patruelis*, 'cousin.'

4. **ex humanitate alterius et moribus**: 'from another's kindly disposition.'

7. **omni . . . ornatissimum**: 'richly gifted in character and principles.' — **tui amantem**: 'attached to you.'

8. **adfinem**: 'relative.' The word is used rather loosely here.

Page 291, 1. **sorore tua**: Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero.

5. **minorem**: 'a younger man.' Marcus was four years older than Quintus, who was at this time thirty-four.

8. **litterarum missione**: *missio* seems here to mean 'regularity.' It might mean 'interruption,' 'cessation.'

14. **contentione**: 'haste.'

16. **Peducaeum**: Sex. Peducaeus was praetor in Sicily when Cicero was quaestor there.

18. **non mihi grave duxi**: 'I should not have thought it a hard task.'

20. **leve putassem**: 'I had thought it a light task.'

21. **unas litteras**: 'one letter.' Notice the use of *unus* in the plural to avoid ambiguity; *duae litterae* would mean 'two letters of the alphabet.' — **scito**: future imperative.

22. **cum habueris**: 'although you have had.'

24. **quod scribis**, etc.: '(and I have not neglected) that concerning which you write, that if some one is a little offended with you, he ought to be won back by me. I understand (*teneo*) what you say and have not failed to do my best, but he has been very greatly disturbed.' The reference is to Lucceius.

27. **quid autem**, etc.: 'but how far I must go in my efforts, I thought I ought to determine by your wishes.'

29. **quam** refers to *voluntate*. — **me . . . velis**: 'that I did not wish to be more busy than you were and that I shall not be more neglectful than you wish.'

32. **de Tadiana re**: Tadius had held the property of a ward for two years and by Atticus's advice claimed thereby prescriptive right to the property. No prescriptive right to a ward's property which was under the care of statutory guardians could be acquired by any one.

33. **hereditas usu capta esset**: 'inheritance (on the part of the ward) had been taken away (from her) through use (of the property by Tadius).'

Page 292, 3. **Epiroticam emptionem**: 'your purchase of an estate in Epirus.' The place was near Buthrotum.

4. **Tusculano**: 'Tusculan estate.'

5. **ut scribis**: 'when you write.' — **quod**: 'as far as.'

8. **articulorum dolores**: 'rheumatism.'

13. **magna . . . iudici**: 'a great changeableness of feeling and a revulsion of sentiment and judgment.'

14. **Quinti fratris**: 'on the part of my brother Quintus.' A quarrel had arisen between Atticus and his brother-in-law, over some matter unknown to us.

19. **offensionem tam gravem**: 'so serious a quarrel.'

20. **illud** has a general reference, 'that misunderstanding.'

22. **subesse . . . incommodae**: 'that there was some unfortunate grudge concealed.'

Page 293, 1. **insedisse** (*ei*): 'had established themselves in his mind.'

3. **nec intellegebam**: 'still, I did not perceive.'

7. **Dyrrachi**: a famous seacoast town of Grecian Illyria. It was a favorite landing place for travelers from Italy.

11. **quam mollis animus**: 'what tenderness of heart.'

14. **perincommode**: the somewhat frequent use of the intensive prefix *per* is one of the characteristics of Cicero's epistolary style.

15. **quod . . . inculcatum**: 'what had been drilled into him by the arts of many people.'

16. **vester ille**: 'your well known.'

18. **culpa resideat**: 'the blame lies.'

19. **meos, tuis**: 'my relatives,' 'your relatives.'

20. **domesticis**: the reference is to Pomponia. The plural here, as above in *meos*, referring to Quintus and *tuis* referring to Pomponia, softens the asperity of the remark. The sentence means, 'I think that although the wound was not caused by any one in the household, the trouble that existed then in the household might have been cured.'

24. **Thessalonica**: 'from Thessalonica.' — **sermonibus**: 'remarks.' *Habitos* may be rendered, 'uttered.'

26. **ecquid . . . ignoro**: 'I do not know whether there was actual ground for them.'

27. **humanitate**: 'kindliness.'

28. **et**: omit the first *et*, in translating.

29. **esse hanc agilitatem**, etc.: 'that this nimbleness and sensitiveness is very often the sign of goodness of heart.'

Page 294, 4. **facultates**: 'opportunities.'

5. **commodorum**: 'rewards for service,' *i.e.* offices.

8. **voluntatem institutae vitae**: 'the aim of our chosen life'; 'our chosen aims in life.'

10. **ratio**: 'plan.'

11. **probitatis**: 'which consists in honesty.' This genitive is sometimes called by the grammarians *genitivus definitionis*.

13. **cum a fraterno . . . discessi**: 'excepting my love for my brother and for my family.' — **primas**: sc. *partes*, 'the first place.'

21. **antea, nunc**: 'hitherto, now.'

23. **cum, tum vero**: 'not only, but surely.'

24. **sermones**: 'conferences.'

30. **ea**: refers to *commemorationem*.

Page 295, 3. **omittendae provinciae**: 'in not claiming the province.' — **quod una non estis**: 'your not being together.'

4. **factum esse**: 'to have been caused.'

5. **qua re . . . obtinebunt**: 'thus those relations (between you and Quintus) will be restored, and the ties between us (Cicero and Atticus), which have been so loyally guarded, will remain sacred.'

12. **qui ob iudicandum accepissent**: 'who has taken bribes to make certain decisions.'

14. **neque aperte dicere**: 'but did not openly say so.'

16. **in causa non verecunda**: 'in a case of presumption.'

17. **deliciae**: 'piece of coolness.'

20. **ut induceretur locatio**: 'that the contract be canceled.'

21. **princeps, secundus**: 'senior counsel, junior counsel.' The latter because he did originate the plea.

Page 296, 9. **eo**: Lucceius.

10. **hoc**: Lucceius.

13. **si . . . sciam**: 'if you mean to remain away (from Rome), let me know (that I may write more fully).' M. Cicero tells Atticus that the message of Cincius concerning Atticus's arrival in Italy was very joyful to him.

21. **Qua re advola**, etc.: 'So fly to meet me that you may show your love for me and be assured that your love is returned.'

23. **Quo die venies**: 'on the day of your return.'

Page 297. S.D.: = *salutem dicit*.

1. **ego**: the pronoun shows that the sentence is an answer to a question.

4. **quod utinam**: the *quod* is merely connective; it may be translated 'and.' — **minus vitae cupidi**: 'less desirous of living.' Cicero regrets that he had not destroyed himself.

6. **alicuius commodi**: 'some prosperity.'

8. **haec mala**: 'this evil fate.' Note the bitterness of the letter from exile.

10. **tu coluisti**: the women, especially, would worship the *Lares*.

14. **prae**: 'in comparison with.'

17. **habebimus**: sc. *gratiam*. — **profecti sumus** means here 'I am setting out,' and is equivalent to *proficiscor*.

18. **a. d. II K. Mai.**: = *pridie Kal. Mai.*

23. **confirmes**: 'promote.'

Page 298, 1. **fac venias**: 'come.'

3. **quid Tulliola mea fiet**: 'what will become of my dear Tullia?'

4. **videte**: 'see to,' imperative.

5. **illius misellae . . . serviendum est**: 'we must have regard for the poor girl's conjugal happiness and for her good name.' Tullia's husband was Calpurnius Piso.

9. **aliquid**: 'any of my property.'

10. **de familia liberata**: Cicero had freed his slaves rather than have them confiscated when he was exiled.

11. **tuis**: 'to your slaves.'

13. **praeterea magno opere nemo**: 'but, beside him, no one (has especially deserved praise).'

14. **ceterorum servorum**: 'regarding the other slaves (mine).' — **si res a nobis abisset**: 'if the property goes from me.'

15. **si obtinere potuissent**: 'if they can make good their title to this.' An enemy might object to the freeing of the slaves on the ground that this act was an evasion of the decree of confiscation. — **sin ad nos pertinerent**: 'but if the property were left in my possession.'

16. **servirent praeterquam oppido pauci**: 'they would remain my slaves, except a few in the city.' Cicero had evidently promised a few of his household slaves in the city their liberty in any event. The secondary tenses in this passage are explained on the ground that in sense the reference is to past time, *i.e.* to an agreement already made.

20. **miser**: 'in my wretched plight.'

22. **tempestatem**: 'a favorable wind.' The sailors would not wait.

26. **una cum ornamentis**: 'along with my dignities.'

29. **Clodium**, etc., were probably freedmen of Cicero.

32. **tui observantem**: 'attentive to you.'

Page 299, 1. **quod potes**: 'so far as you can.'

7. **irascerer, possem irasci**: 'should I be angry? Could I be angry?'

8. **tui inimici**: sc. *perdiderunt*. With *invidia* sc. *perdidit*. The envy was that of Hortensius.

10. **fortunas**: sc. *eripuit*.

12. **a te . . . ceciderunt**: 'I have ever met nothing but goodness and kindness from you.'

14. **ego . . . noluerim**: 'I not want to see you?' This subjunctive (cf. *irascerer*, above) denotes an indignant taking up of another's words.

17. **flens flentem**, etc.: 'whom, weeping, you sent forth with tears, and whom you found, as he set forth, turning back to follow you.' The *prosequentem proficiscens* is evidently a separate idiom from the *quem flens flentem dimiseras* and means, *qui te proficiscens prosecutus erat*. The zeugma in *dimiseras* causes the difficulty in translating.

20. **utinam te**, etc.: 'would that I had left you behind me to look back on my life not only finished, but finished with honor.' The sentence is too difficult for precise rendering.

24. **scelerate**: 'with culpable imprudence.'

Page 300, 2. **defenderet**: 'would prove.'

3. **mea vox**, etc.: 'that my voice most should fail to be uplifted amid family perils — my voice which,' etc.

5. **nam quod**: here the writer goes back to where he left off with *me . . . nolui.* — **quod pueri venerunt**: 'that slaves came to you,' modifying *causam.*

6. **pigritia**: 'listlessness' (under his difficulties).

8. **scripsisse**: 'am writing.' The epistolary perfect, equivalent to English present. — **eodem**: sc. *fletu*.

10. **te desidero**: '(when parted from you) I feel the loss of.'

11. **suavitate fratrem prope aequalem**: 'in kindliness a brother indeed of almost the same age.'

12. **obsequio**: 'in compliance.'

16. **quid filium**: sc. *quod eodem tempore desidero.*

17. **ferus ac ferreus**: 'with iron resolution.'

23. **reliquias communis calamitatis**: 'what is left from the misfortune that overwhelmed us both.'

28. **praesidio**: 'a protection to yourself and your family.'

30. **congressus nostri**: 'of our meeting.'

31. **non tulissem**: 'I could not have borne.'

Page 301, 3. **cum, tum vero**: 'first, and then.'

4. **si potes**: sc. *facere*, 'if you can do so.'

6. **auctoritatis**: 'foundation.'

7. **aliquid praesidi**: 'some protection to you.'

8. **misericordiam nostri**: 'pity for me.'

9. **periculo**: Appius Claudius, son of Clodius, had threatened suit against Cicero for malversation in his province.

11. **quod sperem non dispicio**: 'I do not see reason to hope.'

16. **quam diu tibi opus erit**: it is said that Cicero thought of writing a speech which his brother should deliver in defense of Cicero's administration of his province.

19. **sustinere**: 'endure.'

26. **genere ipso pecuniae**: 'in the very nature of my wealth,' *i.e.* in having gained this wealth honestly. The ablatives modify *beatissimus.*

29. **neque . . . possim**: 'cannot longer lament the downfall of my-

self and of my family.' The sentence ending here is very loosely constructed, but its import is plain.

31. **de permutatione**: 'concerning a bill of exchange.' Quintus had offered to negotiate a note for Cicero. The proceeds would be paid to Cicero at Thessalonica.

33. **sentio quid sceleris**, etc.: 'I see what a wrong I did when I squandered to no purpose the money which I had received from the treasury on your account, when you were giving of your life-blood and that of your son to satisfy your creditors.' Cicero probably used the money in endeavors to bribe his foes and save himself from exile. The sentence seems to need a *cum* to connect *dissiparim*, or else a *tu* before *cum de visceribus*, to contrast with *ego* below.

Page 302, 3. **M. Antonio, Caepioni**: creditors of Quintus. — **quantum tu scripseras**: 'the amount you mention.'

5. **desperamur**: sc. *ab amicis*, 'am despaired of by my friends.' This word in the transitive is rare.

7. **censeo**: 'I advise.' *Crassus*, the triumvir; *M. Calidius*, the praetor who afterwards proposed Cicero's restoration.

8. **Hortensio**: Hortensius was a friend of Atticus.

14. **ne ille versus**, etc.: 'lest by some false testimony that epigram (*versus*) about the Aurelian law, which was attributed to you when you were seeking the aedileship, should be proved (to be yours).' What the epigram was we do not know.

17. **tuae preces et tua salus**: 'your intercession for me, after your acquittal.'

19. **Messalam**: consul in 61. — **etiam**: 'again,' as he had been in the case of Cicero.

29. **te incolumi**: ablative absolute. — **reliqua, ut . . . scribere**: 'my tears do not suffer me to write more.' — **ita mihi salus**, etc.: 'this is true, as may I have a chance for restoration, and a hope of dying in my fatherland.' The sentence is parenthetic, and a kind of oath. *Ita* and *ut* make the comparison.

Page 303, 1. **Coram me tecum**: 'when I was in your presence.' *Coram* is here not a preposition, but an adverb.

2. **pudor quidam subrusticus**: 'a sort of uncouth bashfulness.'

7. **ignoscas velim**: 'I wish you to pardon.' — **festinationi**: 'impatience.'

8. **genus scriptorum**: 'the character of writings.'

11. **res nostras**: 'my deeds,' *i.e.* wrought in my consulship.

12. **commemoratio posteritatis**: 'my praise in time to come.'

13. **vel auctoritate**, etc.: Cicero, taking it for granted that Lucceius would praise him if he mentioned him at all, wishes that historian to write of him. Thus he would enjoy while living the account of his deeds given by a distinguished historian. Notice that the connective is *vel* and not *aut* or *sine*, because all these motives might be combined.

21. **coniuncte cum reliquis rebus**: 'in connection with the rest of your history.' Cicero evidently preferred a monograph upon his consulship.

22. **Callisthenes Phocicum bellum**: Callisthenes of Olynthus was a pupil of Aristotle. He accompanied Alexander the Great in his expedition against Persia in 334. The war referred to is the Sacred War (355–346).

23. **Timaeus** was a Greek historian of Sicily. He flourished during the struggle with Carthage. — **Polybius**: the great Greek historian was born in Arcadia. He was a friend of Scipio Africanus Minor.

Page 304, 2. **dum ad locum venias**: 'until you come to the proper place,' *i.e.* as you write your longer history.

7. **qui imponam**: 'in that I impose.'

8. **occupatio tua**: 'your engrossment in work.'

13. **leges historiae**: elsewhere Cicero states these laws to be *nihil falsi dicere, nihil veri omittere, nihil gratiae, nihil simulati dare.*

16. **Herculem**: the reference is to the choice of Hercules described in Xenophon's *Memorabilia.* — **eam**: a case of epanalepsis. It repeats *gratiam illam.*

17. **ne aspernere** (pres. subj. 2d sing.), expresses a wish. *Largiare* is in the same construction, but is not modified by the *ne*. The *que* after *amori* may be translated, 'but.'

22. **corpus**: 'a volume.'

Page 305, 3. **ceteris vero**, etc.: 'moreover, when others have suffered, and they themselves have felt no pain, pity itself is pleasant to those who, without real grief, behold the misfortunes of their fellows.'

6. **cum . . . delectat?**: 'delight with the pathetic charm of the scene?'

11. **reditu**: as Themistocles did not return from exile, this may be a lapse of memory.

13. **habent**: 'cause.'

18. **ut . . . secernas**: 'to separate.'

19. **quasi fabulam**: 'a kind of drama.'

22. **adsentatiuncula quadam**: 'by evidently trivial flattery.'

24. **neque is es qui quid sis nescias**: 'you are not one that does not know his own worth.'

25. **qui non eos . . . arbitrere**: '(you are one) who would not suspect that those who did not admire you are envious, any more than you would suspect that those who praise you are sycophants.'

29. **propriam . . . consequatur**: 'would increase the reputation of his own talent.'

30. **gratiae causa**: 'as a mere mark of favor.'

33. **ignotis**: 'to strangers.'

Page 306, 2. **perhibendus**: 'worthy of mention.'

4. **qui in eo genere laborarunt**: 'those who have striven for this kind (of commemoration).' — **libellus**: the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon.

8. **non ingenium . . . tuum**: 'not your genius alone would serve me,' *i.e.* as the genius alone of Timaeus served Timoleon. Timaeus and Herodotus were not men of affairs; Lucceius seems to have been a man of importance in the political and social life of the time.

16. **Naevianus**: 'in the poem of Naevius.' Cn. Naevius was born in 274 and died in 204. His poetry was epic and dramatic.

21. **ipse de me**: Cicero wrote in Greek a memoir of his consulship and in Latin a poem and a memoir upon the same subject. These would not be published if he could persuade Lucceius to write a monograph upon his consulship.

Page 307. **S.D.**: = *salutem dicit*.

3. **conlega**: Lentulus Spinther.

7. **inmutatum**: 'changed against me.'

8. **tibi litteris obstrepere**: 'to trouble you with letters.'

12. **ut tuos mecum serves**: 'that you will join me in aiding your whole family' — referring to *omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate*, below.

13. **tuorum**: the reference is to Clodius, whose sister was the widow of Metellus Celer, deceased brother of Q. Metellus. — **tu adduceris?**: 'you conquered yourself, that you might resign your private enmities to the good of the state; will you be induced to make effective the enmities of another (*alienas*, sc. *inimicitias*), against the interests of the state?' The reference in the first part of this sentence is to some private quarrel; in the latter part Clodius is meant.

15. **tua clementia**: ablative case.

18. **propter eam vim**: 'on account of that violence,' especially the

successful effort of Clodius, on Jan. 25, to prevent a demonstration in favor of Cicero.

19. **licuerit, vide ne . . . possis**: this sentence is susceptible of various renderings. Perhaps it means, 'take care lest, when you may wish to recall the present opportunity to protect all your fellow citizens, you may not be able, since there will not then be one who may be preserved.'

Page 308, 1. **Ego vero**, etc.: 'Yes, I could wish, Servius, that, as you write, you had been with me in my sore calamity.'

3. **prope aeque dolendo**: 'by almost perfect sympathy in my grief.'

4. **litteris lectis**: 'after reading your letters.'

6. **adhibuisti**: 'you have shown.' — **Servius**, the son of Sulpicius.

7. **officiis**: 'sources.' — **illi tempori tribui**: 'freely tendered at such a time.'

8. **quanti faceret**: 'how much he valued.' — **quam** belongs with *gratum*; 'how pleasing.'

9. **talem suum animum**: 'such an expression of feeling on his part.'

10. **iucundiora**: 'more pleasant,' *i.e.* 'more productive of an emotion of delight.' — **scilicet**: 'of course.'

11. **gratiora**: 'more acceptable,' *i.e.* 'more welcome as appealing to one's sense of fitness.' — **me autem non oratio**, etc.: 'not only the language (of your letter) and your almost fellowship in sorrow, but also your weighty judgment, bring me consolation.'

14. **opprimor**: 'I am downcast.'

17. **Maximus**: the Cunctator. His son was consul in 213 with Sempronius Gracchus. When young Fabius died, his father pronounced the funeral oration, and afterwards published it.

18. **magnis rebus gestis**: 'a man of doughty deeds.' — **L. Paulus**, who defeated Perses at Pydna. He lost two sons just at the time of his triumphs.

19. **vester**: indicates that Gallus belonged to the *gens Sulpicia*. — **Gallus**: C. Sulpicius Gallus held a command in the war against Perses. He lost a son in some tragic way. — **M. Cato**: Marcus Cato lost his son Cato Sicinianus in 152. The son was then *praetor designatus*.

20. **iis temporibus**: 'so situated at the time.'

21. **ut . . . consequebantur**: 'that the dignity which they obtained in public life assuaged their personal grief.'

23. **ornamentis**: 'distinctions.'

24. **solacium**: his beloved daughter Tullia.

26. **impediebantur cogitationes meae**: 'my thoughts were diverted.'

27. **nihil . . . libebat**: 'I did not care to practice in the courts.'

28. **id quod erat**: 'as was the case.'

29. **fortunae**: 'good fortune.'

Page 309, 1. **mihi . . . communia**: 'were shared by me with you and certain others.'

2. **frangerem . . . me**: 'was crushing down my sorrow.' — **cogeremque** (me): 'and was forcing myself.' —**toleranter**: 'patiently.'

3. **habebam**, etc.: 'I had a refuge and a resting place by the side of one under the influence of whose gentle words and sweet nature I used to lay aside all my cares and griefs.'

5. **illa**: 'those wounds.'

6. **recrudescunt**: 'open afresh,' 'begin again to smart.' — **non enim**, etc.: The *non* belongs with *possum* below. 'For (all is changed): then, when disappointed, my home welcomed me back from state affairs to comfort me; now, in sorrow at home, I cannot fly for refuge to the state, to calm myself amid *its* prosperous affairs.'

13. **maius mihi solacium**, etc.: 'no philosophical system (*ratio nulla*) can bring me greater comfort than the interchange of friendly intercourse and conversation.'

14. **quamquam**, etc.: 'and yet (though I am patiently expecting you) I hope that your arrival is, as I hear, close at hand.' The emphasis must be put strongly on 'hope' to bring out the meaning.

19. **unius . . . et prudentis et liberalis**: 'if one was wise and generous.'

20. **a me alieni**: 'hostile to me.'

22. **agendi aliquid**: 'here we should order, not our action, but the course of that leisure (*quiescendi*) which his kind permission allows us.'

24. **Verberavi te**, etc.: 'I chastised you only with silent abuse of the mind.'

Page 310, 1. **te patrono**: 'if you are your own advocate.'

2. **Marcus**: Quintus refers to his brother M. Tullius.

3. **vide ut**, etc.: 'beware, will he be able.' The *vide* here behaves like a verb of fearing; the passage might be rendered: 'take care that he be not unable.'

5. **lagonas**, etc.: 'stolen the empty wine jars.'

6. **exsiccatae**: 'drained' by the slaves, who would put them among the empty jars, if any such were about.

7. **furtum cessationis**: 'the thievery of indolence,' *i.e.* the stealing of a holiday from your work of letter writing.

8. **et vera . . . nuntiantur**: 'both sincere and charming messages come.'

9. **Ama nos**· with a different point of view, we say, 'good-by.'

VOCABULARY

A

A. = **Aulus**, -ī, *m.*, a Roman praenomen or given name.

a. = **annō**, abl. of **annus**.

a.d. = **ante diem**, on such a *day before*.

ā, ab, abs [**ā** only before cons., **ab** before vowels and a few cons., **abs** only in the phrase **abs tē**], *prep.* with abl., of place, *from, away from;* of time, *from, since, after;* of agent with pass. vbs., *by;* **ā tergō**, *in the rear;* **ab occidente**, *in the west;* **vacuus ab**, *destitute of;* **aberrō ā**, *be at variance with.* In comp., *off, away, apart; not, in-, un-.*

abdicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *disown;* with reflex. pron., and the abl., *resign.*

abditus, -a, -um [p. p. of **abdō**, *hide*], *hidden, out of the way.*

abdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [**dō**, *put*], *put away;* with reflex. pron., *hide.* **sē litterīs abdere**, *bury one's self in books, become a bookworm.*

abeō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [**eō**, *go*], *go away, depart, withdraw, retire;* of time, *go by, pass.*

aberrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**errō**, *wander*], *wander away from; be at variance with.*

abhorreō, -horrēre, -horruī, — [**horreō**, *bristle; shudder*], *shrink from; be foreign to, be opposed to, be at variance with; be incompatible with; be free from; revolt against.*

abiciō, -icere, -iēcī, **-iectus** [**iaciō**, *throw*], *throw aside, abandon; cast out;* with reflex. pron., *prostrate.*

abiectus, -a, -um [p. p. of **abiciō**, *throw aside*], *abandoned; overwhelmed, prostrate, smitten; worthless.*

abnuō, -nuere, -nuī, -nūtus [**nuō**, *nod;* lit. *nod backwards* — among the ancients the sign of refusal or denial], *refuse, reject.*

abripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptus [**rapiō**, *seize*], *snatch away, hurry off; drag; save by force.*

abrogō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**rogō**, *ask*], *repeal; remove; take away;* **magistrātum abrogāre**, *depose.*

absconditus, -a, -um [p. p. of **abscondō**, *conceal*], *hidden, secret.*

absēns, absentis [part. of **absum**, *be away from*], *absent, in one's absence.*

absolūtiō, absolūtiōnis [**absolvō**, *release*], *f., acquittal.*

absolvō, -solvere, -solvī, -solūtus [**solvō**, *loosen*], *release, set free; acquit; absolve.*

abstineō, -tinēre, -tinuī [**teneō**, *hold*], *hold off, keep off; refrain from.*

abstrahō, -trahere, -trāxī, -tractus [**trahō**, *draw*], *draw away from, drag way; withdraw.*

abstulī, perf. of **auferō**.

absum, abesse, āfuī, āfutūrus, *be away from, be absent; not be found in; be removed from, be distant;* **ā meō sēnsū abesse**, *be unconscious of.*

absurdus, -a, -um, *out of tune; silly, absurd, ridiculous.*

abundantia, -ae [abundō, *overflow*], *f., plenty; wealth; prosperity.*

abundō, -undāre, -undāvī, -undātūrus [**undō**, *surge;* **unda**, *wave*], *stream over, overflow; abound in.*

abūtor, -ūtī, -ūsus [**ūtor**, *use*], *use up; presume upon, take advantage of, try.*

ac, see **atque.**

accēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [**cēdō**, *go*], *go* or *come to, approach; be added; fall upon; come forward;* **accēdit** with dat., *in addition to;* **accēdit quod**, *there is the additional fact that.*

accelerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**celerō**, *hasten;* **celer**, *swift*], *hasten.*

accessus, -ūs [**accēdō**, *come to*], *m., an approach, coming.*

accidō, -cidere, -cidī, — [**cadō**, *fall*], *fall to, befall; happen, occur.*

accipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *take, receive, obtain; enter upon; learn, hear.*

Accius, Accī, *m.*, a Roman family name. *Lucius Accius*, a tragic poet, b. 170 B.C.

acclāmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**clāmō**, *call*], *call to, shout at; hoot at, deride.*

accommodātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **accommodō**, *adjust*], *appropriate, suited to.*

accommodō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**commodō**, *accommodate*], *adjust, suit, adapt.*

accubō, -āre, —, — [**cubō**, *lie down*], *recline*, esp. at table.

accumbō, -cumbere, -cubuī, -cubitus, *recline; dine.*

accūrātē [**accūrātus**, *carefully made;* **accūrō**, *take care of*], *adv., carefully; with precision.*

accūsātiō, accūsātiōnis [**accūsō**, *accuse*], *f., accusation; indictment, prosecution.*

accūsātor, accūsātōris [**accūsō**, *accuse*], *m., accuser, prosecutor, plaintiff.*

accūsātōrius, -a, -um [**accūsātor**, *accuser*], *pertaining to the plaintiff.*

accūsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**causa**, *cause*], *bring a cause against; accuse, indict; blame.*

ācer, ācris, ācre, *sharp; keen, active, alert, eager, energetic; earnest, enthusiastic, courageous; fierce, bitter.*

acerbē [**acerbus**, *bitter*], *adv., bitterly; severely, heartlessly.*

acerbitās, acerbitātis [**acerbus**, *bitter*], *f., bitterness; severity, harshness;* pl., *sufferings.*

acerbus, -a, -um [cf. **ācer**, *sharp*], *bitter; cruel, severe.*

ācerrimē, sup. of **ācriter.**

acervus, -ī, *m., a pile, heap, mass.*

Achāia, -ae, *f., Achaia*, Greece as a Roman province.

Achillēs, Achillis, *m., Achilles*, the foremost hero of the Greeks in the Trojan War.

aciēs, aciēī, *f.*, a sharp point or edge; *front of battle; line of battle; army* (in battle array); **aciēs animī**, *acute mental perception, keenness of judgment.*

Acilius, Acilī, *m.*, a Roman gentile or clan name.

ācriter [**ācer**, *sharp*], *adv., sharply, keenly.*

acroāma, acroāmatis, *n., an entertainment; performer, artist.*

āctiō, āctiōnis [**agō**, *do*], *f.*, any *action* or *performance;* an *action at law.*

āctus, -ūs [**agō**, *do*], *m., an act* (of a play).

acuō, acuere, acuī, acūtus [**acus**, *needle*], *sharpen; excite; impel.*

acus, -ūs, *f., a needle.*

Acutiliānus, -a, -um, *of Acutilius; Acutilian.*

Acutilius, Acutilī, *m.*, a Roman family name.

ad, *prep.* with acc., of place, *to, toward, to the house of; at, near by, in the vicinity of;* of time, *till, up to;* of purpose, esp. with the gerund and in the gerundive construction, *for, to;* of other relations, *in reply to, in connection with, with regard to, with a view to; above, almost; besides; before, in the presence of.*

adaequō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**aequō**, *make equal*], *make equal to; make coexistent with.*

adamō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**amō**, *love*], *fall in love with; covet.*

addīcō, -dīcere, -dīxī, -dictus [**dīcō**, *say*], *assign; convey, transfer; make subject to.*

addō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [**dō**, *put; give*], *put to, add.*

adductō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [**dūcō**, *lead*], *lead to; persuade, induce, impel; move, fascinate; arraign.*

adeō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [**eō**, *go*], *go to; visit; meet; enter upon.*

adeō, *adv., thus far; thus, so;* **atque adeō**, *and even, aye even, or rather.*

adeps, adipis, *m.* and *f., soft fat;* pl., *corpulence, obesity.*

adeptus, p. p. of **adipīscor**, *obtain.*

adferō, adferre, attulī, adlātus [**ferō**, *bring*], *bring to, deliver; cause; set forth, mention; add; prescribe; derive; contribute;* **lūcem adferre**, *shed light.*

adficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *do*], *do to, inflict upon, visit with, affect; honor with, confer upon, treat; incur, possess, fill with;* **animō adficere**, *trouble.*

adfīgō, -fīgere, -fīxī, -fīxus [**fīgō**, *fix*], *fasten to, affix.*

adfingō, -fingere, -fīnxī, -fictus [**fingō**, *form*], *fashion in addition; invent besides, counterfeit; ascribe.*

adfīnis, adfīne, *bordering on, adjacent to; related to; implicated in;* as noun, *m.* and *f., kinsman, relative.*

adfīrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *strengthen; assert emphatically, declare, affirm.*

adflictō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **adflīgō**, *strike at*], *dash in pieces; harass, distress, afflict.*

adflīgō, -flīgere, -flīxī, -flictus [**flīgō**, *strike*], *strike at; afflict, dishearten; ruin, overwhelm.*

adfluēns, adfluentis [**fluō**, *flow*], *flowing; abounding in, full of, rich in.*

adgredior, -gredī, -gressus [**gradior**, *step*], *step toward, approach; enter.*

adgregō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**grex**, *herd*], *herd together, gather, collect.*

adhibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitus [**habeō**, *have*], *have near; refer to, consult; use; furnish, provide; indulge;* **aurēs adhibēre**, *give attention.*

adhortor, -ārī, -ātus [**hortor**, *urge*], *urge on, encourage; exhort.*

adhūc, *adv., up to this time, up to this point, hitherto, heretofore, until now; so long, so far.*

adimō, -imere, -ēmī, -ēmptus [**emō**, *take*], *take away, deprive of, relieve of.*

adipīscor, -ipīscī, -eptus [**apīscor**, *lay hold of*], *obtain, attain; bring about, gain one's point.*

aditus, -ūs [**adeō**, *go to*], *m., approach, avenue; entrance; access, means of approach.*

adiūmentum, -ī [**adiuvō**, *help*], *n., aid, assistance, support.*

adiungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctus [**iungō**, *bind*], *join to; add, unite; confer upon.*

adiūtor, adiūtōris [**adiuvō**, *help*], *m.*, *assistant, helper.*

adiuvō, -iuvāre, -iūvī, -iūtus, *assist, aid, favor, support.*

adliceō, -licere, -lexī, -lectus [**laciō**, *entice*], *attract, win over; evoke.*

administer, administrī [**minister**, *attendant*], *m., assistant, tool, instrument.*

administra, -ae, *f., handmaiden.*

administrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ministrō**, *attend*], *manage, conduct, govern.*

admīrābilis, admīrābile [**admīror**, *admire*], *admirable, wonderful; strange, noteworthy.*

admīrātiō, admīrātiōnis [**admīror**, *admire*], *f., admiration, astonishment, wonder.*

admīror, -ārī, -ātus [**mīror**, *wonder*], *wonder at, be surprised; admire.*

admisceō, -miscēre, -miscuī, -mixtus [**misceō**, *mix*], *mix with;* pass., *mix one's self in, interfere, become entangled.*

admittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *admit;* **in sē admittere**, *commit.*

admodum [**modus**, *measure*], *adv., to the full limit, fully.*

admoneō, -monēre, -monuī, -monitus [**moneō**, *remind*], *warn, admonish, advise; remind, prompt.*

admonitus, -ūs [**admoneō**, *advise*], *m.*, used only in the abl. sing., *advice, suggestion.*

admurmurātiō, admurmurātiōnis [**admurmurō**, *murmur*], *f., a murmuring* (of assent or dissent), *murmur.*

adnuō, -nuere, -nuī, — [**nuō**, *nod*], *nod to; nod assent* or *approval.*

adorior, -orīrī, -ortus [**orior**, *rise*], *rise up against, assault.*

adōrnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ōrnō**, *fit*], *fit out, furnish, provide for; provide with materials.*

adquī, see **atquī**.

adquiēscō, -quiēscere, **-quiēvī**, **-quiētus** [**quiēscō**, *keep quiet*], *acquiesce.*

adquīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīvī, -quīsītus [**quaerō**, *seek*], *acquire, add to.*

adripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptus [**rapiō**, *seize*], *seize upon; obtain, secure, derive; catch up; cast up.*

adrogāns, adrogantis [**adrogō**, *claim*], *presumptuous, arrogant.*

adroganter, *adv., presumptuously, arrogantly, haughtily.*

adrogantia, -ae, *f., arrogance, insolence.*

adsectātiō, adsectātiōnis [**adsector**, *attend to*], *f., constant attention, faithful devotion.*

adsector, -ārī, -ātus, *attend closely; hang around.*

adsēnsiō, adsēnsiōnis, *f., approval, assent.*

adsentātiuncula, -ae [**adsentātiō**, *flattery*], *f., a touch of flattery, trivial flattery.*

adsentātor, adsentātōris, *m., a flatterer.*

adsentiō, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsus [**sentiō**, *feel*], *assent to, approve.*

adsentior, -sentīrī, -sēnsus, *agree.*

adsequor, -sequī, -secūtus [**sequor**, *follow*], *follow to the end, attain, achieve, accomplish, effect; obtain.*

adservō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**servō**, *save*], *preserve, shelter, keep.*

adsīdō, -sīdere, -sēdī, -sessūrus [**sīdō**, *sit*], *sit down, take one's seat.*

adsiduē [**adsiduus**, *attending*], *adv., constantly, continually.*

adsiduitās, adsiduitātis [**adsiduus**, *attending*], *f., perseverance, diligence, zeal.*

adsīgnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sīgnō**, *mark*], *mark out; assign, attribute.*

adsuēfaciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factus [**adsuēscō**, *become wont*, and **faciō**, *cause*], *accustom.*

adsum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus, *be near, be at hand, be present; stand by, support.*

adsumō, -sumere, -sumpsī, -sumptus, *assume.*

adulēscēns, adulēscentis [**adolēscō**, *grow up*], *m.* and *f.*, *a young man* or *woman, youth.*

adulēscentia, -ae, *f.*, *youth.*

adulēscentulus, -ī, *m.*, *a very young man, a stripling, a mere lad.*

adulter, adulterī, *m.*, *adulterer.*

adulterium, adulterī, *n.*, *adultery, rape.*

adultus, -a, -um [p. p. of **adolēscō**, *grow up*], *mature.*

adveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventus [**veniō**, *come*], *come to; come out.*

adventīcius, -a, -um [**adveniō**, *come to*], *coming by chance; foreign.*

adventus, -ūs [**veniō**, *come*], *m.*, *a coming, approach, advance; entrance, arrival, advent.*

adversārius, adversārī [**adversor**, *oppose*], *m.*, *adversary, opponent, enemy, antagonist.*

adversiō, adversiōnis, *f.*, *a turning; occupation.*

adversor, -ārī, -ātus [**vertō**, *turn*], *turn toward, face; resist.*

adversus, -a, -um, *turned against, opposed; in front;* **rēs adversae**, *adversity.*

adversus, *prep.*, with acc., *against.*

advesperāscit, -vesperāscere, -vesperāvit [**vesper**, *evening*], *it is growing dark, evening approaches, night is coming on.*

advocātus, -ī [**advocō**, *call to*], *m.*, *adviser, counsel.*

advolō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**volō**, *fly*], *fly to, hasten to.*

aedēs, aedis, *f.*, *a temple, sanctuary;* pl., *house.*

aedificium, aedificī [**aedificō**, *build*], *n.*, *building.*

aedificō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *build; erect.*

aedīlis, aedīlis, *m.*, *an aedile.*

aedīlitās, aedīlitātis, *f.*, *the aedileship.*

Aegaeus, -a, -um, *Aegean.*

aeger, aegra, aegrum, *sick, ill, weak, enfeebled; diseased.*

aegrē [**aeger**, *sick*], *adv.*, *bitterly.*

aegritūdō, aegritūdinis, *f.*, *bitterness, illness, sickness.*

Aelius, Aelī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *Quintus Aelius*, consul, 148 B.C.

Aemilius, Aemilī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus*, consul, 115 B.C.

aemulus, -ī, *m.*, *an imitator, follower; rival.*

aequābilitās, aequābilitātis [**aequus**, *even*], *f.*, *impartiality.*

aequābiliter [**aequus**, *even*], *adv.*, *without distinction, indiscriminately.*

aequālis, aequāle [**aequus**, *even*], *equal in rank* or *in time;* as noun, *peer; contemporary.*

aequālitās, aequālitātis [**aequus**, *even*], *f.*, *equality.*

aequāliter [**aequus**, *even*], *adv.*, *equally, on a level with.*

aequātiō, aequātiōnis [**aequus**, *even*], *f.*, *an equal distribution.*

aequē [**aequus**, *even*], *adv.*, *equally, in the same way; justly;* **aequē ac**, *just as, in proportion as.*

aequitās, aequitātis [**aequus**, *even*], *f.*, *justice.*

aequus, -a, -um, *even, level; liberal, favorable; fitting, proper.*

aerārium, aerārī [**aes**, *copper*], *n.*, *the public treasury*, located in the temple of Saturn.

aerārius, -a, -um [**aes**, *copper*], *of the treasury.*

aes, aeris, *n., copper; money; tablet;* **aes aliēnum**, *a debt;* **lēgum aera**, *the bronze tablets of the laws.*

aestās, aestātis, *f., summer.*

aestimō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *value, estimate; assess.*

aestus, -ūs, *m., heat;* pl., *tides.*

aetās, aetātis [**aevum**, *age*], *f., age* (young or old), *life; time.*

aeternitās, aeternitātis [**aeternus**, *eternal*], *f., eternity.*

aeternus, -a, -um [**aevum**, *age*], *endless, eternal; enduring, permanent.*

Aetōlus, -a, -um, *Aetolian, of Aetolia.*

Āfrica, -ae, *f., Africa.*

Āfricānus, -a, -um, *African, of Africa;* as noun, surname of the Scipios.

ager, agrī, *m., field, land, soil; territory;* **ex agrīs**, *from the country.*

Agēsilāus, -ī, *m., Agesilaus*, King of Sparta, 400–362 B.C.

agilitās, agilitātis [**agilis**, *agile*], *f., agility, nimbleness, activity.*

agitātiō, agitātiōnis [**agitō**, *set in motion*], *f., violent motion.*

agitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**agō**, *drive*], *set in violent motion; disturb; agitate; harp on.*

āgnōscō, āgnōscere, āgnōvī, āgnitus [(g)nōscō, *become acquainted with*], *recognize, acknowledge.*

agō, agere, ēgī, āctus, *put in motion, direct; do, act, exercise, execute, contrive, take action, perform, play* (a part in a drama), *accomplish, transact, do work, labor; lay* (a foundation), *keep* (a festival), *try* (a case); *speak, plead, argue, declare, set forth, treat, express* (thanks), *discuss, deal with, concern, have to do with, involve;* pass., *be at stake;* **age**, *come now.*

agrārius, -a, -um [**ager**, *field*], *pertaining to land;* pl. as noun, *the agrarians* (supporters of the agrarian laws).

agrestis, agreste [**ager**, *field*], *rustic, outlandish, coarse, rude;* pl. as noun, *countrymen, farmers; hoodlums.*

Ahāla, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name. *C. Servilius Ahala*, master of horse under Cincinnatus, killed by Spurius Maelius in 439 B.C.

aiō, *defect. vb., say, assert; assent.*

alācer, alācris, alācre, *eager; alert.*

Alba Longa, *Alba Longa*, an Italian city, supposed to have been built by Ascanius.

Albānus, -a, -um, *of Alba, Alban;* pl. as noun, *residents of Alba, Albanians.*

ālea, -ae, *f., a die; gambling.*

āleātor, aleātōris [**āleae**, *dice*], *m., a gambler.*

Alexander, Alexandrī, *m., Alexander.*

aliās, *adv., at some other time.*

aliēnigena, -ae [**aliēnus**, *foreign*, and **gignō**, *bear*], *m., one foreign-born, an alien.*

aliēnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *make another's, make strange; estrange.*

aliēnus, -a, -um, *belonging* or *pertaining to another* or *others, another's, others'; unfavorable, unfriendly, at variance with; untimely; inefficient;* **aes aliēnum**, *debt.*

aliēnus, -ī, *m., a stranger, foreigner.*

aliquandō, *adv., at some time or other, at any time; at times; at last, at length, finally.*

aliquantō, *adv., somewhat.*

aliquantus, -a, -um, *considerable; some.*

aliquī, aliqua, aliquod, *indef. adj. pron., some.*

aliquis (aliquī), aliqua, aliquid, *indef. subst. pron., somebody, something, any one; anything;* **aliquis alius,** *some other* (person).

aliquō, *adv., somewhere, to some place.*

aliquot, indecl., *several, some* (implying a few).

aliter [**alius,** *other*], *adv., otherwise, in any other way;* **aliter ac,** *otherwise than.*

aliunde [**alius,** *other*], *adv., from elsewhere, from any other source.*

alius, alia, aliud, *pron. adj., other, another, different, else;* **alius . . . alius,** *one . . . another, the one . . . the other;* pl., *some . . . others.*

Allobrox, Allobrogis, *m., one of the Allobroges;* pl., *the Allobroges,* a Gallic tribe.

alō, alere, aluī, altus or alitus, *feed, nourish, nurture; foster, maintain, cherish.*

Alpēs, Alpium, *f.,* pl., *the Alps.*

Alsiēnsis, Alsiēnse, *Alsiensian, belonging to Alsium,* a town on the coast of Etruria.

altāria, altārium, *n.,* pl., *altar.*

alter, altera, alterum, *pron. adj., the other, another; second; next;* **alter . . . alter,** *the one . . . the other;* pl., *the one party . . . the other.*

alternus, -a, -um [**alter,** *one of two*], *alternate.*

alteruter, alterutra, alterutrum, *one or the other.*

altum, -ī [**altus,** *deep*], *n., the deep, the sea.*

altus, -a, -um, *high, deep; lofty, sublime.*

alveolus, -ī [**alveus,** *hollow*], *m., a dice box; gambling table; gambling.*

amāns, amantis [**amō,** *love*], *loving, affectionate, loyal, devoted, fond;* **amāns reī pūblicae,** *patriotic, loyal.*

ambitiō, ambitiōnis [**amb-,** *about,* and **eō,** *go*], *f.,* the 'going about' of candidates for office, *canvassing; desire for office, ambition.*

ambitiōsus, -a, -um [**ambitiō,** *ambition*], *over-zealous, too ambitious; fawning.*

ambitus, -ūs [**ambitiō,** *a 'going about'*], *m., illegal canvassing; bribery.*

ambō, ambae, ambō, *both.*

ambūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ūstus [**amb-,** *around,* and **ūrō,** *burn*], *singe, scorch; burn up, cremate.*

āmēns, āmentis [**ab,** *out of,* and **mēns,** *mind*], *out of one's mind; senseless, foolish.*

āmentia, -ae [**āmēns,** *senseless*], *f., madness, folly.*

amiciō, -icīre, —, -ictus [**amb-,** *around,* and **iaciō,** *throw*], *wrap up, clothe.*

amīcissimē [sup. of **amīce,** *in a friendly manner*], *adv., in a most friendly manner, most cordially.*

amīcitia, -ae [**amīcus,** *friend*], *f., friendship.*

amīcus, -a, -um [**amō,** *love*], *friendly.*

amīcus, -ī [**amō,** *love*], *m., friend.*

Amīsus, -ī, *f., Amisus,* a city of Pontus on the Black Sea.

āmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō,** *send*], *send from, let go; lose, forfeit, sacrifice.*

amō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *love.*

amoenitās, amoenitātis [**amoenus,** *agreeable*], *f., attractiveness; natural beauty.*

amoenus, -a, -um, *agreeable, lovely, charming.*

amor, amōris [**amō,** *love*], *m., love, affection.*

amplē [**amplus,** *large*], *adv., largely; generously.*

amplector, -plectī, -plexus [**amb-,** *around,* and **plectō,** *twine*], *embrace; court the favor of.*

amplexor, -plexārī, -plexātus [freq. of **amplector**, *embrace*], *embrace, value highly.*

amplificō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**amplus**, *large*, and **faciō**, *make*], *enlarge, increase.*

amplitūdō, amplitūdinis [**amplus**, *large*], *f., greatness, distinction, eminence; glory, honor.*

amplus, -a, -um, *large, great, high; worthy, distinguished, honorable, dignified; generous, complimentary; ample, sufficient; valuable.*

an, *conj.* with second member of indirect question: *or, or rather.* It may introduce a single question or exclamation; **haud sciō an, nesciō an**, *I am inclined to think.*

anceps, ancipitis [**amb-**, *both (sides)*, and **caput**, *head*, i.e., *double faced*], *two-headed; double.*

ancilla, -ae, *f., girl, maiden; maid-servant.*

angiportus, -ūs, *m., a narrow street, lane.*

angō, angere, —, —, *throttle, press tightly, squeeze; torment, harass.*

angulus, -ī, *m., corner, angle.*

anguste [**angustus**, *narrow*], *adv., closely, precisely.*

angustiae, -ārum [**angustus**, *narrow*], *f., narrowness, limitations.*

anhēlō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**anhēlus**, *panting*], *breathe rapidly, pant; breathe forth.*

anima, -ae, *f., soul, spirit, life.*

animadversiō, animadversiōnis [**animadvertō**, *turn the mind*], *f., investigation; punishment.*

animadvertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [**animum**, *mind*, and **ad**, *to*, and **vertō**, *turn*], *notice, observe; be on the lookout, be alert; punish.*

animōsus, -a, -um [**animus**, *courage*], *courageous, undaunted.*

animus, -ī, *m., mind, soul, spirit; purpose, intention, conviction; courage, bravery, heart; feeling, attitude, inclination, attention; genius;* pl., *arrogance;* **animō**, *in imagination;* **animō meliōre**, *better disposed;* **quō animō**, *how;* **aequō animō parātōque moriar**, *I shall face death with perfect resignation.*

Aniō, Aniēnis, *m.*, the *Anio*, a tributary of the Tiber.

annālis, annālis [**annus**, *year*], *m., record.*

anne = **an**.

Annius, Annī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

annōna, -ae [**annus**, *year*], *f., a year's crop of grain, grain; grain supply; market price of grain; grain market.*

annus, -ī, *m., year.*

ante, *prep.* with acc., *before, in front of;* **ante diem (a. d.)**, *on the day before.*

ante, *adv., beforehand, before, previously, ago.*

anteā, *adv., before, previously, formerly.*

antecellō, -cellere —, — [**cellō**, *rise*], *excel, surpass.*

anteferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**ferō**, *bear*], *bear before; prefer.*

antelūcānus, -a, -um [**lūx**, *light*], *before light; lasting until daybreak, late.*

antepōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *place*], *place before, give precedence; prefer, value more.*

antequam, *conj., before.* Sometimes, **ante . . . quam.**

antevertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [**vertō**, *turn*], *go before, go ahead; precede.*

Antiochīa, -ae, *f., Antioch*, a leading city of Syria.

Antiochus, -ī, *m.*, *Antiochus*, King of Syria, defeated by the Romans, 190 B.C.

antīquitās, antīquitātis [**antīquus**, *ancient*], *f.*, *antiquity.*

antīquus, -a, -um, *ancient, long past; of the past, of old;* pl. as noun, *the ancients.*

Antium, -ī, *n.*, *Antium*, a town in Latium.

Antōnius, -ī, *m.*, a Roman family name. *M. Antonius*, member of the second triumvirate.

Apelles, Apellis, *m.*, a Grecian painter.

aperiō, -perīre, -peruī, -pertus, *open, open up; reveal, disclose.*

apertē [**aperiō**, *open*], *adv.*, *openly.*

apertus, -a, -um [p. p. of **aperiō**, *open*], *open, apparent; unreserved, outspoken, out and out.*

Apīnius, Apīnī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *P. Apinius*, a man defrauded by Clodius.

apparātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **apparō**, *prepare for*], *well-appointed, elaborate.*

appāreō, -pārēre, -pāruī, -pāritūrus [**pāreō**, *appear*], *appear to, come in sight; be evident, appear.*

apparō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**parō**, *prepare*], *prepare for, make preparation.*

appellō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *call to, call by name, address, accost; appeal to, mention.*

Appennīnus, Appennīnī, *m.*, *the Apennines*, the high mountain chain that bisects Italy.

appetēns, appetentis [**petō**, *seek*], *eager for.*

appetō, -petere, -petīvī or -petiī, -petītus [**petō**, *seek*], *seek for, strive after, seek to gain; aspire to; incur.*

Appius, Appī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

Appius, -a, -um, *Appian.*

approbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**probō**, *approve*], *approve, applaud.*

approperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**properō**, *hasten*], *hasten toward; make haste, hasten.*

appropinquō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**propinquō**, *draw near*], *approach.*

aptus, -a, -um, *adapted to, suitable.*

apud, *prep.* with acc., *among, with, in, at the house of; in the care of; before, in the presence of, near; in behalf of.*

Āpūlia, -ae, *f.*, *Apulia*, a fertile district of southern Italy.

aqua, -ae, *f.*, *water;* **aqua pluvia**, *drain water.*

aquila, -ae, *f.*, *eagle;* the standard of a legion carried by the senior centurion of the first cohort.

āra, -ae, *f.*, *altar.*

arbiter, arbitrī, *m.*, *an arbitrator, judge, umpire.*

arbitrium, arbitrī [**arbiter**, *judge*], *n.*, *judgment; pleasure.*

arbitror, -ārī, -ātus, *judge, believe, think, consider.*

arcā, -ae [**arceō**, *confine*], *f.*, *a chest, box;* pl., *a small close prison, dungeon.*

arceō, arcēre, arcuī, —, *confine; keep from; drain off.*

arcessō, arcessere, arcessīvī, arcessītus, *summon, invite.*

Archiās, -ae, *m.*, *Aulus Licinius Archias*, a Greek poet born at Antioch.

architectus, -ī, *m.*, *an architect.*

ārdeō, ardēre, arsī, arsūrus, *burn, be consumed; be inflamed, be aroused.*

ārdor, ardōris, *m.*, *a blaze, flash; eagerness; innermost purpose.*

argenteus, -a, -um, *silver.*

argentum, -ī, *n.*, *silver; silverware.*

argūmentor, -ārī, -ātus [**argūmentum**, *proof*], *argue.*

argūmentum, -ī, *n.*, *argument, proof.*

arguō, arguēre, arguī, argūtus, *accuse, charge with.*

Arīcia, -ae, *f.*, an ancient town of Latium near Alba Longa.

Ariminum, -ī, *n.*, a small town on the Adriatic.

Ariobarzānēs, Ariobarzānis, *m.*, *Ariobarzanes*, King of Cappadocia.

Aristotelēs, -is, *m.*, *Aristotle*, an eminent Greek philosopher.

arma, -ōrum, *n.*, pl., *instruments; arms, weapons;* **in armīs**, *under arms, ready for action.*

armātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **armō**, *arm*], *armed; by force;* **armātus**, *ready for action;* **prope armātus**, *almost before disarming.*

Armenius, -a, -um, *Armenian;* pl. as noun, *Armenians.*

armō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *arm, equip; strengthen, support.*

Arretīnus, -a, -um, *Arretinian, of Arretinum* (a large town in Etruria).

arripiō, see **adripiō**.

Arrius, Arrī, *m.*, a Roman gentile or clan name.

ars, artis, *f.*, *practical skill, art; science, learning, knowledge; conduct, character;* pl., *qualities.*

articulus, -ī [**artūs**, *joints*], *m.*, *a small joint; part, member.*

artifex, artificis [**ars**, *art*, and **faciō**, *make*], *m.*, *an artist.*

artificium, artificī [**artifex**, *artist*], *n.*, *a trade, profession.*

arx, arcis, *f.*, *citadel, stronghold, fortress.*

ascendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēnsus [**scandō**, *climb*], *ascend, climb, mount, scale.*

ascīscō, -scīscere, -scīvī, -scītus [**scīscō**, *ordain*], *adopt; win over; accept; take into* (a club, etc.).

ascrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write in addition, enroll; appoint, assign.*

Asia, -ae, *f.*, *Asia Minor*, the Roman province of Asia, organized in 129 B.C. from the kingdom of Pergamus, which was bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C. by Attalus III. It included Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia.

Asiāticus, -a, -um [**Asia**, *Asia*], *of Asia, Asiatic.*

aspectus, -ūs [**aspiciō**, *look at*], *m.*, *a sight, view, look; aspect, mien, appearance.*

asper, aspera, asperum, *rough, harsh, hard; severe, strenuous.*

aspergō, -spergere, -spersī, -spersus [**spargō**, *strew*], *throw upon in addition, affix.*

āspernor, -ārī, -ātus [**spernō**, *despise*], *disdain, reject, refuse.*

aspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectus [**speciō**, *look*], *look at, look upon, behold; glance at.*

astō, -stāre, -stitī, — [**ad**, *near*, and **stō**, *stand*], *stand near.*

astūtus, -a, -um [**astus**, *cunning*], *shrewd; cunning, unscrupulous.*

at, *conj.*, *but, still, yet.*

Athēnae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *Athens.*

Athēniēnsis, Athēniēnse [**Athēnae**, *Athens*], *of Athens, Athenian.*

atque, before cons., except **h**, **ac**, *conj.*, *and, and also, aye even, yes.* After words denoting likeness, difference, and after comparatives, *as, than;* **atque adeō**, *and in fact, aye, even, or rather.*

atquī (adquī), *conj.*, *and yet, but somehow.*

atrium, atrī, *n.*, *hall.*

atrōcitās, atrōcitātis [**atrōx**, *fierce*], *f.*, *fierceness, cruelty.*

atrōciter [**atrōx**, *fierce*], *adv.*, *cruelly, heartlessly.*

atrōx, atrōcis [**ater**, *black*], *fierce, cruel, heartless, hideous.*

attendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentus [**tendō**, *stretch*], *stretch toward, give heed, listen, keep one's eyes and ears open, be alert.*

attenuō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**tenuō**, *make thin*], *reduce, weaken; render less formidable.*

Atticus, -ī, *m.*, *Atticus*, surname of *T. Pomponius*, Cicero's friend and publisher.

attineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentus, *relate to, pertain to.*

attingō, -tingere, -tigī, -tāctus [**tangō**, *touch*], *touch, touch upon, treat, relate; reach, attain to; aspire to; have to do with; frequent.*

Attius, Attī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. See **Vārus.**

attribuō, -tribuere, -tribuī, -tribūtus [**tribuō**, *assign*], *assign, allot.*

auctiōnārius, -a, -um [**auctiō**, *auction*], *of an auctioneer.*

auctor, auctōris [**augeō**, *increase*], *m.*, *a producer, author; promoter, instigator; supporter, voucher.*

auctōritās, auctōritātis [**auctor**, *author*], *f.*, *power, authority; opinion, decision; influence, weight; prestige, standing; dignity; foundation.*

aucupor, -ārī, -ātus [**auceps**, *bird-catcher*], *lay a snare for, angle for.*

audācia, -ae [**audāx**, *bold*], *f.*, *boldness, audacity, effrontery;* pl. = **audācter facta**, *bold or daring deeds, acts of violence.*

audācter [**audāx**, *bold*], *adv.*, *boldly.*

audāx, audācis [**audeō**, *dare*], *bold, daring, intrepid; reckless, foolhardy; courageous.*

audeō, audēre, ausus sum, *semi-dep.*, *be bold, venture, dare.*

audiō, -īre, -īvī or -iī, -ītus, *hear, listen to; approve.*

auferō, auferre, abstulī, ablātus [**ferō**, *carry*], *carry off, take away; deprive of.*

augeō, augēre, auxī, auctus, *increase, augment; give prestige to.*

auguror, -ārī, -ātus [**augur**, *soothsayer*], *act as augur, augur, predict.*

augustus, -a, -um, *consecrated; sacred.*

auloedus, -ī, *m.*, *one who sings to the flute.*

Aulus, -ī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

aura, -ae, *f.*, *a breath of air, breath.*

Aurēlius, Aurēlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Aurēlius, -a, -um, *of Aurelius, Aurelian;* **Via Aurēlia**, *the Aurelian Road*, extending from Rome to Pisa; **Forum Aurēlium**, an Etrurian town situated on the Aurelian Road.

aureus, -a, -um [**aurum**, *gold*], *of gold, golden.*

auris, auris, *f.*, *ear;* pl., *good taste, appreciation.*

aurum, -ī, *n.*, *gold.*

auspicium, auspicī [**auspex**, *soothsayer*], *n.*, *augury;* pl., *auspices.*

auspicor, -ārī, -ātus [**auspex**, *soothsayer*], *take the auspices.*

austērē [**austērus**, *severe*], *adv.*, *rigidly, austerely.*

aut, *conj.*, *or;* **aut . . . aut**, *either . . . or.*

autem, *conj.*, *but, however.*

auxilior, -ārī, -ātus [**auxilium**, *aid*], *give aid, aid, assist, succor.*

auxilium, -ī, *n.*, *aid, assistance; source of help, safeguard;* pl., *forces, auxiliaries, reënforcements.*

avāritia, -ae, *f.*, *greed, avarice.*

avellō, -vellere, -vellī, -volsus *or* -vulsus [**vellō**, *tear*], *tear away, separate.*

Aventīnus, -ī, *m.*, *the Aventine*, one of the seven hills of Rome.

āversus, -a, -um [āvertō, *turn from*], *opposed to, hostile, averse.*

avidus, -a, -um, *eager, greedy.*

avītus, -a, -um [avus, *grandfather*], *ancestral.*

āvocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [vocō, *call*], *call from, call away from.*

avunculus, -ī, *m.*, *uncle* (on the mother's side).

avus, -ī, *m.*, *grandfather.*

B

bacchor, -ārī, -ātus [Bacchus, *Bacchus*], *celebrate the festival of Bacchus; revel.*

barbaria, -ae [barbarus, *barbarous*], *f.*, *a barbarous nation.*

barbarus, -a -um, *barbarous, savage, uncivilized.*

barbātus, -a, -um [barba, *beard*], *bearded.*

basilica, -ae, *f.*, *a public building; public hall.*

beātus, -a, -um [beō, *make happy*], *happy, fortunate, lucky; well off, wealthy.*

bellē, *adv.*, *nicely, prettily.*

bellicōsus, -a, -um [bellum, *war*], *warlike.*

bellicum, -ī, *n.*, *war trumpet.*

bellicus, -a, -um [bellum, *war*], *pertaining to war, military.*

bellō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [bellum, *war*], *wage war, fight.*

bellum, -ī, *n.*, *war.*

bēlua, -ae, *f.*, *wild beast, monster.*

bene [bonus, *good*], *adv.*, *well, successfully.*

beneficium, beneficī [beneficus, *generous*], *n.*, *a favor, kindness, service, reward;* in beneficiīs, *among those recommended for rewards;* meō beneficiō, *thanks to me.*

beneficus, -a, -um [bene, *well*, and faciō, *do*], *generous, beneficent.*

benevolentia, -ae [benevolus, *well-wishing*], *f.*, *good-will, benevolence, kindness; gratitude.*

benevolus, -a, -um [bene, *well*, and volō, *wish*], *well-wishing, kind, friendly.*

benignitās, benignitātis [benignus, *kind*], *f.*, *kindness, favor, friendliness.*

bēstia, -ae, *f.*, *beast.*

bibō, bibere, bibī, *drink.*

Bibulus, -ī, *m.*, Roman cognomen or family name.

bīnī, bīnae, bīna [bis, *twice*], *distrib. num. adj., two by two, two each, two.*

bipertītō [bipertītus, *divided*], *adv.*, *in two parts.*

bis, *adv.*, *twice.*

Bīthȳnia, -ae, *f.*, *Bithynia*, a district of Asia Minor bordering on the Black Sea, bequeathed to Rome in 74 B.C.

blanditia, -ae, *f.*, *flattery, blandishment.* Usually plural.

Bona Dea, Bonae Deae, *f.*, a goddess worshiped only by women, at whose rites no men could be present.

bonitās, bonitātis [bonus, *good*], *f.*, *goodness, integrity.*

bonus, -a, -um, *good; useful;* as noun, bonī, *m.* pl., *good citizens;* bona, *n.* pl., *goods, property.*

Bosporānus, -a, -um, *of the Bosporus;* *m.*, pl. as noun, *dwellers on the Bosporus.*

brevis, breve, *short, brief, small, little.*

brevitās, brevitātis [brevis, *short*], *f.*, *brevity.*

breviter [brevis, *short*], *adv.*, *briefly, concisely.*

Brundisium, Brundisī, *n.*, *Brundisium*, a town in southeastern Italy forming the southern terminus of

the Appian Way; the modern Brindisi.

Brūtus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

bucina, -ae, *f.*, *a trumpet.*

C

C = **Gāius**, Gaī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

cadāver, cadaveris, *n.*, *a corpse.*

cadō, cadere, cecidī, cāsūrus, *fall; fall dead, be slain; lose* (a suit), *be non-suited.*

caecus, -a, -um, *blind; dark.*

caedēs, caedis [**caedō**, *cut*], *f.*, *bloodshed, murder; massacre, carnage.*

caedō, caedere, cecīdī, caesus, *cut; cut to pieces, slay; kill, murder.*

Caelius, Caelī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

caelum, -ī, *n.*, *heaven, sky; air, atmosphere;* **dē caelō**, *by lightning.*

caementum, -ī, *n.*, *unhewn stone.*

Caepiō, Caepiōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

caerimōnia, -ae, *f.*, *a religious rite, a sacred ceremony.*

Caesar, Caesaris, *m.*, Roman family name.

Cāiēta, -ae, *f.*, a town and harbor of Latium; the modern Gaëta.

calamitās, calamitātis, *f.*, *loss, harm, mischief, damage, misfortune, disaster, ruin, defeat.*

calamitōsus, -a, -um [**calamitās**, *loss*], *damaging, ruinous, disastrous.*

calceus, -ī [**calx**, *heel*], *m.*, *shoe.*

Calidius, Calidī, *m.*, a Roman gentile or clan name.

cālīgō, cālīginis, *f.*, *mist; darkness, gloom;* (mental) *fog, confusion.*

callidus, -a, -um, *shrewd, crafty; clever, skillful.*

Callisthenēs, Callisthenis, *m.*, a Greek historian, contemporary of Alexander the Great.

calumnia, -ae, *f.*, *chicanery; a false charge.*

calx, calcis, *f.*, *limestone.*

campus, -ī, *m.*, *an open field, plain;* a place of action; often for *Campus Martius*, a grassy plain along the Tiber.

candidātus, -ī, *m.*, *a candidate* (for office).

canis, canis, *m.* and *f.*, *dog.*

canō, canere, cecinī, —, *sing; prophesy, foretell, predict; give a signal.*

cantō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **canō**, *sing*], *sing, play; praise in song, celebrate.*

cantus, -ūs [**canō**, *sing*], *m.*, *a song; tune, music; sound, blast; crowing.*

capessō, capessere, —, — [**capiō**, *seize*], *seize eagerly; undertake.*

capillus, -ī [**caput**, *head*], *m.*, *hair.*

capiō, capere, cēpī, captus, *take, seize, grasp; hold, contain; understand; suffer.*

capitālis, capitāle [**caput**, *head*], *deadly.*

Capitōlium, Capitōlī [**caput**, *head*], *n.*, *the Capitoline Hill;* also, *the Capitol* (the temple of Jupiter).

Cappadocia, -ae, *f.*, *Cappadocia*, a kingdom of Asia Minor.

caput, capitis, *n.*, *the head; life; civil rights; leading point.*

Carbō, Carbōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

carcer, carceris, *m.*, *a prison, jail.*

careō, carēre, caruī, caritūrus, *be without, be deprived of; want, lack; avoid.*

cāritās, cāritātis [**cārus**, *dear*], *f.*, *dearness, high price.*

carmen, carminis, *n.*, *a song, poem; formula.*

Carthāgiēnsis, Carthāgiēnse [**Carthāgō**, *Carthage*], *Carthaginian;* *m.*, pl. as noun, *the Carthaginians.*

Carthāgō, Carthāginis, *f.*, *Carthage.*

cārus, -a, -um, *dear, esteemed.*

Cassiānus, -a, -um [**Cassius**, *Cassius*], *of Cassius.*

Cassius, Cassī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

castē [**castus**, *chaste*], *adv.*, *purely; incorruptibly.*

Castor, Castoris, *m.*, son of Tyndarus and Leda.

castra, castrōrum, *n.*, pl., *camp.*

castrēnsis, castrēnse, *of a camp; armed; open.*

castus, -a, -um, *pure, spotless.*

cāsus, -ūs [**cadō**, *fall*], *a fall; failure; event, occurrence, chance.*

catēna, -ae, *f.*, *chain; bond.*

caterva, -ae, *f.*, *crowd, retinue, mob.*

Catilīna, -ae, *m.*, *Catiline*, Roman family name.

Catilīnārius, -a, -um [**Catilīna**, *Catiline*], *of Catiline, Catilinarian.*

Catō, Catōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

Catulus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

causa, -ae, *f.*, *a cause, motive, occasion; apology, excuse; party, faction; case, lawsuit.*

causā, abl. of **causa**, used after a genitive like a prep., *on account of, for the sake of.*

cautiō, cautiōnis [**caveō**, *take care*], *f.*, *care, caution, precaution.*

cautus, -a, -um, *careful, cautious; safe, secure.*

caveō, cavēre, cāvī, cautūrus, *take care, beware; avoid; act as counselor.*

-ce, an enclitic used to emphasize the word to which it is attached.

cēdō, cedere, cessī, cessūrus, *go away, withdraw; yield, give place to.*

cedo, pl., **cette**, old form of imperative, 2d pers., *hither; out with it! pray tell.*

celeber, celebris, celebre, *frequented, much visited; populous.*

celebritās, celebritātis [**celeber**, *frequented*], *f.*, *glory, celebrity.*

celebrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**celeber**, *frequented*], *crowd, fill; celebrate, observe; praise, honor.*

celer, celera, celerum, *swift, rapid; prompt, alert, ready.*

celeritās, celeritātis [**celer**, *swift*], *f.*, *swiftness, speed, rapidity; promptness, readiness.*

celeriter [**celer**, *swift*], *adv.*, *quickly, promptly.*

cēna, -ae, *f.*, *dinner; banquet.*

cēnseō, cēnsēre, cēnsuī, cēnsus, *register, enroll; move, vote, decree; think, consider, resolve; advise.*

cēnsor, censōris, *m.*, *censor*, the title of a Roman magistrate. See Introduction, p. 33.

cēnsus, -ūs [**cēnseō**, *register*], *m.*, the registering by the censors of citizens and property, *the census*; pl., the *census lists.*

centēsimus, -a, -um [**centum**, *hundred*], *the hundredth.*

centum, *indecl. num.*, *one hundred.*

centuria, -ae [**centum**, *hundred*], *f.*, *a century* (a company of one hundred).

centuriātus, -ūs [**centuria**, *a century*], *m.*, *centurionship.*

centuriō, centuriōnis [**centuria**, *a century*], *m.*, *a centurion, commander of a century.*

Cēpārius, -ī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

cernō, cernere, crēvī, crētus, *separate; distinguish, discern; see, perceive.*

certāmen, certāminis [**certō**, *vie with*], *n.*, *struggle, contest, dispute; rivalry, competition.*

certē [**certus**, *certain*], *adv.*, *certainly, surely; at any rate, at least, yet, certainly.*

certō [**certus**, *certain*], *adv.*, *with certainty, of a truth, in very fact.*

certō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *vie with, contend; struggle, fight.*

certus, -a, -um [**cernō**, *make out*], *fixed, settled, resolved; sure, certain; trustworthy, reliable;* **certiōrem facere**, *inform.*

cervīx, cervīcis [**curvus**, *curved*], *f.*, *neck;* pl. (alone used in Cicero), *neck, shoulders, throat.*

cessātiō, cessātiōnis [**cessō**, *be remiss*], *f.*, *remissness, inactivity, idleness.*

cēterus, -a, -um, *the rest, remainder, all the other;* pl. (more common), *the others, all the rest, everybody else.*

Cethēgus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

Chaldaeus, -ī, *m.*, *a Chaldean.*

Chilō, Chilōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

Chius, -a, -um, *of Chios, Chian;* *m.*, pl. as noun, *the Chians.*

chorus, -ī, *m.*, *chorus; crowd, multitude.*

cibus, -ī, *m.*, *food.*

Cicerō, Cicerōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

Cilicia, -ae, *f.*, the southeastern division of Asia Minor, stronghold of pirates.

Cimber, Cimbrī, *m.*, Roman cognomen.

Cimbrī, -ōrum, *m.*, a Germanic tribe that overran Gaul and invaded Italy in 101 B.C.

Cimbricus, -a, -um [**Cimbri**, *the Cimbri*], *of the Cimbri, Cimbrian.*

Cīncius, Cīncī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

cingō, cingere, cīnxī, cīnctus, *go around, surround, encircle; beset, invest.*

cinis, cineris, *m.*, *ashes; ruin, destruction.*

Cinna, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

circum, *prep.* with acc., *around, round about, in the vicinity of.*

circumclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [**claudō**, *shut*], *shut in, close in, hem in.*

circumdō, -dare, -dedī, -datus [**dō**, *give*], *place around, encircle.*

circumfluō, -fluere, -fluxī, — [**fluō**, *flow*], *flow around; overflow; be rich in, revel in.*

circumfundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsus [**fundō**, *pour*], *pour around, surround; overwhelm.*

circumscrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write around; circumscribe, limit; hinder, restrain.*

circumscrīptor, circumscrīptōris [**circumscrībō**, *write around*], *m.*, *a cheat, swindler.*

circumsedeō, -sedēre, -sēdī, -sessus [**sedeō**, *sit*], *sit around; surround, beset.*

circumspiciō, -spicere, -spēxī, -spectus [**speciō**, *look*], *look around; ponder, consider; beware of.*

circumstō, -stāre, -stetī, — [**stō**, *stand*], *stand around; beset.*

circus, -ī, *m.*, *a circle*, often used alone to refer to the *Circus Maximus*, an oval space between the Palatine and Aventine hills, accommodating 100,000 spectators.

citharoedus, -ī, *m.*, one who sings to the accompaniment of a cithara, *a citharist.*

cito [**citus**, *quick*], *adv.*, *quickly, promptly; soon.*

citō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **cieō**, *stir*], *arouse; urge, call upon; summon.*

cīvīlis, cīvīle [**cīvis**, *citizen*], *civil, political.*

cīvis, cīvis, *m.* and *f.*, *citizen, fellow-citizen.*

cīvitās, cīvitātis, *f., citizenship; body politic, state.*

clādēs, clādis, *f., ruin, destruction.*

clam, *adv., secretly.*

clāmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *call out, shout; exclaim.*

clāmor, clāmōris [**clāmō**, *call out*], *m., a shout, loud cry.*

clārus, -a, -um, *clear, bright; manifest, evident; celebrated, renowned, famous, illustrious, glorious.*

classis, classis, *f., class, division; fleet, navy.*

Claudius, Claudī, *m., Claudius*, a Roman gentile or clan name.

claudō, claudere, clausī, clausus, *shut, close; imprison, confine.*

claustra, -ōrum, *n.*, pl., *lock, bolt; barrier, hindrance.*

clēmēns, clēmentis, *mild, forbearing, indulgent, merciful.*

clēmenter [**clēmēns**, *mild*], *adv., mildly, with forbearance.*

clēmentia, -ae [**clēmēns**, *mild*], *f., forbearance, clemency, mercy.*

cliēns, clientis, *m., client, retainer; dependent.*

clientēla, -ae [**cliēns**, *client*], *f., clientship;* pl., *clientèle, clients, followers.*

clipeus, clipeī, *m., a* (round metal) *shield.*

clīvus, -ī, *m., an uphill road; ascent.*

Clōdiānus, -a, -um [**Clōdius**, *Clodius*], *of Clodius, Clodian.*

Clōdius, Clōdī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Cn. = **Gnaeus**, Gnaeī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

Cnidus, -ī, *f.*, a city on the coast of Caria in Asia Minor.

coarguō, -arguere, -arguī, -argūtus [**con** and **arguō**, *prove*], *convict, prove guilty; prove, establish.*

coemptiō, coemptiōnis, *f., wedlock.*

coĕō, coīre, coiī, coitūrus [**eō**, *go*], *go* or *come together; unite, combine.*

coepī, coepisse, coeptus, *begin, commence.*

coerceō, -ercēre, -ercuī, -ercitus [**arceō**, *confine*], *inclose on all sides; hold in check, repress.*

coetus, -ūs, *m., a coming together, assemblage, meeting.*

cōgitāte [**cōgitō**, *think*], *adv., thoughtfully, with thoughtful preparation.*

cōgitātiō, cōgitātiōnis [**cōgitō**, *think*], *f., thought, consideration, meditation, imagination, purpose, design; project, plan.*

cōgitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**con** and **agitō**, *move*], *think, consider, reflect upon, meditate, contemplate; plan, have in mind.*

cōgnātiō, cōgnātiōnis [**cōgnātus**, *related*], *f., blood relationship, kinship.*

cōgnitiō, cōgnitiōnis [**cōgnōscō**, *know*], *f., acquaintance.*

cōgnitor, cōgnitōris [**cōgnōscō**, *know*], *m., advocate; defender, sponsor.*

cōgnōmen, cōgnōminis [(g)**nōmen**, *name*], *n., family name, name.*

cōgnōscō, cōgnōscere, cōgnōvī, cōgnitus [**con** and (g)**nōscō**, *learn*], *become acquainted with, learn; perceive, understand; recognize, acknowledge;* perf., *know.*

cōgō, cōgere, cōēgī, cōāctus [**con** and **agō**, *drive*], *drive together, collect; force, compel.*

cohaereō, -haerēre, -haesī, -haesūrus [**haereō**, *cling*], *cling together, be closely connected with.*

cohibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitus [**con** and **habeō**, *hold*], *hold together; restrain, keep from, hold back.*

cohors, cohortis, *f.*, *cohort, company* (the tenth part of a legion —approximately 360 troops); *a body of attendants, train, suite;* **praetōria cohors**, *bodyguard.*

cohortor, -ārī, -ātus [**con** and **hortor**, *urge*], *encourage, exhort, speak words of encouragement.*

coll- = **conl-**.

collum, -ī, *n.*, *neck.*

colō, colere, coluī, cultus, *till; care for; cherish, protect; honor, reverence, worship.*

colōnia, -ae [**colōnus**, *colonist*], *f.*, *a colony.*

colōnus, -ī [**colō**, *till*], *colonist, settler.*

Colophōn, Colophōnis, *m.*, an Ionian city of Asia Minor.

Colophōnius, -a, -um [**Colophōn**, *Colophon*], *of Colophon; m.*, pl. as noun, *the Colophonians*, the inhabitants of Colophon.

color, colōris, *m.*, *color; blush.*

comes, comitis [**con** and **eō**, *go*], *m.*, and *f.*, *companion, attendant, associate, accompaniment.*

cōmis, cōme, *courteous, affable.*

cōmissātiō, cōmissātiōnis [**cōmissor**, *revel*], *f.*, *revelry; debauchery.*

cōmitās, cōmitātis [**cōmis**, *courteous*], *f.*, *courteousness, affability.*

comitātus, -ūs [**comitor**, *accompany*], *m.*, *an escort train, retinue, company.*

comitia, -ōrum, *n.*, pl., *an assembly* (of Roman citizens); *election.*

comitium, comitī [**con** and **eō**, *go*], a place of meeting for the assemblies, adjoining the Forum, *the Comitium.*

comitor, -ārī, -ātus [**comes**, *companion*], *accompany, attend, follow;* **parum comitātus**, *with few attendants;* **bene comitātus**, *well attended.*

commeātus, -ūs [**commeō**, *go and come*], *m.*, *commercial intercourse, commerce, trade.*

commemorābilis, -e [**commemorō**, *remember*], *worth mentioning, memorable, remarkable, noteworthy.*

commemorātiō, commemorātiōnis [**commemorō**, *call to mind*], *f.*, *recollection, remembrance; mention.*

commemorō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**memorō**, *mention*], *call to mind, remember; make mention of, recount.*

commendātiō, commendātiōnis [**commendō**, *commend*], *f.*, *commendation, favorable recognition.*

commendō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**mandō**, *commit*], *commend, intrust, confide; recommend; commit.*

commentīcius, -a, -um [**comminīscor**, *devise*], *invented, fabricated; imaginary, false.*

commentor, -ārī, -ātus, *meditate, think over, study; deliberate.*

commeō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**con** and **meō**, *go*], *come and go, make frequent visits.*

commisceō, -miscēre, -miscuī, -mixtus [**misceō**, *mix*], *mix with, mingle.*

commissum, -ī [**committō**, *commit*], *n.*, *deed; misdeed, crime, offense.*

committō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *send together, join; engage in* (battle); *intrust, commit; allow, admit; perpetrate.*

commodō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**commodus**, *adapted*], *accommodate; loan, lend.*

commodum, -ī [**commodus**, *adapted*], *n.*, *convenience, advantage; interest, welfare.*

commodus, -a, -um [**modus**, *measure*], lit. of a standard measure, *suitable, fit; convenient, expedient, good.*

commoror, -ārī, -ātus [**moror**, *delay*], *tarry, sojourn, stay, remain.*

commoveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtus [**moveō**, *move*], *put in violent motion, disturb, excite; affect.*

commūnicātiō, commūnicātiōnis [**commūnicō**, *share*], *f., a making common; an appeal.*

commūnicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**commūnis**, *common*], *divide with, share; communicate with, consult; impart.*

commūniō, commūniōnis [**commūnis**, *common*], *f., mutual participation, sharing.*

commūnis, commūne [**mūnus**, *duty*], *common, in common; general, public; accessible, courteous, familiar; impartial.*

commūniter [**commūnis**, *common*], *adv., in common, together; in general.*

commūtābilis, commūtābile [**commūtō**, *change*], *changeable, fickle.*

commūtātiō, commūtātiōnis [**commūtō**, *change*], *f., change.*

commūtō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**mūtō**, *change*], *change completely; exchange.*

comparātiō, comparātiōnis [**comparō**, *prepare*], *f., preparation; procuring; comparison.*

comparō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**parō**, *prepare*], *prepare, make ready, get ready, procure;* pass., *be made up of.*

comparō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**compār**, *equal; like*], *compare, match, liken.*

compellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsus [**pellō**, *drive*], *drive together; drive, force, compel.*

compēnsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pēnsō**, *weigh*], *balance; compensate for.*

comperiō, -perīre, -perī, -pertus [**pariō**, *secure*], *find out, discover; ascertain, learn.*

competītor, competītōris [**petō**, *seek*], *m., an opposing candidate; rival, competitor, opponent.*

competītrīx, competītrīcis [**petō**, *seek*], *f., a female rival;* scaena competītrīx, *a display of games by a rival candidate.*

compīlō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *plunder, steal.*

complector, -plectī, -plexus, *clasp, embrace; include.*

compleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētus [**pleō**, *fill*], *fill full, crowd.*

complexus, -ūs [**complector**, *embrace*], *m., embrace.*

complūrēs, complūria *or* complūra [**plūs**, *more*], pl., *several, not a few, many.*

compōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *place*], *put together, join, unite; compose.*

comprehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehēnsus [**prehendō**, *grasp*], *grasp, seize; arrest; discover, detect; comprehend.*

comprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press together; hold, check, restrain.*

comprobō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**probō**, *approve*], *approve, approve of, sanction; prove, establish.*

cōnātus, -ūs [**cōnor**, *attempt*], *m., an attempt, endeavor, undertaking.*

concēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessus [**cēdō**, *give way*], *give way, yield, succumb; allow, grant, concede; withdraw, depart.*

concelebrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**celebrō**, *frequent*], *attend in large numbers, throng; celebrate.*

concertō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**certō**, *vie with*], *contend zealously; dispute.*

concessus, -ūs [**concēdō**, *allow*], *m., submission, concession, leave.*

concīdō, -cīdere, -cīdī, -cīsus [**caedō**, *cut*], *cut to pieces, ruin, destroy; deal a death blow.*

concidō, -cidere, -cidī, — [**cadō**, *fall*], *fall together* (in a heap), *collapse; be prostrated.*

conciliō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**concilium**, *meeting*], *bring together, conciliate, make friendly; acquire, win, secure.*

concipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *take hold of; devise, conceive; receive, incur.*

concitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **conciō**, *call together*], *rouse, excite, urge; cause, occasion, produce.*

conclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [**claudō**, *shut*], *shut up; conclude, end.*

concordia, -ae [**concors**, *concordant*], *f., an agreeing together; harmony, union, concord.* Personified as a goddess, *Concord*, whose temple was situated at the northwest end of the Forum.

concors, concordis [**cor**, *heart*], *concordant, harmonious, united, amicable.*

concupīscō, -cupīscere, -cupīvī, -cupītus [**cupiō**, *desire*], *be very desirous of; strive for; covet.*

concurrō, -currere, -currī *or* -cucurrī, -cursus [**currō**, *run*], *run together, flock together; encounter, fight.*

concursō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **concurrō**, *run together*], *run hither and thither, hurry around; visit frequently.*

concursus, -ūs [**concurrō**, *run together*], *m., a running together, concourse, throng; tumult, mob; a rallying.*

condemnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**damnō**, *cause loss*], *find guilty, convict, condemn.*

condiciō, condiciōnis [**condīcō**, *agree*], *f., an agreement, bargain, condition, terms; circumstances, rank; lot.*

condiō, -dīre, -dīvī, **-dītus** [**condus**, *a butler*], *make savory; make pleasant, temper.*

condō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [**dō**, *put*], *put together; build, establish, found; put away, store up.*

condōnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dōnō**, *give*], *give up; overlook, pardon.*

condūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [**dūcō**, *lead*], *bring together, assemble; hire, rent.*

conductus, -ī, *m., a hireling.*

cōnferō, cōnferre, contulī, conlātus or collātus [**ferō**, *bring*], *bring together, collect, gather, unite; match, compare, oppose; contrast; consult, confer, deliberate; ascribe, attribute, throw blame; employ;* with **sē**, *devote one's self to; put off, defer, postpone.*

cōnfertus, -a, -um [**cōnferciō**, *press together*], *filled, stuffed, gorged.*

cōnfessiō, cōnfessiōnis [**cōnfiteor**, *confess*], *f., confession, acknowledgment, avowal.*

cōnfestim [**festīnō**, *hasten*], *adv., immediately, forthwith, at once.*

cōnficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *make*], *do thoroughly, accomplish fully, entirely complete, finish, consummate; weaken, exhaust, wear out; destroy, subdue; raise, raise and equip.*

cōnfīdō, -fīdere, -fīsus [**fīdō**, *trust*] *semi-dep., have faith in, trust.*

cōnfīgō, -fīgere, -fīxī, -fīctus [**fīgō**, *fix*], *fasten together, transfix, render powerless.*

cōnfīrmātiō, cōnfīrmātiōnis [**cōnfīrmō**, *make firm*], *f., assurance, encouragement.*

cōnfīrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fīrmō**, *strengthen*], *make firm, strengthen; assert, affirm; prove; cheer, encourage, comfort, promote.*

cōnfiteor, -fitērī, -fessus [**fateor**, *confess*], *confess, acknowledge, own, concede.*

cōnflagrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**flagrō**, *burn*], *burn up, be consumed.*

cōnflīgō, -flīgere, -flīxī, -flīctus [**flīgō**, *strike*], *strike together, come into collision, contend, fight; be at war, be opposed.*

cōnflō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**flō**, *blow*], *blow up; stir up, excite, kindle; melt together, unite; be unanimous.*

cōnfōrmātiō, cōnfōrmātiōnis [**cōnfōrmō**, *form*], *f., a molding; formative influences; all-round training.*

cōnfōrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fōrmō**, *form*], *form, fashion, shape; educate, train; modify.*

cōnfringō, -fringere, -frēgī, -frāctus [**frangō**, *break*], *break in pieces, shatter.*

cōnfugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, — [**fugiō**, *flee*], *take refuge.*

cōnfūsiō, cōnfūsiōnis [**cōnfundō**, *pour together*], *f., mingling, confusion, disorder;* **cōnfūsiō suffrāgiōrum**, *mass-voting* (*i.e.*, by centuries or tribes).

congemō, -gemere, -gemuī, — [**gemō**, *sigh*], *sigh deeply, groan.*

congerō, -gerere, -gessī, -gestus [**gerō**, *carry*], *bring together, collect, heap up, accumulate.*

conglūtinō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *cement, join together, unite.*

congredior, -gredī, -gressus [**gradior**, *step*], *come together, meet, have an interview; meet in strife, fight, contend; join issue.*

congregō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**grex**, *flock*], *collect into a flock; assemble.*

congressiō, congressiōnis [**congredior**, *come together*], *f., meeting, interview.*

congressus, -ūs [**congredior**, *come together*], *m., a meeting, encounter, conflict.*

congruō, congruere, congruī, —, *be congruous; agree, harmonize.*

coniciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iacio**, *throw*], *throw together, throw, hurl, cast; aim, direct; drive, force; compel.*

coniectūra, -ae [**coniciō**, *throw together*], *f.*, "putting (two and two) together"; *inference, conjecture; conclusion.*

coniūnctē [**coniungō**, *join together*], *adv., jointly; in continuation.*

coniūnctiō, coniūnctiōnis [**coniungō**, *join together*], *f., a joining together, union, alliance.*

coniūnctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **coniungō**, *join together*], *united; near.*

coniungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctus [**iungō**, *join*], *join together, join, unite; wage in concert, undertake in common.*

coniūnx, coniugis [**coniungō**, *join together*], *m.* and *f., husband; wife.*

coniūrātiō, coniūrātiōnis [**coniūrō**, *swear together*], *f., conspiracy, confederacy.*

coniūrātus, -a, -um [p.p. of **coniūrō**, *swear together*], *bound together under an oath; m.* pl. as noun, *conspirators.*

coniūrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**iūrō**, *swear*], *swear together, form a conspiracy, plot, conspire.*

cōnīveō, conīvēre, conīvī *or* conīxī, "wink and blink" (Lane); *shut the eyes; overlook, connive, wink at.*

conlātus, see **cōnferō**.

conlēctiō, conlēctiōnis [**conligō**, *gather*], *f., the gathering together, collection.*

conlēga, -ae [**legō**, *choose*], *m., associate, companion, colleague.*

conlēgium, conlēgī [**conlēga**, *associate*], *n., a body of associates, an official body.*

conligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctus [**legō**, *gather*], *gather, collect, assemble, bring together.*

conlocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**locō**, *place*], *arrange, place; set up, erect; invest.*

conloquor, -loquī, -locūtus [**con** and **loquor**, *speak*], *speak together, converse.*

cōnor, -ārī, -ātus, *attempt, undertake, endeavor, try; struggle.*

conqueror, -querī, -questus [**queror**, *express grief*], *deplore, lament, bewail.*

conquestiō, conquestiōnis [**conqueror**, *complain*], *f., a complaining, complaint.*

conquiēscō, -quiēscere, -quiēvī, -quiētus [**quiēscō**, *rest*], *find rest, have a rest, take a nap; pause, stop; enjoy repose, rest.*

conquīsītor, conquīsītōris [**quaesītor**, *investigator*], *m., a recruiting officer.*

conrōborō, see **corrōborō**.

conruō, -ruere, -ruī, — [**ruō**, *fall*], *fall together, collapse, succumb.*

cōnsānēscō, cōnsānēscere, cōnsānuī, —, *become whole, be healed, recover.*

cōnscelerātus, -a, -um [**cōnscelerō**, *stain with guilt*], *wicked, depraved.*

cōnscientia, -ae [**cōnsciō**, *be conscious*], *f., consciousness, knowledge, feeling; sense of guilt, conscience.*

cōnscrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write together* (in a list), *enroll, enlist.*

cōnsecrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sacrō**, *set aside as sacred*], *dedicate, consecrate, devote; reverence, glorify.*

cōnsēnsiō, cōnsēnsiōnis [**cōnsentiō**, *agree*], *f., an agreeing together, a oneness of feeling, unanimity, accord.*

cōnsēnsus, -ūs [**cōnsentiō**, *agree*], *m., agreement, harmony, accord.*

cōnsentiō, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsūrus [**sentiō**, *feel*], *agree, be in harmony with; unite, combine.*

cōnsequor, -sequī, -secūtus [**sequor**, *follow*], *follow up* (along with), *overtake, accompany, attend; reach, secure, acquire.*

cōnserō, -serere, -sēvī, -situs [**serō**, *sow*], *sow, plant; strew.*

cōnservātor, cōnservātōris [**cōnservō**, *keep safe*], *m., preserver, defender, savior.*

cōnservō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**servō**, *save*], *keep safe, preserve, maintain; guard, protect.*

cōnsessus, -ūs [**cōnsīdō**, *sit down*], *m., a collection* (of persons sitting together), *assembly; session.*

cōnsīderō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *regard attentively, consider carefully; reflect upon.*

Cōnsidius, Cōnsidī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

cōnsīdō, -sīdere, -sēdī, -sessūrus [**sīdō**, *sit down*], *sit down; rest; stop to breathe.*

cōnsilium, cōnsilī [**cōnsulō**, *consult*], *n., a body of counselors, a deliberative assembly, council; deliberation, consultation; advice, counsel; prudence, discretion, judgment, wisdom, ability; resolution, measure, plan, purpose, intention, design, policy.*

cōnsistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [**sistō**, *cause to stand*], *cause to stand still; take one's stand, stand, keep one's place.*

cōnsobrīnus, -ī [**soror**, *sister*], *m.*, son of a mother's sister, *cousin.*

cōnsōlātiō, cōnsōlātiōnis [**cōnsōlor**, *console*], *f., consolation, comfort.*

cōnsōlor, -ārī, -ātus [**sōlor**, *comfort*], *console, comfort, cheer, encourage; relieve.*

cōnsors, cōnsortis [**sors**, *lot*], *m.* and *f.*, *having a common lot; an associate, colleague.*

cōnspectus, -ūs [**cōnspiciō**, *catch sight of*], *m.*, *sight, view; presence.*

cōnspiciō, -spicere, -spēxī, -spectus [**speciō**, *look*], *catch sight of; fix one's eyes upon, observe, see; look toward, face.*

cōnspīrātiō, cōnspīrātiōnis [**cōnspīrō**, *breathe together*], *f.*, *harmony, union; unanimity.*

cōnspīrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**spīrō**, *breathe*], *league together, combine, conspire.*

cōnstāns, cōnstantis [**cōnstō**, *stand together*], *firm, constant, trustworthy, steadfast, faithful.*

cōnstanter [**cōnstāns**, *firm*], *adv.*, *firmly, consistently.*

cōnstantia, -ae [**cōnstāns**, *firm*], *f.*, *firmness, constancy, steadfastness.*

cōnstituō, -stituere, -stituī, -stitūtus [**statuō**, *set up*], *put, place, station; establish, found; select, designate, appoint; arrange, dispose; decree, enact; agree upon.*

cōnstō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātūrus [**stō**, *stand*], *stand together, agree; be certain, be known, be proved, be settled; depend upon;* **cōnstat**, *it is clear.*

cōnstringō, -stringere, -strīnxī, -strictus [**stringō**, *draw tight*], *bind securely, pinion; check, curb.*

cōnsuēscō, -suēscere, -suēvī, -suētus [**suēscō**, *get used*], *become accustomed;* perf., *be accustomed.*

cōnsuētūdō, cōnsuētūdinis [**cōnsuētus**, *accustomed*], *f.*, *custom, habit, usage, way; intercourse, companionship; ordinary methods.*

cōnsul, cōnsulis, *m.*, *consul.*

cōnsulāris, cōnsulāre [**cōnsul**, *consul*], *of a consul;* m. as noun, *a man of consular rank, an ex-consul.*

cōnsulātus, -ūs [**cōnsul**, *consul*], *m.*, *consulship.*

cōnsulō, -sulere, -suluī, -sultus, *consult; ask advice of;* with dat., *look out for, take thought for, consult the interest of.*

cōnsultō [abl. of **cōnsultum**, *decree*], *adv.*, *designedly, intentionally, purposely.*

cōnsultor, cōnsultōris [**cōnsulō**, *consult*], *m.*, *adviser; client.*

cōnsultum, -ī [**cōnsulō**, *consult*], *n.*, *decree.*

cōnsultus, -a, -um [**cōnsulō**, *consult*], *well-considered; experienced.*

cōnsūmō, -sūmere, -sūmpsī, -sūmptus [**sūmō**, *take*], *use up, consume, waste, destroy.*

contāgiō, contāgiōnis [**tangō**, *touch*], *f.*, *touch, contact; contamination, pollution.*

contāminō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *bring into contact; pollute, stain, taint; dishonor.*

contegō, -tegere, -tēxī, -tēctus [**tegō**, *cover*], *cover over, roof; conceal, bury.*

contemnō, -temnere, -tempsī, -temptus [**temnō**, *slight*], *value little, despise; speak contemptuously of, belittle, disparage; ignore, disregard.*

contendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentus [**tendō**, *stretch*], *draw tight, stretch, strain; strive for, struggle; contend, claim, fight, compete with, compare; hasten.*

contentiō, contentiōnis [**contendō**, *strain*], *f.*, *a straining, tension, exertion; contention, controversy, strife, rivalry; comparison; eager pursuit, haste.*

contentus, -a, -um [**contineō**, *hold together*], *contented, content, satisfied.*

contexō, -texere, -texuī, -textus [**texō**, *weave*], *weave together; work into a narrative.*

conticēscō, -ticēscere, -ticuī, — [taceō, *be silent*], *become silent, be hushed, cease to speak; stop.*

continēns, continentis [**contineō**, *hold together*], *holding (one's self) together, self-restrained; moderate, temperate, possessing self-control.*

continenter [**continēns**, *moderate*], *adv., moderately, temperately.*

continentia, -ae [**continēns**, *moderate*], *f., self-restraint, self-control, moderation.*

contineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentus [**teneō**, *hold*], *hold together; restrain, check; control, repress, confine;* pass., *be bounded by; consist of.*

contingō, -tingere, -tigī, -tāctus [**tangō**, *touch*], *touch, reach; happen, occur, befall.*

continuus, -a, -um [**contineō**, *hold together*], *continuous, uninterrupted, without interruption; consecutive, successive.*

cōntiō, cōntiōnis [for **coventiō**, *a coming together*], *f., a meeting, gathering* (of the people in a public place), *an assembly* (without power to vote); *a public address, harangue, speech.*

cōntiōnātor, cōntiōnātōris [**cōntiō**, *meeting*], *m., demagogue, politician, ward-heeler.*

contrā, *adv., opposite; on the other hand.*

contrā, *prep.* with acc., *opposite, facing; hostile to; in spite of; in answer to.*

contrahō, -trahere, -trāxī, -tractus [**trahō**, *draw*], *draw together; contract* (a debt); *cause, produce.*

contrārius, -a, -um [**contrā**, *opposite*], *opposite, opposed; contrary, conflicting.*

contrōversia, -ae [**contrāversus**, *turned against*], *f., dispute, quarrel, controversy.*

contrōversus, -a, -um [**contrā**, *opposite*, and **vertō**, *turn*], *disputed, mooted.*

contubernālis, contubernālis [**contubernium**, *tent*], *m.* and *f., tent companion, messmate; associate.*

contumēlia, -ae, *f., insult, affront, outrage; abuse.*

convalēscō, -valēscere, -valuī, — [**valēscō**, *grow strong*], *regain health, recover; gain strength.*

convehō, -vehere, -vēxī, -vēctus [**vehō**, *carry*], *carry together, collect.*

conveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventus [**veniō**, *come*], *come together, assemble, gather, meet; agree with; be agreed upon;* **convenit**, impers., *it is proper, suitable, fitting.*

conventus, -ūs [**conveniō**, *assemble*], *m., gathering, meeting, assembly; commons.*

convertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [**vertō**, *turn*], *turn around, turn back, turn against, aim at, direct; change.*

convīciātor, conviciātōris [**convīcior**, *rail at*], *m., reviler, calumniator.*

convīcium, convicī, *n., a loud noise, outcry; contention, wrangling, jangle.*

convincō, -vincere, -vīcī, -victus [**vincō**, *conquer*], *overcome; convict; expose, prove beyond question, demonstrate.*

convīvium, convīvī [**vīvō**, *live*], *n., a meal in company, banquet, feast, entertainment.*

convocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vocō**, *call*], *call together, assemble; convoke, summon, convene.*

cōpia, -ae [**con** and **ops**, *aid*], *f., abundance, plenty; resources, wealth, property; multitude, number; power, ability; fluency, facility;* pl., *forces, troops.*

cōpiōsus, -a, -um [cōpia, *abundance*], *well-supplied; abounding in, rich, wealthy, affluent; eloquent.*

cōram, *adv., openly, face to face; in private, in a personal interview.*

Corduba, -ae, *f.*, a city in Spain, now *Cordova.*

Corinthus, -ī, *f., Corinth,* a city of Greece.

Cornēlius, Cornēlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

cornīx, cornīcis, *f., a crow.*

corōna, -ae, *f., wreath, garland, crown; circle, ring, crowd* (of spectators).

corpus, corporis, *n., body; volume.*

corrigō, -rigere, -rēxī, -rēctus [regō, *make straight*], *improve, correct, reform.*

corrōborō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [rōborō (rōbur, *hard wood*), *make strong*], *strengthen, encourage.*

corrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptus [rumpō, *break*], *destroy, ruin, waste; corrupt, degrade, falsify, tamper with, bribe.*

corruō, corruere, corruī, — [ruō, *fall*], *fall together; collapse, succumb.*

corruptēla, -ae [corruptus, *corrupt*], *f., anything that corrupts, a corrupting art, an allurement.*

corruptor, corruptōris [corrumpō, *destroy*], *m., corrupter, misleader.*

corruptus, -a, -um [p. p. of corrumpō, *destroy*], *corrupt, degraded.*

coss. = consulibus.

cotīdiānus, -a, -um [cotīdiē, *daily*], *daily; ordinary.*

cotīdiē [quot, *how many*, and diēs, *day*], *adv., daily, every day.*

Cotta, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

Crassus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

crēber, crēbra, crēbrum, *thick, thickly growing, close; numerous, frequent, repeated.*

crēbrō [crēber, *frequent*], *adv., frequently, repeatedly, often.*

crēdibilis, crēdibile [crēdō, *believe*], *capable of belief, credible, likely.*

crēdō, crēdere, crēdidī, crēditus, *believe, trust, confide in; commit, intrust, loan; suppose* (ironical).

creō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *beget, create; make, choose, elect.*

Cres, Crētis, *m., a Cretan.*

crēscō, crēscere, crēvī, crētus [creō, *create*], *come into being, rise, grow, thrive; increase, be enlarged, be strengthened; grow better, improve.*

Crētēnsis, Crētēnse, *Cretan;* pl. as noun, *Cretans.*

crīmen, crīminis, *n., a decision; charge, accusation.*

crīminātiō, crīminātiōnis [crīmen, *charge*], *f., accusation, complaint.*

crīminor, -ārī, -ātus [crīmen, *charge*], *bring accusation against, accuse, charge.*

criminōsus, -a, -um [crīmen, *charge*], *accusatory, culminating, slanderous.*

cruciātus, -ūs [cruciō, *torture*], *m., torturing, torture, torment; suffering, pain, agony.*

cruciō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [crux, *cross*], *put on the rack, torture.*

crūdēlis, crūdēle [crūdus, *bloody*], *cruel, harsh, severe, hard-hearted, merciless, pitiless, bitter.*

crūdēlitās, crūdēlitātis [crūdēlis, *cruel*], *f., cruelty, harshness, severity.*

crūdēliter [crūdēlis, *cruel*], *adv., cruelly, in a cruel manner, harshly.*

cruentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [cruentus, *bloody*], *cause to bleed, stain with blood.*

cruentus, -a, -um [cruor, *blood*], *bloody, blood-stained.*

cruor, cruōris, *m., blood.*

crux, crucis, *f., cross, gallows; crucifixion.*

cubīle, cubīlis [**cubō**, *lie down*], *n.*, *couch, bed.*

cubō, cubāre, cubuī, cubitum, *lie down; sleep; recline* (at meals).

culpa, -ae, *f.*, *fault, error, blame, guilt; defect, failure; wrong-doing.*

cultūra, -ae [**colō**, *till*], *f.*, *tilling;* with **agrī**, *agriculture.*

cum, *conj.*, *when, whenever; since; although;* **cum . . . tum**, *not only, but also.*

cum, *prep.* with abl., *with, along with, in company with; equipped with.*

cumulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**cumulus**, *heap*], *heap, fill full; increase, amass; complete, crown.*

cumulus, -ī, *m.*, *heap, mass;* **maximus cumulus**, *crowning favor.*

cūnctus, -a, -um [for **coniūnctus**, *joined together*], *all together, the whole, entire.*

cupidē [**cupidus**, *desirous*], *adv.*, *eagerly, zealously; enthusiastically.*

cupiditās, cupiditātis [**cupidus**, *desirous*], *f.*, *longing, desire, passion, eagerness; avarice, cupidity, greed, covetousness; partisanship.*

cupidus, -a, -um [**cupiō**, *desire*], *desirous, eager for, fond; greedy, covetous; lustful.*

cupiō, cupere, cupīvī, cupītus, *desire earnestly, be eager for;* with dat., *wish well, favor.*

cūr, *adv.*, *why?*

cūra, -ae, *f.*, *trouble, care; attention, solicitude, anxiety.*

Cūria, -ae, *f.*, the *Curia Hostilia*, the meeting place of the senate in the Comitium; the *senate house, senate.*

Cūriō, Cūriōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

cūrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**cūra**, *care*], *care for, attend to, see to, arrange;* with acc. gerundive, *have a thing done.*

curriculum, -ī [**currus**, *chariot*], *n.*, *a small car; race course; running, course, career.*

currō, currere, cucurrī, cursus, *run.*

currus, -ūs [**currō**, *run*], *m.*, *chariot, triumphal car; wagon, carriage.*

cursus, -ūs [**currō**, *run*], *m.*, *running; speed, rapidity; course; journey, voyage; career.*

curūlis, curūle [**currus**, *chariot*], *of a chariot;* with **sella**, *a curule chair*, the official seat of consuls, praetors, and aediles.

cūstōdia, -ae [**cūstōs**, *guard*], *f.*, *a watching; watch, guard, sentinel; custody, confinement.*

cūstōdiō, cūstōdīre, cūstōdīvī, cūstōdītus [**cūstōs**, *guard*], *guard, watch; defend, protect; preserve, keep; hold back, restrain.*

cūstōs, cūstōdis, *m.*, *guard, watchman; protector, defender.*

Cȳzicēnus, -a, -um [**Cȳzicus**, *Cyzicus*], *of Cyzicus.*

Cȳzicus, -ī, *f.*, a Greek city situated on the Propontis in northwestern Asia Minor.

D

D. = **Decimus**, -ī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

d. = **diem.**

damnātiō, damnātiōnis [**damnō**, *convict*], *f.*, *conviction.*

damnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**damnum**, *loss*], *inflict loss by fine; adjudge guilty, convict, condemn.*

dē, *prep.* with abl., *from, away from, down from, out of; of, derived from; for, on account of, through; in reference to, concerning; at the risk of; over.*

dea, -ae, *f.*, *goddess.*

dēbeō, dēbēre, dēbuī, dēbitus [**dē** and **habeō**, *hold*], *withhold, keep back; owe; be bound to, ought; deserve, be justified in.*

dēbilis, dēbile [**dē** and **habilis**, *easily managed*], *weak, feeble; helpless.*

dēbilitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dēbilis**, *weak*], *make weak, unnerve, weaken; crush, prostrate, overcome; dishearten.*

dēbitus, -a, -um [p. p. of **dēbeō**, *owe*], *deserved, due, just.*

Dec. = December.

dēcēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [**cēdō**, *go*], *go away, depart, withdraw.*

decem, *num. adj.*, indecl., *ten.*

December, Decembris, Decembre [**decem**, *ten*], *adj., of December*, the tenth month reckoned from March.

decempeda, -ae [**decem**, *ten*, and **pēs**, *foot*], *f., a ten-foot pole, measuring rod.*

dēcernō, -cernere, -crēvī, -crētus [**cernō**, *separate*], *decide, determine; decree, resolve, vote.*

dēcerpō, -cerpere, -cerpsī, -cerptus [**carpō**, *pluck*], *pluck off, deflower.*

dēcertō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**certō**, *fight*], *fight to a finish, fight out; vie, struggle, contend.*

decet, decēre, decuit, —, *it is fitting, becoming, suitable*, or *proper.*

decimus, -a, -um [**decem**, *ten*], *tenth.*

Decimus, -ī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

dēcipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *catch, ensnare; deceive, cheat; elude.*

dēclāmātiō, dēclāmātiōnis [**dēclāmō**, *declaim*], *f., declamation; loud talking, noisy talk, clamor.*

dēclārō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**clārō**, *make bright*], *make clear, reveal, disclose; show, prove; declare, announce, proclaim.*

dēclīnātiō, dēclīnātiōnis [**clīnō**, *bend*], *f., a bending aside, a movement to one side, dodge.*

dēclīnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**clīnō**, *bend*], *turn aside; avoid, shun, evade.*

dēcoctor, dēcoctōris [**dēcoquō**, *boil down*], *m., spendthrift.*

decorō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**decus**, *decoration*], *decorate, adorn; honor, extol.*

dēcrētum, -ī [**dēcernō**, *decree*], *n., a decree, vote, resolution, decision.*

decuma, -ae [**decimus**, *tenth*], *f., a tenth part, tithe.*

decus, decoris, *n., an ornament, distinction; grace, glory, honor.*

dēdecus, dēdecoris [**decus**, *grace*], *n., disgrace, dishonor, shame, outrage.*

dēdicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dicō**, *set apart*], *set apart, dedicate, consecrate.*

dēditiō, dēditiōnis [**dēdō**, *give up*], *f., a giving up, surrender.*

dēdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [**dē** and **dō**, *put*], *give up, devote; yield, surrender.*

dēdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [**dūcō**, *lead*], *lead away, conduct; lead forth, bring out; dissuade; divert.*

dēfendō, -fendere, -fendī, -fēnsus [**fendō**, *strike*], *ward off, keep off, repel; defend, protect, guard; allege in defense, maintain; be prepared to prove; justify.*

dēfēnsiō, dēfēnsiōnis [**dēfendō**, *ward off*], *f., defense; self-defense.*

dēfēnsor, dēfēnsōris [**dēfendō**, *ward off*], *m., defender, protector, preventor.*

dēferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**ferō**, *bear*], *carry away, remove; report, lay before, refer; deliver to, confer upon; register; recommend.*

dēfessus, -a, -um [p. p. of **dēfetīscor**, *grow weary*], *worn out, weary, exhausted.*

dēfetīgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fatīgō**, *tire*], *tire out, fatigue, exhaust.*

dēficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *do*], *fail, be wanting, be disloyal to.*

dēfīgō, -fīgere, -fīxī, -fīxus [**fīgō**, *fix*], *fix, fasten; drive, plunge, plant.*

dēfīniō, -fīnīre, -fīnīvī, -fīnītus [**fīniō**, *end*], *set bounds to, define, limit, terminate.*

dēflagrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**flagrō**, *burn*], *burn down, be consumed; ruin, destroy.*

dēflectō, -flectere, -flēxī, -flexus [**flectō**, *bend*], *bend aside, withdraw.*

dēfōrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fōrmō**, *shape*], *disfigure, deform; mar, dishonor.*

dēiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *throw down, hurl down; overthrow, prostrate; repel, avert.*

dein, shorter form of **deinde**.

deinde [**dē inde**, *from thence*], *adv., then, next, thereupon.*

dēlābor, -lābī, -lāpsus [**lābor**, *glide*], *glide down, descend; stoop, condescend.*

dēlectātiō, dēlectātiōnis [**dēlectō**, *please*], *f., pleasure, enjoyment, delight; satisfaction.*

dēlectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dēliciō**, *entice*], *please, interest, entertain; delight, charm.*

dēlēctus, -ūs [**dēligō**, *choose*], *f., a picked body of men; enrollment, levy, draft.*

dēlēniō, -lēnīre, -lēnīvī, -lēnītus [**lēniō**, *soften*], *soften, allay, pacify, cajole; charm.*

dēleō, dēlēre, dēlēvī, dēlētus, *wipe out, destroy utterly, efface; erase.*

dēlīberātiō, dēlīberātiōnis [**dēlīberō**, *deliberate*], *f., deliberation, consultation.*

dēlīberō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**lībero** (**lībra**, *scales*), *weigh*], *weigh well, consider, ponder, deliberate.*

dēlicātus, -a, -um, *alluring, enticing; voluptuous, wanton; pampered, effeminate.*

dēliciae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *delights, joys, pleasure; piece of coolness; darling, sweetheart, pet.*

dēlictum, -ī [**dēlinquō**, *be wanting*], *n., a fault, offense; neglect of duty, sin.*

dēligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctus [**legō**, *choose*], *choose, pick out, select.*

dēlinquō, -linquere, -līquī, -lictus, *fail, be wanting, fall short; do harm, offend.*

dēlūbrum, -ī [**luō**, *expiate*], *n., place of cleansing; sanctuary, shrine, temple.*

Dēlus, Dēlī, *f., Delos*, one of the Cyclades islands in the Aegean Sea.

dēmēns, dēmentis [**mēns**, *mind*], *bereft of mind, out of one's senses; demented, mad; foolish, reckless.*

dēmenter [**dēmēns**, *foolish*], *adv., foolishly, recklessly.*

dēmentia, -ae [**dēmēns**, *foolish*], *f., madness, folly, infatuation.*

dēmigrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**migrō**, *move*], *move away, depart; travel off, migrate.*

dēminuō, -minuere, -minuī, -minūtus [**minuō** (**minus**, *less*), *lessen*], *lessen, diminish; take away, detract from, reduce.*

dēminūtiō, dēminūtiōnis [**dēminuō**, *lessen*], *f., a lessening, diminution; loss, sacrifice.*

dēmissus, -a, -um [p. p. of **dēmittō**, *let down*], *downcast, despondent.*

dēmōnstrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**mōnstrō**, *show*], *point out, show, designate; prove, demonstrate; mention, describe.*

dēmoveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtus [**moveō**, *move*], *move away, remove.*

dēmum, *adv., at length, at last.*

dēnegō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *reject, refuse; say 'no.'*

dēnique, *adv., at last, finally, at length; only then; in short, in a word.*

dēnotō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**notō**, *note*], *point out, designate, indicate, specify.*

dēnūntiātiō, dēnūntiātiōnis [**dēnūntiō**, *announce*], *f., a formal announcement, proclamation; threat* (often of a lawsuit).

dēnūntiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nūntiō**, *report*], *announce* (officially), *proclaim; command, order; denounce, threaten.*

dēpellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsus [**pellō**, *drive*], *drive away, drive out; dislodge, expel, remove; force, dissuade; deprive of.*

dēpendō, -pendere, -pendī, — [**pendō**, *weigh*], *weigh out; pay.*

dēplōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**plōrō**, *weep*], *weep bitterly, bewail, lament, mourn the loss of, deplore.*

dēpōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *put*], *put aside, leave, give up, banish; abandon.*

dēpopulor, -ārī, -ātus [**populor**, *devastate*], *devastate, lay waste, ravage, pillage, plunder.*

dēportō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**portō**, *carry*], *carry off, remove; bring home, win.*

dēposcō, -poscere, -poposcī, — [**poscō**, *demand*], *demand, ask earnestly, call for.*

dēprāvō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**prāvus**, *crooked*], *distort; spoil, corrupt, tamper with, deprave; seduce.*

dēprecātor, dēprecātōris [**dēprecor**, *pray for*], *m., intercessor, mediator, advocate.*

dēprecor, -ārī, -ātus [**precor**, *pray*], *pray to escape from, avert by prayer, sue for mercy; pray for, beg for, plead for.*

dēprehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehēnsus [**prehendō**, *seize*], *seize upon, grasp, catch; confiscate; detect, discover, apprehend; comprehend, perceive, understand.*

dēprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press down; sink.*

dēprōmō, -prōmere, -prōmpsī, -prōmptus [**prōmō**, *take out*], *take out from, draw from, draw.*

dērelinquō, -relinquere, -relīquī, -relictus [**relinquō**, *leave behind*], *forsake utterly, abandon, bereave.*

dērīdeō, -rīdēre, -rīsī, -rīsum [**rīdeō**, *laugh*], *laugh at, scoff at, deride.*

dērigō, -rigere, -rēxī, -rēctus [**regō**, *keep straight*], *lay straight, direct.*

dērīvō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**rīvus**, *brook*], *draw off, divert; shift.*

dēscendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēnsus [**scandō**, *climb*], *climb down, go down, descend.*

dēscrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write down, describe, define, fix; represent.*

dēserō, -serere, -seruī, -sertus [**serō**, *unite*], *leave entangled; forsake, desert, abandon, fail;* **vadimōnia dēserere**, *to forfeit one's recognizance, jump one's bail.*

dēsīderium, -ī [**dēsīderō**, *wish for*], *n., a longing, yearning, desire; regret; need.*

dēsīderō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *wish for, ask for, long for, yearn for; miss.*

dēsidia, -ae [**dēsideō**, *sit idle*], *f., a sitting idle, idleness, sloth.*

dēsīgnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [sīgnō, *mark*], *mark out, point out, indicate, designate, brand; appoint, choose, elect;* **cōnsul dēsīgnātus**, *consul elect.*

dēsiliō, -silīre, -siluī, — [saliō, *leap*], *leap down, dismount.*

dēsinō, -sinere, -siī, -situs [sinō, *give leave*], *leave off, stop, cease; close, conclude* (a speech).

dēsistō, -sistere, -stitī, —, *desist from, stop, cease.*

dēspērātiō, dēspērātiōnis [dēspērō, *lose hope*], *f., despair, hopelessness.*

dēspērātus, -a, -um [dēspērō, *lose hope*], *hopeless, desperate.*

dēspērō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [spērō, *hope*], *lose hope, despair of, give up hope.*

dēspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectus [speciō, *look*], *look down on, despise, scorn; express contempt for, disparage.*

dēst, for **deest**, from **dēsum.**

dēstituō, -stituere, -stituī, -stitūtus [statuō, *set up*], *abandon, desert.*

dēstringō, -stringere, -strinxī, -strictus [stringō, *bind*], *unbind, loosen; unsheathe, draw.*

dēsultōrius, dēsultōrī, *m., a leaper, a* (high pole) *vaulter; trick rider.*

dēsum, deesse, dēfuī, dēfutūrus [sum, *be*], *be lacking, fail; be in fault, neglect.*

dēterreō, -terrēre, -terruī, -territus [terreō, *frighten*], *frighten off; deter, hinder, prevent.*

dētestor, -ārī, -ātus [testor, *call to witness*], *avert by entreaty, ward off by protest.*

dētrahō, -trahere, -trāxī, -tractus [trahō, *draw*], *draw away, drag off, bring by force; underestimate, disparage.*

dētrīmentum, -ī [dēterō, *rub away*], *n., wear and tear, loss, damage; disaster, defeat.*

dēturbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [turbō, *disturb*], *drive off* (in confusion).

deus, -ī, *m., a god.*

dēvehō, -vehere, -vēxī, -vectus [vehō, *carry*], *carry down, carry off, bring.*

dēvertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [vertō, *turn*], *turn aside, turn in; go to lodge.*

dēvinciō, -vincīre, -vīnxī, -vīnctus [vinciō, *bind*], *bind fast, fasten securely; attach; lay under obligation.*

dēvincō, -vincere, -vīcī, -victus [vincō, *conquer*], *conquer completely, subdue utterly.*

dēvocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [vocō, *call*], *call away, allure, entice.*

dēvoveō, -vovēre, -vōvī, -vōtus [voveō, *vow*], *pledge, devote, consecrate.*

dexter, dextra, dextrum, *right.*

dextra, -ae, *f., right hand.*

dīcō, dīcere, dīxī, dictus, *say, speak, tell, relate; affirm, declare, state, assert; appoint, name;* with **causam**, *plead.*

dictātor, dictātōris [dictō, *dictate*], *m., dictator.*

dictātūra, -ae [dictātor, *dictator*], *f., dictatorship.*

dictitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of dictō, *repeat*], *say repeatedly, insist upon.*

dictum, -ī [dīcō, *say*], *n., something said; a word, remark.*

diēs, diēī, *m., day; f., time, an appointed day.*

differō, differre, distulī, dīlātus [dis, *apart*, and ferō, *carry*], *carry apart, scatter; postpone, put off, delay; differ.*

difficilis, difficile [dis, *apart*, and facilis, *easy*], *far from easy, difficult, hard.*

difficultās, difficultātis [**difficilis**, *difficult*], *f.*, *difficulty, embarrassment* (often financial) ; *distress.*

diffīdō, -fīdere, -fīsus [**dis**, *apart*, and **fīdō**, *trust*], *distrust, despair of.*

diffluō, -fluere, -fluxī, — [**dis**, *apart*, and **fluō**, *flow*], *flow apart, flow away, flow to waste.*

dignitās, dignitātis [**dignus**, *worthy*], *f.*, *worth, merit, prestige; worthy position.*

dignus, -a, -um, *worthy, deserving, suitable, fitting.*

dīgressiō, dīgressiōnis [**dīgredior**, *separate*], *f.*, *a separating, parting.*

dīgressus, -ūs [**dīgredior**, *separate*], *m.*, *separation, departure.*

diiūdicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dis**, *apart*, and **iūdicō**, *judge*], *judge between, distinguish; decide, settle, adjust.*

diiungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctus [**dis**, *apart*, and **iungō**, *yoke*], *unyoke; separate, divide; estrange.*

dīlābor, -lābī, -lāpsus [**dis**, *apart*, and **lābor**, *glide*], *glide apart; fall in ruins.*

dīlacerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dis**, *apart*, and **lacerō**, *tear*], *tear to pieces; annihilate, destroy.*

dīlaniō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dis**, *apart*, and **laniō**, *rend*], *tear into shreds; mutilate.*

dīlātiō, dīlātiōnis [**differō**, *defer*], *f.*, *postponement, adjournment.*

dīligēns, dīligentis [**dīligō**, *love*], *careful, attentive; faithful, scrupulous.*

dīligenter [**dīligēns**, *careful*], *adv.*, *carefully, attentively; assiduously, industriously.*

dīligentia, -ae [**dīligēns**, *careful*], *f.*, *care, attention, diligence, industry, pains.*

dīligō, -ligere, -lēxī, -lēctus [**dis**, *apart*, and **legō**, *choose*], *choose with discrimination; esteem, love.*

dīlūcēscō, -lūcēscere, -lūxī, — [**dīlūceō**, *be clear*], *grow light, dawn.*

dīmicātiō, dīmicātiōnis [**dīmicō**, *fight*], *f.*, *fight, struggle, combat, contest; rivalry, competition.*

dīmicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dis**, *apart*, and **micō**, *shake*], *fight, struggle, contend.*

dīmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**dis**, *apart*, and **mittō**, *send*], *send, send away, dismiss, break up; give up, abandon, forego.*

dīreptiō, dīreptiōnis [**dīripiō**, *tear apart*], *f.*, *plundering, pillaging.*

dīreptor, dīreptōris [**dīripiō**, *tear apart*], *m.*, *plunderer, marauder, robber.*

dīripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptus [**dis**, *apart*, and **rapiō**, *seize*], *tear apart, lay waste, ravage, plunder, pillage.*

discēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [**dis**, *apart*, and **cēdō**, *go*], *disperse, scatter; withdraw, depart.*

disceptātiō, disceptātiōnis [**disceptō**, *discuss*], *f.*, *discussion, dispute.*

disceptō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dis**, *apart, and* **captō**, freq. of **capiō**, *take*], *take apart for examination; settle.*

discernō, -cernere, -crēvī, -crētus [**cernō**, *separate*], *separate; distinguish.*

discessus, -ūs [**discēdō**, *depart*], *m.*, *departure, withdrawal.*

discidium, -ī [**dis**, *apart*, and **scindō**, *rend*], *n.*, *separation; disagreement, dissension, discord.*

disciplīna, -ae [**discipulus**, *learner*], *f.*, *instruction, training, teaching; education, study, discipline; system of training.*

discō, discere, didicī, —, *learn, become acquainted with, acquire knowledge of.*

discordia, -ae [**discors**, *discordant*], *f.*, *discord, dissension, disagreement.*

discrepō, -crepāre, -crepuī, —, *disagree.*

discrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, discrīptus [dis, *apart*, and scrībō, *write*], *apportion, assign; distribute.*

discrīmen, discrīminis [discernō, *settle*], *n., a decisive point, critical moment, crisis; peril, risk, hazard.*

discutiō, -cutere, -cussī, -cussus [dis, *apart*, and quatiō, *shake*], *shatter, remove, scatter, destroy.*

disiūnctus, -a, -um [p. p. of disiungō, *separate*], *widely separated, distant, remote.*

dispār, disparis [dis, *apart*, and pār, *equal*], *unequal, unlike, different; ill-matched.*

dispergō, -pergere, -persī, -persus [dis, *apart*, and spargō, *scatter*], *scatter.*

dispertiō, -pertīre, -pertīvī, -pertītus [partiō, *part*], *distribute, allot.*

dīspiciō, -spicere, -spēxī, -spectus [dis, *apart*, and speciō, *look*], *descry, discern, perceive, make out, distinguish, detect.*

disputātiō, disputātiōnis [disputō, *discuss*], *f., discussion, argument, debate.*

disputō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [dis, *apart*, and putō, *think*], *discuss, argue, debate; treat.*

dissēminō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [dis, *apart*, and sēminō, *sow*], *sow broadcast; spread abroad, disseminate.*

dissēnsiō, dissēnsiōnis [dissentiō, *disagree*], *f., disagreement, difference of opinion; strife, dissension, discord.*

dissentiō, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsus [dis, *apart*, and sentiō, *perceive*], *disagree, differ, dissent.*

disserō, -serere, -seruī, -sertus [dis, *apart*, and serō, *sow*], *examine; discourse, argue.*

dissideō, -sidēre, -sēdī, — [dis, *apart*, and sedeō, *sit*], *sit apart; be at variance, disagree, differ.*

dissimilis, dissimile [dis, *apart*, and similis, *like*], *not like, unlike, different.*

dissimilitūdō, dissimilitūdinis [dissimilis, *unlike*], *f., unlikeness, difference.*

dissimulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [dis, *apart*, and simulō, *pretend a thing is what it really is not*], *pretend a thing is not what it really is; conceal the truth, dissemble.*

dissipō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *disperse, scatter.*

dissolūtus, -a, -um [p. p. of dissolvō], *remiss, lax; arbitrary; free from debt.*

dissolvō, -solvere, -solvī, -solūtus [dis, *apart*, and solvō, *free*], *set free; part, separate.*

distortus, -a, -um [dis, *apart*, and torqueō, *twist*], *distorted, misshapen, deformed.*

distrahō, -trahere, -trāxī, -tractus [dis, *apart*, and trahō, *draw*], *draw apart, separate.*

distribuō, -tribuere, -tribuī, -tribūtus [dis, *apart*, and tribuō, *assign*], *distribute, allot, apportion, divide.*

distringō, -stringere, -strīnxī, -strictus [dis, *apart*, and stringō, *draw*], *stretch apart, draw asunder.*

disturbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [dis, *apart*, and turbō, *throw into confusion*], *disturb; disperse.*

diū, *adv., long, a long time, for a long while.* Comp., diūtius; sup., diūtissimē; iam diūtius, *any longer.*

diurnus, -a, -um [diēs, *day*], *by day.*

diūturnitās, diūturnitātis [diūturnus, *long-continued*], *f., length of time, long continuance.*

diūturnus, -a, -um [diū, *long*], *of long duration, long-continued, long-lived, lasting.*

dīvellō, -vellere, -vellī, -volsus [**dis**, *apart*, and **vellō**, *tear*], *tear apart, wrench apart; sever, part, remove.*

dīversus, -a, -um [p. p. of **dīvertō**, *separate*], *separate, different, diverse; turned in opposite directions, opposed.*

dīves, dīvitis, *rich, wealthy.*

dividō, dīvidere, divīsī, dīvīsus, *divide, part, separate.*

dīvīnitus [**dīvīnus**, *divine*], *adv., by divine influence, providentially.*

dīvīnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dīvīnus**, *divine*], *foresee, divine, prophesy.*

dīvīnus, -a, -um [**dīvus**, *god*], *divine, godlike, superhuman; excellent.*

dīvīsor, dīvīsōris, *m.*, lit. one who distributes; *a briber.*

divitiae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *riches.*

dō, dare, dedī, datus, *give, bestow, present, confer; grant, concede, furnish; permit, suffer; put, place; send* or *write* (a letter).

doceō, docēre, docuī, doctus, *teach, inform, tell of, show, prove, convince.*

doctrīna, -ae [**doceō**, *teach*], *f., teaching, instruction, systematic education; study of the liberal arts; culture; theory.*

doctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **doceō**, *teach*], *taught, learned; trained, educated; refined, cultured.*

documentum, -ī [**doceō**, *teach*], *n., lesson, example, warning; proof.*

Dolabella, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

doleō, dolēre, doluī, dolitūrus, *suffer, feel pain, be grieved.*

dolor, dolōris [**doleō**, *suffer*], *m., pain; suffering; grief, distress; indignation, wrath, resentment;* **articulōrum dolōrēs**, *rheumatism.*

domesticus, -a, -um [**domus**, *home*], *of the home, domestic, private; within the city, civil.*

domicilium, -ī [**domus**, *home*], *n., a dwelling, abode, home.*

domina, -ae [fem. of **dominus**, *master*], *f., mistress.*

dominātiō, dominātiōnis [**dominor**, *be in power*], *f., mastery, supremacy, power; despotism, tyranny.*

dominor, -ārī, -ātus [**dominus**, *master*], *be in power, be master, be supreme; rule, reign.*

dominus, -ī [**domō**, *tame*], *m., master, chief; proprietor, owner.*

domitor, domitōris [**domō**, *tame*], *m., a tamer, subduer, conqueror.*

domō, -āre, -uī, -itus, *vanquish, subdue.*

domus, -ūs, *f., house, home; household.*

dōnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dōnum**, *gift*], *give, bestow, confer, present; reward.*

dōnum, -ī [**dō**, *give*], *n., gift, present; favor, boon, kindness.*

dormiō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus, *sleep.*

Drūsus, Drūsī, *m.*, Roman family name.

dubitātiō, dubitātiōnis [**dubitō**, *hesitate*], *f., hesitation.*

dubitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dubius**, *doubtful*], *doubt, question; hesitate, waver, be reluctant.*

dubius, -a, -um, *doubtful, hesitating, irresolute.*

dūcō, dūcere, dūxī, ductus [**dux**, *leader*], *lead, conduct, escort, guide; lead away, carry off, arrest; lead, command; draw, derive; reckon, consider, esteem, regard.*

ductus, ductūs [**dūcō**, *lead*], *m., a leading; leadership, command.*

dūdum, *adv., not long since;* with **iam**, *now for a long time.*

duint, old form 3d pl. pres. subj. of **dō**.

dulcēdō, dulcēdinis [**dulcis**, *sweet*], *f., sweetness, charm.*

dulcis, dulce, *sweet, charming.*

dum, *conj., while, as long as; until, to the time when; if only, provided that.*
dum modo, *provided only, provided.*
dumtaxat, *adv., strictly speaking, only, merely.*
duo, duae, duo, *two.*
duodecim [duo, *two*, and **decem**, *ten*], *twelve.*
duodecimus, -a, -um [duodecim, *twelve*], *twelfth.*
dūrē [dūrus, *hard*], *adv., harshly.*
dūrus, -a, -um, *hard, severe, oppressive; unfeeling, pitiless.*
dux, ducis [dūcō, *lead*], *m., leader, commander, ruler, guide*
Dyrrachium, Dyrrachī, *n.*, a sea-coast town of Illyria.

E

ē, *prep.* with abl., see **ex.**
ēbriōsus, -a, -um [ēbrius, *drunk*], *addicted to drink, besotted;* as noun, *inebriate, drunkard, sot.*
ēbrius, -a, -um, *intoxicated, drunk.*
ecce, *adv., lo! behold!*
ecquī or **ecquis**, ecquae *or* ecqua, ecquid *or* ecquod, *interrog. pron., is there any? any? whether any.*
ecquid [ecquis, *any*], *adv., any at all? at all? possibly.*
eculeus, -ī [equus, *horse*], *m.*, dim., *young horse, colt; torture horse, rack.*
ēdictum, -ī [ēdīcō, *proclaim*], *n., proclamation, ordinance, edict.*
ēdiscō, -discere, -didicī, — [discō, *learn*], *learn thoroughly, learn by heart.*
ēdītīcius, -a, -um, *proposed, nominated;* with **iūdicēs**, *special jurors* (named by the plaintiff).
ēditus, -a, -um, *high, lofty, elevated.*
ēdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [dō, *put*], *put forth, set forth; give forth, relate, publish, put into final shape.*
ēdoceō, -docēre, -docuī, -doctus [doceō, *teach*], *teach thoroughly, show clearly, instruct.*
ēdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [dūcō, *lead*], *lead forth; draw, unsheathe.*
effēminō, -āre, -avī, -ātus [fēmina, *woman*], *render effeminate, enervate.*
efferō, efferre, extulī, ēlātus [ferō, *carry*], *carry out, take away; lift up, raise, elevate; excite, carry away, transport, elate; extol, laud, praise.*
efficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [faciō, *make*], *make out, bring to pass, bring about, effect, cause, produce.*
effigiēs, effigiēī [fingō, *fashion*], *f., copy, likeness; expression, representation; image; effigy.*
efflāgitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [flāgitō, *demand*], *demand urgently, clamor for.*
efflō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [flō, *blow*], *blow out, exhale, breathe.*
effrēnātus, -a, -um [frēnum, *bridle*], *unbridled; uncontrolled, unrestrained.*
effringō, -fringere, -frēgī, -frāctus [frangō, *break*], *break open, burst through.*
effugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, — [fugiō, *flee*], *flee away, escape; avoid.*
effundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsus [fundō, *pour*], *pour out, shed* (blood).
egēns, egentis [egeō, *lack*], *needy, in want, poor, destitute.*
egeō, -ēre, -uī, —, *lack, be without, need.*
egestās, egestātis [egeō, *lack*], *f., want, destitution, penury, poverty.*
ego, meī, *pers. pron., I; your humble servant.*
egomet, emphatic for **ego.**
ēgredior, -gredī, -gressus [gradior, *step*], *step forth, go out, march forth, go away.*

ēgregius, -a, -um [**grex**, *herd*], *above the ordinary, extraordinary, superior, surpassing, eminent.*

ēiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *cast out, thrust out, drive out, expel; drive into exile, exile, banish;* **sē ēicere**, *rush out, hasten forth.*

eiectus, -a, -um [p. p. of **ēiciō**, *cast out*], *outcast, wrecked.*

ēlābor, -lābī, -lāpsus [**lābor**, *slip*], *slip away, escape; slip.*

ēlabōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**labōrō**, *labor*], *work out, elaborate, compose with care; toil, struggle, take pains.*

ēlegantia, -ae [**ēligō**, *pick out*], *f., taste, refinement, elegance.*

ēligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctus [**legō**, *choose*], *choose, pick out, select; elect.*

ēloquentia, -ae [**ēloquor**, *speak out*], *f., eloquence.*

ēlūdō, -lūdere, -lūsī, -lūsus [**lūdō**, *play*], *play out; make sport of, mock; deceive, baffle.*

ēmendō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *free from faults, correct, improve, amend; revise, emend.*

ēmergō, -mergere, -mersī, -mersus [**mergō**, *dip*], *bring to the surface, get the head above water, go clear, get out* (of debt), *emerge.*

ēmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *send forth, drive out, expel; let go, suffer to escape.*

emō, emere, ēmī, ēmptus, *buy; bribe.*

ēmolumentum, -i, *n., gain, profit;* (any) *advantage.*

ēmorior, -morī, -mortuus, *die, die off.*

emptiō, emptiōnis [**emō**, *buy*], *f., a buying; purchase.*

ēnarrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**narrō**, *relate*], *explain fully, describe.*

enim, *postpositive conj., for.*

ēniteō, -nitēre, -nituī, — [**niteō**, *shine*], *shine forth, be displayed.*

ēnītor, -nītī, -nīxus *or* -nīsus [**nītor**, *struggle*], *force a way out, struggle out; make an effort.*

Ennius, Ennī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

ēnumerātiō, ēnumerātiōnis [**ēnumerō**, *count out*], *f., a counting out; an enumerating, recapitulation.*

eō, īre, īvī, itus, *go, proceed, march, pass.*

eō [old dat. of **is**, *that*; cf. **eōdem**], *adv., thither, to that place, there.*

eō [abl. of **is**, *that*], *adv., on that account;* with comp., *the, all the, so much.*

eōdem [old dat. of **īdem**, *the same*; cf. **eō**, *thither*], *adv., to the same place.*

Epamīnōndās, -ae, *m.*, a Theban general.

epigramma, epigrammatis, *n., an inscription; an epigram* (a short poem), *a poetical address.*

Ēpīroticus, -a, -um [**Ēpīrus**, *Epirus*], *of Epirus, in Epirus.*

Ēpīrus, -ī, *f.*, a province in northern Greece.

epistula, -ae, *f., a letter.*

epulum, -ī, *n.*, pl. epulae, *f., a banquet, feast; entertainment.*

eques, equitis [**equus**, *horse*], *m., horseman, knight;* pl., *cavalry.*

equester, equestris, equestre [**eques**, *horseman*], *of cavalry, equestrian; of the knights.*

equidem, *adv.* (usually referring to the 1st pers. sing.), *I at any rate, for my part.*

equitātus, -ūs [**equitō**, *ride*], *m., cavalry, horsemen.*

equus, equī, *m., a horse.*

ērēctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **ērigō**, *set up straight*], *erect, high.*

ergā, *prep.* with acc., *towards; for; in regard to.*

ergō, *adv., therefore, then, consequently.*

ērigō, -rigere, -rēxī, -rēctus [regō, *keep straight*], *set up straight, raise up, erect; cheer up, encourage.*

ēripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptus [rapiō, *seize*], *snatch away, wrest away; rescue, deliver, free; deprive of.*

errō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *wander, stray; be in error, err, mistake.*

error, errōris [errō, *wander*], *m., a wandering; error, mistake, delusion.*

ērubēscō, -rubēscere, -rūbuī, —, *grow red, redden; blush, blush with shame.*

ērūctō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *belch forth, vomit.*

ērudiō, -rudīre, -rudīvī, -rudītus [rudis, *rude*], *educate, instruct, train, teach, polish.*

ērudītus, -a, -um [p. p. of ērudiō, *educate*], *refined, educated, accomplished.*

ērumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptus [rumpō, *burst*], *burst forth, sally forth, break out; be disclosed.*

ēruō, -ruere, -ruī, -rutus [ruō, *fall*], *throw out, root up; elicit, derive.*

esca, -ae, *f., a dish* (i.e. food prepared for the table), *a course service; food, viands.*

ēscendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēnsus [scandō, *climb*], *climb, ascend.*

et, *conj., and;* **et . . . et**, *both . . . and; adv., also, too, even.*

etenim, *conj., for, for to be sure, and really.*

etiam [et iam, *and now*], *adv.* and *conj., also, even now, still, yet, and besides, actually;* **etiam sī**, *even if;* **quīn etiam**, *nay even;* **nōn modo . . . sed etiam**, *not only . . . but also.*

Etrūria, -ae, *f., Etruria*, the district north of Latium in central Italy.

etsī [et sī, *even if*], *conj., even if, although.*

Euripus, -ī, *m.*, the strait between Euboea and Boeotia.

ēvādō, -vādere, -vāsī, -vāsūrus [vādō, *go*], *escape.*

ēvellō, -vellere, -vellī, -volsus [vellō, *pluck*], *pull out, root out, eradicate.*

ēveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventūrus [veniō, *come*], *turn out, result.*

ēventus, -ūs [ēveniō, *turn out*], *m., outcome, result, issue, end.*

ēvertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [vertō, *turn*], *overturn; overthrow, ruin.*

ēvocātor, ēvocātōris [ēvocō, *call out*], *m., summoner, rallier, instigator, recruiter.*

ēvocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [vocō, *call*], *call out; challenge.*

ēvolō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [volō, *fly*], *fly out, fly away; escape.*

ēvomō, -vomere, -vomuī, -vomitus [vomō, *vomit*], *vomit out, spew, disgorge; expel, eject.*

ex, before vowels or consonants, **ē**, only before consonants, *prep.* with abl., *out of, out from, from; after, since, from; in conformity with, according to; on account of, in consequence of; in, on.*

exaggerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [aggerō, *heap*], *heap up, accumulate.*

exanimō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [exanimus, *out of breath*], *deprive of breath; rob of self-possession, distract, terrify, paralyze.*

exārdēscō, -ārdēscere, -ārsī, -ārsus [ārdēscō, *kindle*], *blaze out; be provoked.*

exaudiō, -audīre, -audīvī, -audītus [audiō, *hear*], *hear clearly, distinguish; overhear.*

excēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [cēdō, *go*], *go out, withdraw, depart.*

excellēns, excellentis [excellō, *excel*], *superior, eminent, excellent.*

excellō, -cellere, —, — [cellō, *project*], *be eminent, be superior, excel, surpass.*

excelsus, -a, -um [excellō, *excel*], *elevated, lofty, high; noble, distinguished, excellent.*

excidō, -cidere, -cidī, — [cadō, *fall*], *fall from, slip from.*

excipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [capiō, *take*], *take out, make an exception of; receive; intercept.*

excitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [citō, *cause to move*], *call out; rouse, stir up, excite, spur on; raise, erect; occasion, cause, produce.*

exclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [claudō, *shut*], *shut out, exclude, refuse admission; hinder, prevent.*

excolō, -colere, -coluī, -cultus [colō, *till*], *cultivate, improve, refine, educate.*

excruciō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [cruciō, *torture*], *torture, torment.*

excubiae, -ārum [cubō, *lie down*], *f.*, pl., *a lying out on guard, a watching; protection.*

excurrō, -currere, -cucurrī *or* -currī, -cursus [currō, *run*], *run forth; display itself.*

excursiō, excursiōnis [excurrō, *run forth*], *f., a running out; sally, attack, raid.*

excūsātiō, excūsātiōnis [excūsō, *excuse*], *f., an excusing; excuse.*

excūsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [causa, *reason*], *bring a reason for setting free, make excuses, beg off; decline.*

excutiō, -cutere, -cussī, -cussus [quatiō, *shake*], *shake off, cast out; sift out, discard; examine, investigate.*

exemplar, exemplāris [eximō, *select*], *n., something selected; pattern, model, example.*

exemplum, -ī [eximō, *select*], *n., sample, specimen; model, precedent, example, instance; tradition.*

exeō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [eō, *go*], *go out, go forth, go away, depart; march off, emigrate, clear out.*

exerceō, -ercēre, -ercuī, -ercitus [arceō, *keep off*], *keep busy, employ, give practice, exercise, train, discipline; manage; preside over.*

exercitātiō, exercitātiōnis [exerceō, *exercise*], *f., exercise, practice, training; ease* (in speaking).

exercitātus, -a, -um [exerceō, *exercise*], *trained, experienced, versed.*

exercitus, -ūs [exerceō, *exercise*], *m., a trained body of men, an army.*

exhauriō, -haurīre, -hausī, -haustus [hauriō, *drain*], *drain off, empty, exhaust, get rid of.*

exhibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitus [habeō, *hold*], *hold forth, produce, exhibit.*

exigō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctus [agō, *drive*], *drive out; enforce payment, exact, collect; spend; complete, finish, end.*

exiguus, -a, -um, *scanty, small, little, short, brief.*

eximiē [eximō, *select*], *adv., exceedingly.*

eximius, -a, -um [eximō, *select*], *select, exceptional, uncommon, extraordinary, distinguished, excellent.*

exīstimātiō, exīstimātiōnis [exīstimō, *estimate*], *f., a judgment, estimate, opinion; character, reputation.*

exīstimātor, exīstimātōris [exīstimō, *judge*], *m., judge, appraiser.*

exīstimō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [aestimō, *value*], *value, rate; esteem, appreciate; judge, suppose, think.*

exitiōsus, -a, -um [exitium, *ruin*], *pernicious, deadly, ruinous.*

exitium, exitī [exeō, *go out*], *n., destruction, ruin, extinction.*

exitus, -ūs [exeō, *go out*], *m., a going out, departure; end, conclusion; issue, outcome.*

exolētus, -ī, *m.*, *a boy favorite.*

exoptō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**optō**, *desire*], *desire earnestly, long for.*

exorbeō, -orbēre, -orbuī, — [**sorbeō**, *suck*], *suck out; drain; meet eagerly, welcome.*

exōrnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ōrnō**, *equip*], *fit out, equip, furnish.*

exōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ōrō**, *entreat*], *persuade by entreaty, prevail upon, induce.*

exōrsus, -ūs [**exordior**, *begin*], *m.*, *beginning, commencement.*

expediō, -pedīre, -pedīvī, -pedītus [**pēs**, *foot*], *extricate, set free, liberate; arrange, put in order; be useful, be advantageous, profit.*

expellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsus [**pellō**, *drive away*], *drive out, expel, banish.*

experior, -perīrī, -pertus, *try, prove, learn by experience; make trial.*

expers, expertis [**pars**, *part*], *having no part in, not sharing in.*

expetō, -petere, -petīvī, -petītus [**petō**, *seek*], *seek out, seek after; demand, request earnestly; long for, desire.*

expīlō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pīlō**, *rob*], *rob, plunder, pillage.*

expiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**piō**, *appease*], *atone for, expiate.*

expleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētus [**pleō**, *fill*], *fill up, satisfy, appease.*

explicō, -āre, -āvī *or* -uī, -ātus *or* -itus [**plicō**, *fold*], *unfold, disentangle, set free, release.*

explōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**plōrō**, *bring complaint*], *search out, investigate, examine, explore; reconnoiter.*

expōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *place*], *set forth, exhibit; relate, explain, expound, analyse.*

exportō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**portō**, *carry*], *carry out, send away, export.*

exposcō, -poscere, -poposcī, — [**poscō**, *demand*], *implore for, beg, demand.*

expressus, -a, -um [p. p. of **exprimō**, *portray*], *well pictured.*

exprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press out; wrest, extort, copy, portray, describe, model, express.*

exprōmō, -prōmere, -prōmpsī, -prōmptus [**prōmō**, *produce*], *show forth, display, exhibit; express.*

expugnātiō, expugnātiōnis [**pugnō**, *fight*], *f.*, *a taking by storm, storming.*

exquīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīvī, -quīsītus [**quaerō**, *look for*], *ask for, seek out, search out, inquire into.*

exscindō, -scindere, -scidī, -scissus [**scindō**, *cut*], *cut down; destroy.*

exsequiae, -ārum [**exsequor**, *follow up*], *f.*, pl., *funeral, funeral procession.*

exsiccātus, -a, -um [**siccus**, *dry*], *dried up, withered; exhausted.*

exsilium, exsilī, *n.*, *banishment, exile; a place of exile, retreat.*

exsistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [**sistō**, *cause to stand*], *arise, emerge, appear, be manifest, exist, be; be committed or perpetrated; turn out, result.*

exsolvō, -solvere, -solvī, -solūtus [**solvō**, *loosen*], *unloose, set free, release, liberate.*

exspectātiō, exspectātiōnis [**exspectō**, *look for*], *f.*, *a looking for; anticipation, expectation.*

exspectātus, -a, -um [**exspectō**, *look for*], *looked for, expected, anticipated.*

exspectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**spectō**, *look at*], *look for, wait for, wait; hope for, long for, expect, anticipate, look forward to;* with **sī**, *wait to see whether.*

exstinguō, -stinguere, -stīnxī, -stīnctus [**stinguō**, *put out*], *put out, extinguish, quench; abolish, destroy, put an end to; wipe out; annul.*

exstō, -āre, —, — [**stō**, *stand*], *stand forth; exist, be.*

exstruō, -struere, -strūxī, -strūctus [**struō**, *arrange*], *pile up; build up, construct, erect.*

exsul, exsulis, *m.* and *f.*, *an exile.*

exsulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**exsul**, *exile*], *be an exile, live in exile.*

exsultō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**saliō**, *leap*], *leap for joy, rejoice, exult.*

extenuō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**tenuus**, *thin*], *make small, diminish; detract from.*

exter or **exterus**, extera, exterum [**ex**, *out of*], *outer, foreign;* comp., **exterior, exterius**, *outer;* sup., **extrēmus**, *most remote, extreme, last.*

exterminō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**terminus**, *boundary*], *drive out* (of boundaries), *drive away, exile; put aside, remove.*

externus, -a, -um, *outside, foreign.*

extimēscō, -timēscere, -timuī, — [**timēscō**, inch. of **timeō**, *fear*], *fear greatly, dread.*

extollō, -ere, —, —, *lift up, raise, elevate.*

extorqueō, -torquēre, -torsī, -tortus [**torqueō**, *twist*], *wrench out, wrest from, extort.*

extrā [**ex**, *out of*], *adv.* and *prep.* with acc., *outside, outside of, beyond.*

extrēmus, see **exter.**

exturbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**turbō**, *disturb*], *drive out, thrust out.*

exuō, -uere, -uī, -ūtus, *strip, deprive, despoil.*

exūrō, -ūrere, -ussi, -ustus [**ūrō**, *burn*], *burn up; consume, destroy.*

exuviae, -ārum [**exuō**, *take off*], *f.*, pl., *that which is taken off, clothing; spoils, trophies.*

F

faber, fabrī, *m.*, *workman, carpenter, engineer.*

fābula, -ae, *f.*, *narration, story, tale; drama.*

facile [**facilis**, *easy*], *adv.*, *easily, readily, willingly; without trouble.*

facilis, facile [**faciō**, *do*], *easy to do, easy.*

facilitās, facilitātis [**facilis**, *easy*], *f.*, *easiness, ease, facility; affability, courteousness; accessibility, easiness of approach.*

facinorōsus, -a, -um [**facinus**, *crime*], *criminal, villainous, vicious.*

facinus, facinoris [**faciō**, *do*], *n.*, *deed, act; a bad deed; criminal act, outrage, villainy; wickedness, crime.*

faciō, facere, fēcī, factus, *make, build, erect, compose; do, act, perform, execute, cause, occasion, bring to pass; grant, confer; choose, elect, appoint.*

factum, -ī [**faciō**, *do*], *n.*, *deed, act, fact; exploit, achievement.*

facultās, facultātis [**facilis**, *easy*], *f.*, *ability, skill, power; opportunity, chance.*

Faesulae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., a city of Etruria, now Fiesole, near modern Florence.

Faesulānus, -a, -um [**Faesulae**, *Faesulae*], *of Faesulae, Faesulan.*

falcārius, falcārī [**falx**, *scythe*], *m.*, *scythe maker, hardware merchant.*

Falcidius, Falcidī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

fallāx, fallācis [**fallō**, *deceive*], *deceitful, deceptive, untrustworthy.*

fallō, fallere, fefellī, falsus, *deceive, cheat; fail, disappoint; escape one's notice, elude.*

falsō [**falsus**, *false*], *adv.*, *falsely, erroneously.*

falsus, -a, -um [p. p. of **fallō**, *deceive*], *deceptive, misleading; feigned, pretended, unfounded, false.*

falx, falcis, *f.*, *a curved blade; scythe, sickle.*

fāma, -ae [for, *speak*], *f.*, *report, rumor, talk; fame, reputation, renown; glorification; reproach.*

famēs, famis, *f.*, *hunger.*

familia, -ae [**famulus**, *servant*], *f.*, *a body of slaves; members of a household, household, family.*

familiāris, familiāre [**familia**, *household*], *domestic, private; familiar, intimate, friendly;* as noun, *intimate companion, friend;* **rēs familiāris**, *private property.*

familiāritās, familiāritātis [**familiāris**, *familiar*], *f.*, *familiarity, intimacy.*

familiāriter [**familiāris**, *familiar*], *adv.*, *intimately, familiarly, on friendly terms.*

fānum, -ī [**fās**, *divine law*], *n.*, *shrine, sanctuary, temple.*

fās, *n.*, indecl., *right* (before the gods); usually with **esse**, *be right, proper, lawful.*

fasciculus, -ī [**fascis**, *bundle*], *m.*, *a small package.*

fascis, fascis, *m.*, *bundle;* pl., *a bundle of rods, the fasces* (which were carried by the lictors before the higher government officials as a symbol of authority).

fastīdiō, fastīdīre, fastidīvī, fastīdītus [**fastīdium**, *nausea*], *feel disgust; be disdainful, be critical, be captious.*

fastīdium, -ī, *n.*, *nausea; aversion, disgust, dislike.*

fāstus, -a, -um [**fās**, *divine right*], *not forbidden;* usually pl. with **diēs** understood, *court days* (a day on which the praetors' courts were open).

fātālis, fātāle [**fātum**, *fate*], *ordained by fate, fatal, destined; connected by fate.*

fateor, fatērī, fassus, *confess, admit, grant, acknowledge.*

fātum, -ī [for, *speak*], *an utterance; oracle; destiny, fate; misfortune, ruin; death;* **fāta Sibyllīna**, *the Sibylline Books.*

faucēs, faucium, *f.*, pl., *throat, jaws; defiles.*

faustē [**faustus**, *auspicious*], *adv.*, *favorably, auspiciously.*

fautor, fautōris [**favor**, *good will*], *m.*, *a favorer, promoter, patron.*

faveō, favēre, fāvī, fautūrus, *favor, be favorable to, be well-disposed towards; befriend, favor, protect.*

fax, facis, *f.*, *torch, firebrand; incitement.*

febris, febris, *f.*, *fever.*

Februārius, -a, -um, *of February, February.*

fēlīcitās, fēlīcitātis [**fēlīx**, *happy*], *f.*, *happiness; good fortune, good luck, success.*

fēlīciter [**fēlīx**, *happy*], *adv.*, *happily, fortunately, auspiciously.*

fēlīx, fēlīcis, *happy, prosperous, successful.*

fēmina, -ae, *f.*, *woman, female.*

ferē, *adv.*, *in general, usually; nearly, almost, well-nigh, about, almost always;* with neg., *scarcely, hardly.*

ferō, ferre, tulī, lātus, *bear, carry, bring; tolerate, suffer, endure, meet; report, make known, say, tell; bring forward, propose; obtain, receive;* with **sē**, *betake one's self;* **sententiam ferre**, *vote.*

ferōcitās, ferōcitātis [**ferox**, *fierce*], *f.*, *fierceness, fury, ferocity.*

ferrāmentum, -ī [**ferrum**, *iron*], *n.*, *an implement of iron; sword, weapon;* pl., *cutlery.*

ferreus, -a, -um [**ferrum**, *iron*], *of iron, iron; iron-hearted, unsympathetic, unfeeling; unyielding.*

ferrum, -ī, *n.*, *iron; weapon, sword; iron-heartedness, cruelty.*

fertilis, fertile [**ferō**, *bear*], *bearing, productive, fertile, fruitful.*

ferus, -a, -um, *wild, savage, fierce;* as noun, *wild beast.*

fēstīnātiō, fēstīnātiōnis [**fēstīnō**, *hasten*], *f., a hastening; haste, hurry, dispatch; impatience.*

fēstus, -a, -um, *festive, festal.*

fictus, -a, -um [p. p. of **fingō**, *make up*], *feigned, fictitious, false.*

fidēlis, fidēle [**fidēs**, *good faith*], *faithful, trustworthy, sincere, true.*

fidēs, fideī, *f., faith, confidence, trust; credence, belief; honesty, integrity, good faith, credit; promise, assurance, pledge, word; pledge of safety, protection;* **in fidem accipere**, *to take under one's protection, assume responsibility for.*

Fidius, Fidī, *m.*, epithet of the god of Faith; **medius fidius**, *so help me Heaven!*

fīdō, fīdere, fīsus [**fidēs**, *faith*], *trust, place confidence in, rely upon.*

fīdūcia, -ae [**fidēs**, *faith*], *f., trust, confidence; legal trickery.*

fīdus, -a, -um [**fīdō**, *trust*], *trustworthy, faithful.*

fīgō, fīgere, fīxī, fīxus, *fix, fasten; thrust in, plant; settle, arrange.*

fīlia, -ae, *f., daughter.*

fīliola, -ae [**fīlia**, *daughter*], *f., little daughter.*

fīlius, fīlī, *m., son.*

fingō, fingere, fīnxī, fictus, *form, fashion, make, mold; form a mental image of, imagine, conceive.*

fīnis, fīnis, *m., boundary, limit, end; close, termination, conclusion;* pl., *boundaries, borders, territory, land, country.*

fīnitimus, -a, -um [**fīnis**, *limit*], *bordering upon; m.*, pl. as noun, *neighbors.*

fīō, fierī, factus sum, used as pass. of **faciō**, *to be made, become; happen, occur;* **certior fierī**, *to be informed.*

fīrmāmentum, -ī [**fīrmō**, *strengthen*], *n., a strengthening; support, prop, stay.*

fīrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fīrmus**, *strong*], *strengthen, make secure, fortify.*

fīrmus, -a, -um, *strong, steadfast, firm; reliable.*

Flaccus, -ī, *m.*, a Roman family name.

flāgitiōsē [**flāgitiōsus**, *shameful*], *adv., shamefully, basely, disgracefully.*

flāgitiōsus, -a, -um [**flāgitium**, *shame*], *shameful, disgraceful; profligate, infamous.*

flāgitium, flāgitī, *n., a "burning shame"; shameful act; shame, disgrace.*

flāgitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *ask earnestly, demand; importune, entreat; call for, demand, insist upon.*

flagrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *burn, be on fire, glow; be fired with, be consumed with.*

flāmen, flāminis, *m., a priest, flamen.*

flamma, -ae, *f., a blazing fire; blaze, flame, fire; a devouring flame; ruin, destruction.*

flectō, -ere, flexī, flexus, *bend, turn, influence, persuade, prevail over, overcome; appease, calm, assuage.*

fleō, flēre, flēvī, flētus, *weep, wail, lament.*

flētus, -ūs [**fleō**, *weep*], *m., a weeping, wailing, lamentation.*

flexibilis, flexibile [**flectō**, *bend*], *pliant, flexible, yielding; easily altered, unstable.*

flōrēns, florentis [**flōreō**, *flourish*], *prosperous, distinguished, eminent.*

flōreō, flōrēre, floruī, — [**flōs**, *bloom*], *bloom; be prosperous, flourish.*

flōrēscō, -ere, —, — [**flōreō**, *bloom*], *blossom, bloom; flourish, grow in favor.*

flōs, flōris, *m., blossom, flower; ornament.*

flūctus, -ūs [**fluō**, *flow*], *m., wave, billow, surge, tide; commotion, disturbance.*

flūmen, flūmini [**fluō**, *flow*], *n., river.*

focus, -ī, *m., fireplace, hearth.*

foederātus, -a, -um [**foedus**, *league*], *leagued together, allied.*

foedus, -a, -um, *foul, loathsome; shameful, horrible.*

foedus, foederis, *n., league, treaty, compact, alliance.*

fōns, fontis, *m., spring, fountain, well; source;* pl. also, *resources.*

forās [acc. pl. of an old form, **fora**, *door*], *adv., out of doors; forth.*

forēnsis, forēnse [**forum**, *forum*], *of the Forum, delivered in the Forum; public.*

forīs [abl. pl. of an old form **fora**, *door*], *adv., out of doors, abroad, outside of the city.*

fōrma, -ae, *f., form, figure, image, representation.*

formīdō, formīdinis, *f., fear, terror, dread.*

formīdolōsus, -a, -um [**formīdō**, *fear*], *fearful, terrible, dreadful.*

fōrmōsus, -a, -um [**fōrma**, *form*], *finely fashioned, beautiful.*

forsitan [**fors-sit-an**], *adv., it may be that; perhaps.*

fortasse [**fors**, *chance*], *adv., perhaps, possibly, probably.*

forte [**fors**, *chance*], *adv., by chance, perchance, perhaps.*

fortis, forte, *strong, powerful, mighty; courageous, brave, valiant, fearless; steadfast, vigorous, firm, undaunted.*

fortiter [**fortis**, *strong*], *adv., strongly, powerfully; boldly, bravely, manfully, intrepidly, valiantly.*

fortitūdō, fortitūdinis [**fortis**, *brave*], *f., bravery, courage, manliness, fortitude.*

fortūna, -ae [**fors**, *chance*], *f., chance, luck, fate, fortune; fate, lot, rank, social standing, condition, circumstances;* pl., *property, possessions;* pers., as the *God of Fortune* or *Chance.*

fortūnātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **fortūnō**, *prosper*], *prosperous, fortunate, happy.*

forum, -ī, *n., an open space, marketplace; forum,* esp. the Roman Forum. See Introduction, p. 40, *seq.*

foveō, fovēre, fōvī, fōtus, *cherish, foster; favor, encourage.*

fragilis, fragile [**frangō**, *break*], *easily broken, fragile; frail, perishable; weak, fickle.*

fragilitās, fragilitātis [**fragilis**, *fragile*], *f., fragility; weakness, frailty.*

frangō, frangere, frēgī, frāctus, *break, wreck, destroy.*

frāter, frātris, *m., brother.*

frāternē [**frāter**, *brother*], *adv., in a brotherly manner, fraternally, like a brother.*

frāternus, -a, -um [**frāter**, *brother*], *of a brother, fraternal, brotherly.*

fraudātiō, fraudātiōnis [**fraudō**, *cheat*], *f., cheating, deceit, fraud.*

fraus, fraudis [**fraudō**, *cheat*], *f., deceit, fraud; offense, crime; injury, damage.*

frēnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**frēnum**, *bridle*], *bridle; curb, check, restrain.*

frēnum, -ī, *n.*, *a bridle.*

frequēns, frequentis, *in large numbers, numerous, crowded, full, thronged.*

frequentia, -ae [**frequēns**, *crowded*], *f.*, *a large assembly; concourse, throng, crowd.*

frequentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**frequēns**, *crowded*], *attend in a crowd, throng; frequent, resort to.*

fretum, -ī, *n.*, *a strait.*

frētus, -a, -um, *relying upon, dependent upon, trusting in.*

frīgus, frīgoris, *n.*, *cold;* pl., *frosts, cold weather.*

frōns, frontis, *f.*, *the forehead, brow; countenance.*

frūctus, -ūs [**fruor**, *enjoy*], *m.*, *an enjoying, enjoyment, satisfaction; profit, income; advantage, return, reward.*

frūmentārius, -a, -um [**frūmentum**, *grain*], *of grain, of provisions;* with **rēs**, *grain supplies;* with **subsidium**, *granary.*

fruor, fruī, frūctus, *enjoy, delight in, derive benefit from.*

frūstrā, *adv.*, *in vain, for nothing.*

fuga, -ae, *f.*, *flight; bolting* (from a party).

fugiō, fugere, fūgī, fugitūrus [**fuga**, *flight*], *flee, take flight, escape, flee from, avoid, shun; fail to impress.*

fugitīvus, -a, -um [**fugiō**, *flee*], *fleeing, fugitive;* as noun, *fugitive slave.*

fulgeō, fulgēre, fulsī, —, *flash; glitter, shine, glisten.*

fulmen, fulminis [**fulgeō**, *flash*], *n.*, *a bolt of lightning, flash.*

Fulvius, Fulvī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

fundāmentum, -ī [**fundō**, *found*], *n.*, *foundation; grounds, basis.*

fundō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *lay a foundation, found, establish.*

fundō, fundere, fūdī, fūsus, *pour; empty; scatter, spread; rout, vanquish, put to flight.*

fundus, -ī, *m.*, *the bottom; a piece of land, farm, estate.*

fūnestō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**fūnestus**, *death causing*], *pollute with murder; defile, desecrate.*

fūnestus, -a, -um [**fūnus**, *funeral*], *fatal, deadly, destructive.*

fungor, fungī, fūnctus, *perform, do, observe, discharge* (one's duty).

fūnus, fūneris, *n.*, *a funeral procession, funeral, burial.*

fūr, fūris, *m.*, *a thief.*

Furfānius, Furfānī, *m.*, a Roman gentile or clan name.

furia, -ae, *f.*, *violent rage, madness, fury, frenzy.*

furiōsus, -a, -um [**furia**, *rage*], *furious, raging, mad.*

Fūrius, Fūrī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

furō, furere, furuī, —, *rave, rage, be out of one's mind, be mad.*

furor, furōris [**furō**, *rage*], *m.*, *a raging; rage, madness, fury, frenzy, passion.*

fūrtim [**fūrtum**, *theft*], *adv.*, *stealthily, secretly, furtively.*

fūrtum, -ī [**fūr**, *thief*], *n.*, *theft, robbery.*

G

Gabīnius, Gabīnī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Gabīnius, -a, -um, *of Gabinius, Gabinian.*

Gāius, Gāiī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

Galba, Galbae, *m.*, a Roman family name.

Gallia, -ae, *f.*, *Gaul.*

Gallicānus, -a, -um [**Gallia**, *Gaul*], *Gallic.*

Gallicus, -a, -um [**Gallia**, *Gaul*], *of the Gauls, Gallic.*

gallīnāceus, -a, -um [**gallus**, *cock*], *of fowls;* with **gallus**, *a poultry cock.*

Gallus, -a, -um, *of Gaul;* as noun, *a Gaul.*

gallus, -ī, *m.*, *a cock.*

Gallus, -ī, a Roman cognomen. *C. Gallus*, consul in 166 B.C.

gāneō, gāneōnis [**gānea**, *low restaurant*], *m.*, *a glutton.*

gaudeō, gaudēre, gāvīsus, *semi-dep.*, *rejoice, be glad.*

gaudium, gaudī [**gaudeō**, *rejoice*], *n.*, *a rejoicing; joy, gladness, delight.*

gāvīsus, see **gaudeō**.

gaza, -ae, *f.*, *treasure; riches, wealth.*

gelidus, -a, -um [**gelū**, *ice*], *icy cold, very cold;* with **aqua**, *ice water.*

gemitus, -ūs [**gemō**, *sigh*], *m.*, *a sighing, sigh, groan.*

gemō, gemere, gemuī, —, *sigh, groan; bewail, lament.*

gener, generī, *m.*, *son-in-law.*

gēns, gentis, *f.*, *clan, family; tribe, race, nation.*

genus, generis, *n.*, *race, stock, family; kind, class, order; birth, descent, origin.*

germānitās, germānitātis [**germānus**, *full brother*], *f.*, *brotherhood.*

germānus, -a, -um (of brothers and sisters), *full, own;* with **soror**, (one's) *own sister.*

gerō, gerere, gessī, gestus, *bear, carry; wear; conduct, carry on, manage, wage; transact, accomplish, do, perform; hold, discharge the duties of;* **sē gerere**, *act, conduct one's self;* **rēs gestae**, *exploits.*

gestiō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus, *gesticulate; express strong feeling, desire eagerly.*

Glabriō, Glabriōnis, *m.*, Roman family name.

gladiātor, gladiātōris [**gladius**, *sword*], *m.*, *a swordsman; gladiator; ruffian, cutthroat.*

gladiātōrius, -a, -um [**gladiātor**, *swordsman*], *of a gladiator, gladiatorial.*

gladius, gladī, *m.*, *sword.*

Glaucia, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

glōria, -ae, *f.*, *glory, fame, renown; desire for fame.*

glōriola, -ae [**glōria**, *glory*], *f.*, *little glory, bit of glory.*

glōrior, -ārī, -ātus [**glōria**, *glory*], *glory in, take pride in, boast of.*

glōriōsē [**glōriōsus**, *glorious*], *adv.*, *gloriously; boastfully;* **mentīrī glōriōsē**, *to boast falsely.*

glōriōsus, -a, -um [**glōria**, *glory*], *full of glory, glorious.*

gnāvus, -a, -um, *active, energetic; diligent, industrious.*

Gracchus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

gradus, -ūs, *m.*, *step; rank, order.*

Graecia, -ae, *f.*, *Greece.*

Graecus, -ī, *m.*, *a Greek.*

Graecus, -a, -um [**Graecia**, *Greece*], *of Greece, Grecian; m.*, pl., *the Greeks; n.*, pl. as noun, *Greek* [*i.e.*, the Greek language].

grātia, -ae [**grātus**, *pleasing*], *f.*, *favor, esteem, regard; gratitude, gratefulness, thanks;* **grātiās agere**, *to express gratitude* (in words); **grātiam referre**, *to show gratitude* (in deeds); **grātiam habēre**, *to feel gratitude.*

grātiā [abl. of **grātia**, *favor*], *adv.*, preceded by the gen., *for the sake of.*

grātificātiō, grātificātiōnis [**grātificor**, *show kindness*], *f.*, *obligingness; noblesse oblige.*

grātiōsus, -a, -um [**grātia**, *favor*], *enjoying favor, popular; obliging, complaisant.*

Grāttius, Grāttī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

grātuītō [**grātuītus**, *gratuitous*], *adv., without pay, gratuitously, for naught.*

grātuītus, -a, -um, *without pay, gratuitous.*

grātulātiō, grātulātiōnis [**grātulor**, *congratulate*], *f., a manifestation of joy, wishing joy, congratulation; a public thanksgiving, a vote of thanks; honor.*

grātulor, -ārī, -ātus [**grātus**, *pleasing*], *congratulate.*

grātus, -a, -um, *pleasing, acceptable, agreeable, grateful.*

gravis, grave, *heavy, weighty; important, grave, influential; burdensome, oppressive; serious, painful, hard, severe.*

gravitās, gravitātis [**gravis**, *heavy*], *f., weight, dignity; power, influence; force of character.*

graviter [**gravis**, *heavy*], *adv., weightily, heavily; deeply, severely; grievously, sadly.*

gravō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**gravis**, *heavy*], *make heavy, load, burden;* pass., *do unwillingly, be reluctant, object.*

grex, gregis, *m., herd, drove, flock, swarm; horde, set, crowd, throng.*

gubernāculum, -ī [**gubernō**, *steer*], *n., helm, rudder.*

gubernātiō, gubernātiōnis [**gubernō**, *steer*], *f., a steering; direction, management, control.*

gubernō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *steer, pilot; direct, manage, guide, govern, control.*

gustō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**gustus**, *taste*], *to taste; eat a little, taste a thing; enjoy, appreciate.*

gymnicus, -a, -um, *of bodily exercise, gymnastic.*

H

habeō, habēre, habuī, habitus, *have, hold, possess, own; deliver, make, offer; exhibit, be actuated by; regard, look upon, consider; know, speak, utter.*

habitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **habeō**, *have*], *dwell, abide, stay, reside; frequent, "hang around."*

habitus, habitūs, *m., condition, habit, appearance; dress, attire.*

haedīnus, -a, -um [**haedus**, *kid*], *of kid, kid-goat;* thus, with **pellicula**, *goat-skin.*

haereō, haerēre, haesī, haesūrus, *stick, cling; cling to, abide; incur; be entrapped.*

haesitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **haereō**, *stick*], *get stuck, be embarrassed, hesitate.*

Hannibal, Hannibalis, *m.*, a famous Carthaginian commander.

haruspex, haruspicis, *m., soothsayer.*

hasta, -ae, *f., a rod, spear;* pl., *weapons; courage, "nerve."*

haud, *adv., not, not at all, by no means.*

hauriō, haurīre, hausī, haustus, *draw, drain; derive.*

hebēscō, hebēscere, —, — [**hebeō**, *be dull*], *become dull, grow blunt.*

Hector, Hectoris, *m.*, a Trojan prince.

Hēraclēa, -ae, *f.*, a Greek city on the seacoast of Lucania.

Hēraclīēnsis, -is, *m., an inhabitant of Heraclea, a Heraclean.*

Hērculēs, Hērculis, *m.*, god of strength. Used in the voc. with and without the prefix **me-** as an exclamation, both supposed to be shortened from the phrase **mē Hērculēs iuvet**, *so help me, Hercules; assuredly, verily.*

hērēditās, hērēditātis [**hērēs**, *heir*], *f., heirship, inheritance.*

Herennius, Herennī, *m.*, a Roman name.

hērēs, hērēdis, *m.* and *f.*, *heir; heiress.*

Hērodotus, -ī, *m.*, Greek historian.

hērōs, hērōis, *m.*, *hero.*

hesternus, -a, -um [**herī**, *yesterday*], *of yesterday, yesterday's;* **hesternō diē**, *yesterday.*

heus, *interj., ho! look here!*

hībernō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**hībernus**, *of winter*], *spend the winter, winter.*

hībernus, -a, -um [**hiems**, *winter*], *of winter, winter-; n.*, pl. as noun, **hīberna**, *winter-quarters.*

hīc, haec, hoc, *dem. pron., this;* pl., *these; he, she, it;* pl., *they; the former, the latter; the following, as follows.*

hīc, *adv., here, in this place; under these circumstances, wherefore; hereupon, at this point.*

hiems, hiemis, *f.*, *winter.*

hinc, *adv., hence, from this source, from the following, from this.* **hinc . . . illinc**, *on this side . . . on that, here . . . there.*

Hispānia, -ae, *f.*, *Spain.*

Hispāniēnsis, -e, *of Spain, Spanish.*

Hispānus, -a, -um, *Spanish; m.*, pl. as noun, *the Spaniards.*

historia, -ae, *f.*, *history.*

historicus, -a, -um, *pertaining to history, historical; familiar with history.*

hodiē, *adv., to-day.*

hodiernus, -a, -um [**hodiē**, *to-day*], *of to-day, to-day's;* **hodiernō diē**, *to-day.*

Homērus, -ī, *m.*, *Homer.*

homō, hominis, *m., a human being, man;* (in contrast with **vir**), *fellow, creature, what's his name.*

honestās, honestātis [**honōs**, *honor*], *f., honor, uprightness, integrity.*

honestē [**honestus**, *honorable*], *adv., honorably, creditably, decently.*

honestō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**honestus**, *honorable*], *honor, adorn, grace; conduct with honor.*

honestus, -a, -um [**honōs**, *honor*], *honorable, honored, distinguished, respected.*

honōs or **honor**, honōris, *m., honor, esteem; public honor, official dignity; high position;* **honōris causā**, *with due respect.*

hōra, -ae, *f.*, *hour.*

horribilis, horribile [**horreō**, *shudder*], *terrible, horrible, fearful, dreadful.*

horridus, -a, -um [**horreō**, *shudder*], *rough, uncouth.*

hortātus, -ūs [**hortor**, *urge*], *m., encouragement.*

Hortēnsius, Hortēnsī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *Q. Hortensius*, consul in 69 B.C.

hortor, -ārī, -ātus, *urge, exhort, encourage; arouse, incite, instigate.*

hortus, -ī, *m., garden.*

hospes, hospitis, *m., host; visitor, guest; stranger, foreigner.*

hospitium, hospitī [**hospes**, *host*], *n., relation of guest and host, hospitality; entertainment; friendship.*

hostīlis, hostīle [**hostis**, *enemy*], *hostile.*

hostis, hostis, *m.* and *f.*, *enemy.*

hūc, *adv., to this place, hither; so far.*

huiusce, see **hīc** and **-ce.**

hūmānitās, hūmānitātis [**hūmānus**, *civilized*], *f., humanity; kindliness, politeness, courtesy; refinement, good breeding; a liberal education, culture.*

hūmānus, -a, -um [**homō**, *man*], *of man, human; well-informed, learned, refined, civilized.*

humilis, humile [**humus**, *ground*], *low; humble, obscure; ordinary.*

humus, -ī, *f., ground;* loc., **humī**, *on the ground.*

I

iaceō, iacēre, iacuī, iacitūrus, *lie, lie prostrate; lie dead, be overthrown, be powerless; be disapproved, be refuted.*

iaciō, iacere, iēcī, iactus, *throw, cast, hurl; bruit abroad, bandy about.*

iactātiō, iactātiōnis [**iaciō**, *throw*], *f., a tossing, shaking.*

iactō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **iaciō**, *throw*], *toss about, shake;* with **sē**, *exhibit one's self, show off, make a display.*

iactūra, -ae [**iaciō**, *throw*], *f., a throwing away; sacrifice, loss; lavish outlay, expense, waste of treasure.*

iactus, -ūs [**iaciō**, *throw*], *m., a throwing, hurling; flash, peal, bolt.*

iam, *adv., now, at present; ere now, by this time, already; till now, hitherto; no doubt, then surely.*

Iān. = **Iānuārius.**

iānua, -ae, *f., door, gate, entrance; key.*

Iānuārius, -a, -um [**iānua**, *door*], *of January.*

ibi, *adv., in that place, there; thereupon, then.*

ictus, -ūs, *m., a blow, thrust.*

Īd. = **Īdūs.**

idcircō, *adv., on that account, for that reason, therefore.*

īdem, eadem, idem, *dem. pron., the same; likewise, also.*

ideō, *adv., on that account, therefore.*

idōneus, -a, -um, *fit, suitable, proper.*

Īdūs, Īduum, *f.*, pl., *the Ides* (the fifteenth day of March, May, July, and October and the thirteenth of the other months).

igitur, *conj., accordingly, consequently, then, therefore; as I was saying, so then.*

īgnārus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **gnārus**, *knowing*], *not knowing, ignorant, inexperienced.*

īgnāvia, -ae [**īgnāvus**, *slothful*], *f., slothfulness, inactivity; cowardice.*

īgnāvus, -a, -um, *slothful.*

ignis, ignis, *m., fire.*

īgnōbilitās, īgnōbilitātis [**in**, *not*, and **nōbilis**, *well-known*], *f., obscurity;* with **generis**, *humble origin.*

īgnōminia, -ae [**in**, *not*, and **nōmen**, *name*], *f., disgrace, dishonor, ignominy.*

īgnōrātiō, īgnōrātiōnis [**īgnōrō**, *not know*], *f., ignorance.*

īgnōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *not know, be ignorant of.*

īgnōscō, īgnōscere, īgnōvī, īgnōtus [**in**, *not*, and (g)**nōscō**, *learn*], (*pretend*) *not to know, wink at; pardon, forgive.*

īgnōtus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and (g)**nōtus**, *known*], *unknown, unfamiliar, strange;* as noun, *a stranger.*

Īlias, Īliados, *f., the Iliad* (a Greek epic poem).

īlicō, *adv., there, on the spot; instantly, immediately, straightway.*

ille, illa, illud, *pron., that, the famous*, pl., *those; he, she, it*, pl., *they.*

illinc, *adv., from that place, hence; on the one hand, on this side.*

Illyricus, -a, -um, *of Illyricum, Illyrian.*

imāgō, imāginis, *f., image, statue, picture, bust; copy, representation; mask; mental image, clear idea, ideal representation.*

imbēcillitās, imbēcillitātis [**imbēcillus**, *weak*], *f., weakness, feebleness; frailty.*

imberbis, imberbe [**in**, *not*, and **barba**, *beard*], *without a beard, beardless.*

imbuō, -buere, -buī, -būtus, *wet, soak, saturate; imbue, fill with.*

imitātor, imitātōris [**imitor**, *imitate*], *m., imitator, copyist.*

imitor, -ārī, -ātus, *imitate, copy.*

immānis, immāne, *immense, huge, monstrous; fierce, frightful, inhuman.*

immānitās, immānitātis [**immānis**, *immense*], *f., monstrousness, enormity; fierceness, cruelty, brutality.*

immātūrus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **mātūrus**, *ripe*], *not ripe, immature; premature.*

immineō, -minēre, —, — [**mineō**, *overhang*], *project over, overhang; threaten, stare in the face.*

imminuō, -minuere, -minuī, -minūtus [**minuō**, *lessen*], *diminish, impair, injure; infringe.*

immittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *send into, let into, let loose against;* with **sē**, *vent one's spleen.*

immō, *adv., by no means, nay;* with **vērō**, *nay rather, nay even, I may even say.*

immortālis, immortāle [**in**, *not*, and **mortālis**, *mortal*], *immortal, undying.*

immortālitās, immortālitātis [**immortālis**, *immortal*], *f., immortality.*

immūtātus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **mūtō**, *change*], *unchanged, unaltered.*

imparātus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **parō**, *prepare*], *unprepared, not ready.*

impedīmentum, -ī [**impediō**, *hinder*], *n., hindrance;* pl., *baggage.*

impediō, -pedīre, -pedīvī, -pedītus [**pēs**, *foot*], *hinder, hamper, entangle, ensnare; embarrass.*

impellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsus [**pellō**, *drive*], *drive on, urge on, impel, induce, persuade.*

impendeō, -pendēre, —, — [**pendeō**, *hang*], *hang over, overhang, threaten, be imminent, impend, be at hand, confront.*

imperātor, imperātōris [**imperō**, *command*], *m., commander in chief, general.*

imperātōrius, -a, -um [**imperātor**, *general*], *of a general, general's.*

imperītus, -a, -um [**perītus**, *experienced*], *inexperienced, ignorant of, unskilled in, unacquainted with.*

imperium, imperī [**imperō**, *command*], *n., a command, order; military command, absolute power, supreme authority; authority, control; realm, dominion, government.*

imperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *command, order, bid, enjoin; demand, impose, require; be master, rule, control, govern.*

impertiō, -pertīre, -pertīvī, -pertītus [**partiō**, *divide*], *share with, bestow; accord, direct, give.*

impetrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**patrō**, *effect*], *attain one's desire, achieve, accomplish, bring to pass; secure, obtain.*

impetus, -ūs, *m., attack, assault, onset; impetuosity, violence, fury, vehemence, force; resistless rush, storm.*

impius, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **pius**, *devoted*], *impious, ungodly, wicked; disloyal, unpatriotic, treasonable.*

impleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētus, *fill.*

implicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**plicō**, *fold*], *enfold, involve; associate intimately, connect closely, bind up with.*

implōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**plōrō**, *weep*], *invoke with tears, beseech, entreat, implore.*

impōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *place*], *place upon, fix upon, impose, saddle upon, force upon.*

importūnus, -a, -um, *unfit, unsuitable; savage, cruel, relentless.*

impotēns, impotentis, *powerless, impotent, helpless, weak.*

imprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press against; impress, engrave, stamp.*

improbē [**improbus**, *bad*], *adv., wickedly, dishonorably.*

improbitās, improbitātis [**improbus**, *bad*], *f., badness; wickedness, depravity, dishonesty.*

improbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *disapprove, blame, reject.*

improbus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **probus**, *good*], *bad, base, wicked, unprincipled, shameless, outrageous, objectionable.*

improvidus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **prōvidus**, *foreseeing*], *lack of foresight, imprudent, thoughtless, heedless, reckless.*

improvīsō [**improvidus**, *not foreseeing*], *adv., unforeseen, unexpectedly.*

improvīsus, -a, -um [**improvidus**, *not foreseeing*], *unforeseen, unexpected.*

imprūdentia, -ae [**in**, *not*, and **prūdēns**, contraction from **prōvidēns**, *foreseeing*], *f., lack of foresight, imprudence.*

impūbēs, impūberis [**in**, *not*, and **pūbēs**, *mature*], *immature, youthful;* as noun, *a mere boy.*

impudēns, impudentis [**in**, *not*, and **pudēns**, *modest*], *without shame, shameless, impudent.*

impudenter [**impudēns**, *shameless*], *adv., shamelessly, impudently.*

impudentia, -ac [**impudēns**, *shameless*], *f., shamelessness, impudence.*

impudīcus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **pudīcus**, *modest*], *immodest, indecent, licentious.*

impūne [**pūniō**, *punish*], *adv., without punishment, with impunity.*

impūnitās, impūnitātis [**impūne**, *unpunished*], *f., freedom* or *escape from punishment, safety, impunity.*

impūnītus, -a, -um [**impūne**, *with impunity*], *unpunished, unchecked.*

impūrus, -a, -um, *unclean, filthy, foul.*

in, *prep.*, (1) with acc., *into, to; towards, against; till; among; in relation to, according to, respecting;* (2) with abl., *in, within; on, upon, over, among; in case of, in relation to.*

inānis, ināne, *empty; useless, worthless, vain.*

inaudītus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **audiō**, *hear*], *unheard of; unusual, incredible.*

inaurātus, -a, -um [**inaurō**, *gild*], *gilded.*

incendium, incendī [**incendō**, *burn*], *n., a burning; fire, conflagration, blaze; vehemence.*

incendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēnsus [**candeō**, *shine*], *set fire to, kindle, burn; inflame, incense, rouse, excite.*

incēnsiō, incēnsiōnis [**incendō**, *burn*], *f., the burning.*

inceptum, -ī [**incipiō**, *begin*], *n., an attempt.*

incertus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **certus**, *sure*], *uncertain, doubtful; fickle, changeable, untrustworthy; unproved.*

incestus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **castus**, *pure*], *impure, immoral.*

incestus, -ūs [**in**, *not*, and **castus**, *pure*], *m., incest.*

incīdō, -cīdere, -cīdī, -cīsus [caedō, *cut*], *cut into, cut, sever; ingrave, inscribe.*

incidō, -cidere, -cidī, -cāsūrus [cadō, *fall*], *fall into, reach; fall upon, meet; happen, occur.*

incipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [capiō, *take*], *take in hand, begin.*

incitāmentum, -ī [incitō, *arouse*], *n., inducement, incentive.*

incitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [citō, *put in motion*], *arouse, stimulate, spur on, urge on, incite.*

inclīnātiō, inclīnātiōnis [inclīnō, *bend*], *f., a bending; inclination, tendency.*

inclīnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *bend, incline.*

inclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [claudō, *shut*], *shut in, shut up, inclose, confine.*

incohō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *begin, commence; attempt to treat.*

incolumis, incolume, *uninjured, unharmed, unimpaired, intact, free from corruption.*

incommoditās, incommoditātis [incommodus, *unfit*], *f., disadvantage, inconvenience.*

incommodum, -ī [incommodus, *unfit*], *n., disadvantage; embarrassment, misfortune, loss.*

incommodus, -a, -um, *inconvenient, unsuitable, unfit.*

incōnsīderātus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and cōnsīderō, *look at closely*], *not carefully considered, ill-considered; inconsiderate, heedless.*

incorruptē, *adv., justly.*

incorruptus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and corruptus, *corrupt*], *uncorrupted, untampered with, unbribed; unbiased.*

incrēdibilis, incrēdibile [in, *not*, and crēdibilis, *credible*], *incredible; unparalleled, marvelous.*

increpō, -crepāre, -crepuī, -crepitus [crepō, *rattle*], *make a noise, be noised abroad; be heard.*

inculcō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [calcō, *tread*], *tread upon.*

incumbō, -cumbere, -cubuī, -cubitus [cubō, *lie*], *lean upon, bend forward* (as in rowing), *apply one's self, devote one's time; be inclined toward, favor.*

incurrō, -currere, -currī, -cursūrus [currō, *run*], *run into, rush in.*

indāgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *trace out, track; investigate.*

inde, *adv., from that place, thence; from that time;* inde ūsque, *so far back, even to that period.*

indemnātus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and damnō, *find guilty*], *unconvicted.*

index, indicis [indicō, *point out*], *m.* and *f., one who testifies, witness; informer, spy.*

indicium, indicī [index, *informer*], *n., disclosure; information, evidence, testimony, proof.*

indicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [dīcō, *say*], *point out, indicate, inform, make known, testify; inform against, accuse.*

indīcō, -dīcere, -dīxī, -dictus [dīcō, *proclaim*], *proclaim, declare publicly, issue an order.*

indigeō, -digēre, -diguī, —, *lack, need, be in need of, be without.*

indignē [indignus, *unworthy*], *adv., unworthily; undeservedly, shamefully.*

indignitās, indignitātis [indignus, *unworthy*], *f., unworthiness, shamefulness; outrage.*

indignus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and dignus, *worthy*], *unworthy.*

indoctus, -a, -um [doceō, *teach*], *untaught, ignorant.*

indūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [dūcō, *lead*], *lead in, bring in; lead on, induce, persuade; cancel.*

induō, -duere, -duī, -dūtus, *put on;* with sē, *involve one's self.*

industria, -ae [industrius, *industrious*], *f., diligence, zeal, industry.*

industrius, -a, -um, *active, diligent, industrious.*

ineō, -īre, -iī, -itus [eō, *go*], *go into, enter upon, begin.*

ineptia, -ae [ineptus, *absurd*], *f., folly;* pl., *absurdities, trifles.*

inermis, inerme [in, *not,* and arma, *arms*], *unarmed.*

iners, inertis [in, *not,* and ars, *skill*], *without skill; inactive, idle, lazy, indolent.*

inertia, -ae [iners, *inactive*], *f., inactivity, idleness, laziness, shiftlessness.*

īnfāmia, -ae [īnfāmis, *of ill-repute*], *f., ill-repute, infamy, disgrace.*

īnfāmis, īnfāme [in, *not,* and fāma, *good report*], *of ill-repute, disreputable, infamous.*

īnfēlīx, īnfēlīcis [in, *not,* and fēlīx, *fruitful*], *unfruitful; unfortunate, ill-fated; wretched, miserable, unhappy.*

īnferior, see īnferus.

īnferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [ferō, *carry*], *bring upon, throw upon, set . . . to, cause, occasion, produce.*

īnferus, -a, -um, *low, below;* pl. as noun, *the dead.* Comp., īnferior, īnferius; sup., īnfimus or īmus, *lowest, basest.*

īnfēstus, -a, -um, *hostile, dangerous, inimical, deadly.*

īnfidēlitās, īnfidēlitātis [īnfidēlis, *unfaithful*], *f., faithlessness, infidelity.*

īnfimus, sup. of īnferus.

īnfīnītus, -a, -um [in, *not,* and fīnītus, *limited*], *unlimited, boundless.*

īnfīrmitās, īnfīrmitātis [īnfīrmus, *weak*], *f., weakness, instability.*

īnfīrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [īnfīrmus, *weak*], *weaken; disprove, refute.*

īnfīrmus, -a, -um [in, *not,* and fīrmus, *strong*], *weak, feeble, helpless; invalid.*

īnfitiātor, īnfitiātōris [īnfitior, *deny, refuse*], *m., a refuser; debtor.*

īnfitior, -ārī, -ātus [īnfitiae, *denial*], *deny; disown.*

īnflammō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [flammō, *burn*], *set on fire; inflame, kindle, rouse, excite.*

īnflectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [flectō, *bend*], *bend; change, alter.*

īnflō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [flō, *blow*], *blow into; inspire; puff up.*

īnfōrmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [fōrmō, *shape*], *shape, mold; educate, train, inform.*

īnfringō, -fringere, -frēgī, -frāctus [frangō, *break*], *break down; weaken, destroy.*

ingeniōsus, -a, -um [ingenium, *genius*], *intellectual, clear-headed, clever.*

ingenium, ingenī [gignō, *beget*], *n., innate qualities of the mind; mental power, talent, genius; intellect, mind.*

ingēns, ingentis, *vast, huge, large.*

ingenuitās, ingenuitātis [ingenuus, *free-born*], *f., free-birth; ingenuousness, frankness.*

ingenuus, -a, -um, *free-born;* as noun, *free-born citizen.*

ingrātus, -a, -um [in, *not,* and grātus, *grateful*], *ungrateful, thankless.*

ingravēscō, -gravēscere, —, — [gravēscō, *grow heavy*], *grow worse, become more serious.*

ingredior, -gredī, -gressus [gradior, *step*], *go into, enter; enter upon, begin, undertake.*

ingressus, -ūs [**ingredior**, *step into*], *m., an entrance.*

inhaereō, -haerēre, -haesī, -haesūrus [**haereō**, *stick*], *stick fast, cleave, be closely associated with, be fastened upon.*

inhiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**hiō**, *gape*], *open mouth towards* or *for.*

inhūmānitās, inhūmānitātis [**inhūmānus**, *inhuman*], *f., unnatural conduct; rudeness, unkindness; niggardliness.*

inhūmānus, -a, -um, *inhuman, brutal, savage, barbarous.*

iniciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *throw into; bring to, cause, occasion, arouse; inspire.*

inimīcitia, -ae [**inimīcus**, *unfriendly*], *f., enmity, hostility;* usually pl.; always so in Cic.

inimīcus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **amīcus**, *friendly*], *unfriendly, hostile;* as noun, *a personal enemy, foe, adversary.*

inīquitās, inīquitātis [**inīquus**, *uneven*], *f., inequality; injustice, unfairness.*

inīquus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **aequus**, *even*], *uneven; unjust, unfair; harmful, disadvantageous.*

initiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**initium**, *beginning*], *begin, initiate; dedicate, consecrate.*

initium, initī [**ineō**, *go into*], *n., beginning, commencement.*

iniūria, -ae [**in**, *not*, and **iūs**, *right*], *f., a wrong, an injustice, outrage, injury; insult, affront, abuse;* **iniūriā**, abl. used as *adv., unjustly, wrongfully.*

iniūriōsē [**iniūriōsus**, *unjust*], *adv., unjustly, with abuse; wrongfully.*

iniussus, -ūs [**in**, *not*, and **iubeō**, *order*], *m.*, used only in the abl., *without the order* or *command.*

iniūstē [**iniūstus**, *unjust*], *adv., unjustly, unfairly, without right.*

iniūstus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **iūstus**, *just*], *unjust.*

inlecebra -ae [**inliciō**, *entice*], *f., an enticement, allurement, fascination, inducement.*

inlūstris, inlūstre [**inlūstrō**, *make light*], *light, bright; illustrious, distinguished, renowned.*

inlūstrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**lūstrō**, *make bright*], *make light, illuminate; clear up, bring to light, disclose; render famous.*

innocēns, innocentis [**nocēns**, *harmful*], *harmless; blameless, guiltless, innocent.*

innocentia, -ae [**innocēns**, *harmless*], *f., blamelessness, innocence, uprightness, integrity, incorruptibility.*

innumerābilis, innumerābile [**numerābilis**, *that can be counted*], *that cannot be counted; countless, innumerable.*

inopia, -ae [**inops**, *needy*], *f., need, want, lack, scarcity; destitution.*

inops, inopis [**ops**, *resources*], *needy, poor, destitute, without resources.*

inquam, *defective verb, say.*

inquīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīvī, -quīsītus [**quaerō**, *look for*], *inquire into, make an investigation, seek grounds of accusation, gather information.*

inquīsītiō, inquīsītiōnis [**inquīrō**, *inquire*], *f., a seeking after; legal investigation.*

inrēpō, -rēpere, -rēpsī, — [**rēpō**, *crawl*], *creep in, slip in, be stealthily inserted.*

inrētiō, -rētīre, -rētīvī, -rētītus [**rētē**, *net*], *catch in a net; ensnare, entangle, enmesh.*

inrīdeō, -rīdēre, -rīsī, -rīsus [**rīdeō**, *laugh*], *laugh at, ridicule.*

inritābilis, inritābile [**inrītō**, *excite*], *excitable, irritable.*

inrītō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *excite, provoke, irritate, exasperate.*

inrogō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *propose in opposition; impose, inflict.*

inrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptus [**rumpō**, *burst*], *burst in, rush in; intrude.*

inruō, -ruere, -ruī, — [**ruō**, *rush*], *rush in, invade; rush upon, assail.*

inruptiō, inruptiōnis [**rumpō**, *burst*], *f., a bursting in, invasion, inroad, raid, attack.*

īnsānia, -ae [**īnsānus**, *not sound*], *f., unsoundness of mind, madness, frenzy;* pl., *foolish outbreaks, senseless demonstrations.*

īnsāniō, -sānīre, -sānīvī, -sānītus [**īnsānus**, *unsound*], *be of unsound mind, be without reason, be foolish.*

īnsānus, -a, -um [**sānus**, *sound*], *of unsound mind, insane; violent, frantic; outrageous, monstrous, extravagant.*

īnscītia, -ae [**in**, *not*, and **sciō**, *know*], *f., ignorance, inexperience; stupidity.*

īnscrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write upon, inscribe.*

īnsector, -ārī, -ātus [*freq., dep.* of **īnsequor**, *follow up*], *pursue; find fault with, censure.*

īnsepultus, -a, -um [**sepeliō**, *bury*], *unburied.*

īnserō, -serere, -sēvī, -situs [**serō**, *sow*], *implant.*

īnserviō, -īre, —, -ītus, *be serviceable, serve; be devoted.*

īnsideō, -sidēre, -sēdī, — [**sedeō**, *sit*], *sit upon, settle upon, reside.*

īnsidiae, -ārum [**īnsideō**, *be seated*], *f.,* pl., *ambush, ambuscade; artifice, crafty device, trick, plot.*

īnsidiātor, īnsidiātōris [**īnsidior**, *lie in wait*], *m., a waylayer, highway robber; murderer, assassin, plotter.*

īnsidior, -ārī, -ātus [**īnsidiae**, *ambush*], *lie in wait for, plot against; assault underhandedly, set a trap for.*

īnsidiōsē [**īnsidiōsus**, *treacherous*], *adv., deceitfully, insidiously, treacherously.*

īnsidiōsus, -a, -um [**īnsidiae**, *ambush*], *treacherous, dangerous, insidious.*

īnsīdō, -sīdere, -sēdī, -sessus [**sīdō**, *sit*], *settle upon, adhere to, cling to.*

īnsīgne, īnsīgnis [**sīgnum**, *mark*], *n., a mark, indication, proof; badge, honor, distinction.*

īnsīgnis, īnsīgne [**sīgnum**, *mark*], *remarkable, distinguished, prominent, noted.*

īnsimulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *charge, accuse, blame; allege.*

īnsistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [**sistō**, *place*], *take a stand; insist upon; follow up, pursue.*

īnsitus, -a, -um [p. p. of **īnserō**, *implant*], *innate, inborn, natural.*

īnsolēns, īnsolentis [**in**, *not*, and **soleō**, *be wont*], *unusual; excessive, arrogant, insolent.*

īnsolenter [**īnsolēns**, *unusual*], *adv., contrary to custom; insolently, haughtily, insultingly.*

īnsolentia, -ae [**īnsolēns**, *insolent*], *f., haughtiness, insolence.*

īnsolitus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **solitus**, *accustomed*], *unaccustomed, strange.*

īnspectō, -āre, —, — [**spectō**, *look*], *look at, look on;* **īnspectāns**, -antis, *under the eyes of, in view of.*

īnspērāns, īnspērantis [**in**, *not*, and **sperō**, *hope*], *unhoped for, beyond hope.*

īnspērātus, -a, -um [**in**, *not*, and **spērō**, *hope*], *unhoped for, unlooked for.*

īnstituō, -stituere, -stituī, -stitūtus [**statuō**, *set up*], *put in place; establish, found; undertake, begin; resolve upon, determine, intend; teach, instruct, train.*

īnstitūtiō, īnstitūtiōnis [**īnstituō**, *put in place*], *f., arrangement; custom.*

īnstitūtum, -ī [**īnstituō**, *put in place*], *n., a practice, usage, custom; regulation; institution; intention, design, purpose.*

īnstō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātūrus [**stō**, *stand*], *be at hand; draw nigh, press upon, threaten.*

īnstrūmentum, -ī [**īnstruō**, *equip*], *n., supply, means, store, business outfit, stock in trade; tool, instrument.*

īnstruō, -struere, -strūxī, -strūctus [**struō**, *arrange*], *arrange, draw up, array, provide for, prepare for.*

īnsula, -ae, *f., an island.*

īnsultō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**saltō**, *leap*], *leap toward, spring at; scoff at, insult.*

īnsum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus, *be in, be inherent in, be found in, belong to.*

integer, integra, integrum [**in**, *not*, and **tangō**, *touch*], *untouched, entire; unimpaired, unbroken, intact; open, undecided, undetermined; untainted, unimpeachable, upright.*

integrē [**integer**, *whole*], *adv., irreproachably, honestly.*

integritās, integritātis [**integer**, *whole*], *f., blamelessness, innocence, integrity.*

intellegō, -legere, -lēxī, -lēctus [**inter**, *between*, and **legō**, *select*], *see plainly, understand, comprehend, perceive.*

intendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentus [**tendō**, *stretch*], *stretch out, extend; strain, direct, aim; intend, purpose, endeavor.*

intentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**tentō**, *attempt*], *aim, direct.*

inter, *prep.* with acc., *between, among, in the midst of; into the street of; during, for.*

intercēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [**cēdō**, *go*], *go between, intervene; pass.*

intercessiō, intercessiōnis [**intercēdō**, *go between*], *f., interference, intervention; protest, veto.*

interclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [**claudō**, *shut*], *shut off; blockade, interrupt, stop.*

interdum, *adv., sometimes, occasionally.*

intereā, *adv., meanwhile.*

intereō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [**eō**, *go*], *be lost, perish, go to destruction.*

interfector, interfectōris [**interficiō**, *kill*], *m., a murderer, assassin.*

interficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *do*], *put to death, kill, slay, murder.*

interim, *adv., meanwhile.*

interimō, -imere, -ēmī, -ēmptus [**emō**, *take*], *take from among; do away with, abolish; distress intolerably, afflict violently; kill, slay.*

interior, interius [**intrā**, *within*], *inner, interior, inland.*

interitus, -ūs [**intereō**, *perish*], *m., overthrow, ruin, destruction; death.*

intermittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *let go*], *leave off; let pass, leave unimproved, lose.*

intermortuus, -a, -um [**mortuus**, *dead*], *half-dead, lifeless; stifled at birth, stillborn; faint.*

interniciō, interniciōnis [**necō**, *kill*], *f., massacre, extermination.*

interpōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [pōnō, *put*], *put between, interpose, intervene;* with sē, *go into the midst of.*

interprēs, interpretis, *m., interpreter; exchanger.*

interpretor, -ārī, -ātus [interprēs, *interpreter*], *explain, expound, interpret.*

interpunctiō, interpunctiōnis, *f., punctuation; separation of words* (where divisions are not indicated in MSS.).

interrogō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [rogō, *ask*], *ask, question, interrogate, inquire.*

intersum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus, *be between, lie between; be different, differ; be present, take part, assist;* **interest**, *it concerns;* **hoc interest**, *there is this difference.*

intervāllum, -ī [vallus, *a stake*], *n., space between stakes; interval, distance.*

interventus, -ūs [interveniō, *come between*], *m., a coming up, appearance; intervention.*

intestīnus, -a, -um [intus, *within*], *internal, intestine.*

intimus, -a, -um [comp., **interior**, *inner*], *inmost; near, close, intimate.*

intonō, -tonāre, -tonuī, -tonātus [tonō, *roar*], *cry out vehemently, thunder forth.*

intrā [orig. abl. of **intra**, *within*], *prep.* with acc., *within.*

intrōdūcō, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductus [dūcō, *lead*], *lead in, bring in, introduce.*

introeō, -īre, -iī, -itus [eō, *go*], *go in, enter.*

intueor, -tuērī, -tuitus [tueor, *behold*], *look closely at, gaze upon; stare at; regard, observe, contemplate; admire.*

intus, *adv., within.*

inultus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and ulcīscor, *avenge*], *unavenged, unpunished.*

inūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ūstus [ūrō, *burn*], *burn into, brand upon, brand.*

inūsitātus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and ūsitātus, *usual*], *unusual, extraordinary.*

inūtilis, inūtile [in, *not*, and ūtilis, *useful*], *useless, unprofitable.*

invehō, -vehere, -vēxī, -vectus [vehō, *carry*], *carry in; pass., be carried in, enter, ride.*

inveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventus [veniō, *come*], *come upon, find, meet with; discover; attain.*

inventum, -ī [inveniō, *come upon*], *n., something found; device, invention, contrivance.*

investīgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [vestīgō, *track*], *track, trace; search into, investigate.*

inveterāscō, -veterāscere, -veterāvī, — [veterāscō, *grow old*], *grow old, become deeply rooted in.*

invictus, -a, -um [in, *not*, and vincō, *conquer*], *unconquered, unconquerable, invincible.*

invideō, -vidēre, -vīdī, -vīsus [in, *not*, and videō, *see*], *envy, grudge.*

invidia, -ae [invidus, *envious*], *f., envy, jealousy; odium, hatred, unpopularity.*

invidiōsē [invidiōsus, *envious*], *adv., enviously, hatefully.*

invidiōsus, -a, -um [invidia, *envy*], *causing hatred, arousing unpopularity; hateful, odious.*

invidus, -a, -um [invideō, *envy*], *envious, jealous; ill disposed.*

invīsus, -a, -um [invideō, *hate*], *hateful, offensive.*

invītō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *invite, summon; entertain.*

invītus, -a, -um, *against the will, unwilling, reluctant.*

ipse, ipsa, ipsum, *self, himself, herself, itself;* pl., *themselves.*

īra, -ae, *f., anger, wrath, indignation.*

īrācundia, -ae [īrācundus, *irascible*], *f., a proneness to anger; irascibility, wrath.*

īrācundus, -a, -um [īra, *anger*], *irritable, angry, provoked.*

īrāscor, īrāscī, īrātus [īra, *anger*], *be angry, get angry; become indignant.*

īrātus, -a, -um [p. p. of īrāscor, *be angry*], *angry, enraged.*

is, ea, id, *dem. pron., that, this, the;* pl., *those, these, they; he, she, it;* pl., *they.*

iste, ista, istud, *dem. pron., that, that . . . of yours.*

istūc, *adv., thither, to where you are.*

ita, *adv., so, thus; in this way; so far, to such an extent.*

Ītalia, -ae, *f., Italy.*

Ītalicus, -a, -um [Ītalia, *Italy*], *of Italy, Italian.*

itaque [ita, *so,* and -que, *and*], *conj., and so, therefore, accordingly.*

item, *adv., likewise, in like manner.*

iter, itineris [eō, *go*], *n., a going; journey, march, voyage; way, path, road, route.*

iterum, *adv., again, once more, a second time.*

iubeō, iubēre, iussī, iussus, *order, bid, command.*

iūcundē [iūcundus, *pleasant*], *adv., pleasantly, agreeably.*

iūcunditās, iūcunditātis [iūcundus, *pleasant*], *f., agreeableness, delight, enjoyment.*

iūcundus, -a, -um [iuvō, *help*], *pleasant, agreeable, delightful, reassuring.*

iūdex, iūdicis, *m., a judge; juror;* pl., *gentlemen of the jury.*

iūdiciālis, iūdiciāle [iūdicium, *judgment*], *pertaining to a court; judicial.*

iūdicium, iūdicī [iūdex, *juror*], *n., judgment; trial; sentence, decree; tribunal, court; opinion, estimation.*

iūdicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [iūdex, *judge*], *judge, decide, pronounce judgment; declare, proclaim; pass a resolution, resolve, determine.*

iugulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [iugulum, *throat*], *cut the throat, murder.*

iugulum, -ī [iugum, *yoke*], *n., collar bone; neck, throat.*

Iugurtha, -ae, *m.*, king of Numidia, who was conquered by Marius and starved to death in a Roman prison.

Iūlius, Iūlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

iungō, iungere, iūnxī, iūnctus, *join, unite, associate.*

Iūnius, -a, -um, *of June.*

Iūppiter, Iovis, *m., Jupiter, Jove.*

iūrātus, -a, -um [p. p. of iūrō, *swear*], *sworn, under oath.*

iūs, iūris, *n., right, justice; court; legal right, authority, law;* **iūris cōnsultus**, *a lawyer; a jurisconsult.*

iūs iūrandum, iūris iūrandī [iūrō, *swear*], *n., an oath.*

iussū, *abl. only* [iūbeō, *order*], *m., by order.*

iūstē [iūstus, *just*], *adv., rightly, justly.*

iūstitia, -ae [iūstus, *just*], *f., justice.*

iūstus, -a, -um [iūs, *right*], *just, upright; lawful, equitable; justified; regular, proper, suitable.*

iuventūs, iuventūtis [iuvenis, *young*], *f., youth; a young man; the young.*

iuvō, -āre, iūvī, iūtus, *help, aid, assist.*

K

K. = Kalendae.

Kal. = Kalendae.

Kalendae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *the Calends*, the first day of the month.

L

L. = **Lūcius**, Lūcī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

labefaciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factus [labō, *totter*, and **faciō**, *make*], *cause to totter, shake.*

labefactō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of labefaciō, *shake*], *cause to totter, shake; weaken, overthrow, undermine, destroy.*

lābēs, lābis [lābor, *slip*], *f.*, *a slipping; fall; blot, stain; disgrace.*

labō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *totter, give way; be feeble; sink, go to ruin.*

lābor, lābī, lāpsus, *slip, slide; be mistaken, err.*

labor, labōris, *m.*, *labor, toil, exertion, effort, work; drudgery, hardship, suffering, trouble.*

labōriōsus, -a, -um [labor, *work*], *laborious, toilsome; troublesome; troubled.*

labōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [labor, *work*], *strive, endeavor, exert one's self, labor; suffer, be oppressed, be in trouble.*

lacerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *tear to pieces, mangle; rail at, abuse.*

lacessō, lacessere, lacessīvī *or* -iī, lacessītus [laciō, *allure*], *provoke, challenge; excite, irritate, exasperate; urge on, arouse; harass, assail, attack.*

lacrima, -ae, *f.*, *a tear.*

lactāns, lactantis [lac, *milk*], *sucking, nursing.*

lacus, -ūs, *m.*, *a lake.*

Laeca, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

laedō, laedere, **laesī**, **laesus**, *hurt, harm, wound, injure; trouble, annoy, offend.*

Laelius, Laelī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *C. Laelius*, a friend of Scipio Africanus, consul, 140 B.C.

Laenius, Laenī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

laetitia, -ae [laetus, *glad*], *f.*, *gladness, joy, pleasure, delight.*

laetor, -ārī, -ātus [laetus, *glad*], *be glad, be joyful, rejoice.*

laetus, -a, -um, *glad, joyful.*

lagōna, -ae, *f.*, *flask, bottle, flagon.*

lāmentātiō, lāmentātiōnis [lāmentor, *wail*], *f.*, *a wailing; lamentation.*

lāmentor, -ārī, -ātus [lāmentum, *lamentation*], *wail; bewail, lament.*

lāmentum, -ī, *n.*, usually pl., *lamentation; bewailing.*

languidus, -a, -um [langueō, *be weak*], *weak, faint, feeble; dull, stupid, listless.*

lapis, lapidis, *m.*, *stone.*

laqueus, -ī, *m.*, *noose, snare, trap*; pl., *meshes.*

largē [largus, *abundant*], *adv.*, *bountifully, liberally.*

largior, largīrī, largītus [largus, *abundant*], *give bountifully; lavish, bestow lavishly; confer.*

largītiō, largītiōnis [largior, *lavish*], *f.*, *lavish giving, generosity; dispensing; lavish living; bribery, corruption.*

largītor, largītōris [largior, *give freely*], *m.*, *a liberal giver; spendthrift, prodigal; giver of bribes, briber.*

lātē [lātus, *broad*], *adv.*, *broadly, widely.*

latebra, -ae [lateō, *be hidden*], *f.*, usually pl., *hiding place, lurking place; retreat, recess.*

lateō, latēre, latuī, —, *lie hidden, be concealed; seek shelter; escape notice.*

Latīniēnsis, -e, *of Latium, Latin;* as noun, Roman family name.

Latīnus, -a, -um [**Latium**, *Latium*], *of Latium, Latin.*

lātiō, lātiōnis [**ferō**, *bring*], *f., a proposal* (of a law).

Latium, Latī, *n.*, the district of Italy in which Rome was situated.

lātor, lātōris [**ferō**, *bring*], *m., a proposer* (of a law).

latrō, latrōnis, *m., a robber, freebooter, bandit, brigand.*

latrōcinium, latrōcinī [**latrōcinor**, *rob*], *n., robbery, freebooting, brigandage; a band of robbers.*

latrōcinor, -ārī, -ātus [**latrō**, *robber*], *rob, be a bandit, engage in highway robbery; plunder.*

latus, lateris, *n., side.*

lātus, -a, -um, *broad, wide, extensive.*

laudātiō, laudātiōnis [**laudō**, *praise*], *f., a praising; eulogy; funeral oration.*

laudō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**laus**, *praise*], *praise, laud, extol, honor; eulogize; pronounce a funeral oration over.*

laureātus, -a, -um [**laurea**, *laurel*], *crowned with laurel.*

laus, laudis, *f., praise, commendation, glory, fame, renown; merit, credit, honor, distinction, excellence; achievement.*

lēctiō, lēctiōnis [**legō**, *read*], *f., reading, reading aloud.*

lēctor, lēctōris [**legō**, *read*], *m., a reader.*

lectulus, -ī [**lectus**, *bed*], *m., a small couch* or *bed.*

lectus, -ī, *m., couch, bed.*

lēctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **legō**, *choose*], *chosen, picked, selected; excellent, esteemed.*

lēgātiō, lēgātiōnis [**lēgō**, *send as envoy*], *f., embassy, legation; office of ambassador; lieutenancy, a deputy-commander.*

lēgātus, -ī [**lēgō**, *send as envoy*], *m., ambassador, legate, envoy; deputy, lieutenant.*

legiō, legiōnis [**legō**, *collect*], *f., legion.*

lēgitimus, -a, -um [**lēx**, *law*], *of law, established by law; legal.*

lēgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**lēgātus**, *envoy*], *send as envoy; appoint as lieutenant; appoint on a staff, commission.*

legō, legere, lēgī, lēctus, *gather, choose; read, read about.*

lēniō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus [**lēnis**, *soft*], *soften; mitigate, appease, assuage; calm, pacify.*

lēnis, lēne, *soft, mild, gentle; moderate, lenient, tender.*

lēnitās, lēnitātis [**lēnis**, *soft*], *f., softness; gentleness, tenderness, lenity.*

lēnō, lēnōnis, *m., a disreputable agent; tool, instrument.*

lēnōcinium, lēnōcinī [**lēnō**, *tool*], *n., bawdry; position as pimp.*

Lentulus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

lentus, -a, -um [**lēnis**, *soft*], *pliant; slow, backward.*

Lepidus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

lepidus, -a, -um, *graceful, pretty; overnice, effeminate.*

levis, leve, *light, trifling, trivial; fickle; unfounded, untrustworthy, worthless; light-headed.*

levitās, levitātis [**levis**, *light*], *f., lightness; inconstancy, fickleness; shallowness; worthlessness.*

leviter [**levis**, *light*], *adv., lightly, gently; moderately;* **ut levissimē dīcam**, *to speak with the utmost reserve.*

levō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**levis**, *light*], *lighten, relieve.*

lēx, lēgis, *f., law, regulation, principle;* pl., *terms* (of peace).

libellus, -ī [liber, *book*], *m., a small book, pamphlet; petition.*

libēns, libentis [libet, *it pleases*], *willing, glad, more than ready.*

libenter [libēns, *willing*], *adv., willingly, gladly, cheerfully.*

līber, lībera, līberum, *free, independent; unrestrained, unimpeded, unchecked, unhindered.*

liber, librī, *m., book.*

līberālis, līberāle [līber, *free*], *befitting a freeman; honorable, noble; generous.*

līberālitās, līberālitātis [līberālis, *generous*], *f., generosity, liberality.*

līberātiō, līberātiōnis [līberō, *set free*], *f., a freeing; release, liberation.*

līberē [līber, *free*], *adv., freely.*

līberī, -ōrum, *m.*, pl., *children* (always free-born).

līberō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [līber, *free*], *free, set free, deliver, liberate; absolve, acquit; preserve, save.*

lībertās, lībertātis [līber, *free*], *f., freedom, liberty.*

lībertīnus, -a, -um [lībertus, *a freedman*], *of the condition of a freedman;* as noun, *one set free, a freedman.*

lībertus, -ī [līber, *free*], *m., one made free; a freedman.*

libet, libēre, libuit, *or* libitum est, *impers., it pleases.*

libīdō, libīdinis [libet, *it pleases*], *f., pleasure; desire, longing; passion, wantonness, lust, sensuality.*

librārium, librārī [liber, *book*], *n., bookcase; code, collection.*

licentia, -ae [licet, *it is permitted*], *f., license; licentiousness, wantonness, lust.*

licet, licēre, licuit, *and* licitum est, *impers., it is allowed, is permitted, is lawful; granted that.*

Licinius, Licinī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Ligarius, Ligarī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

līgnum, -ī, *n., wood.*

līmen, līminis, *n., threshold, lintel.*

lingua, -ae, *f., tongue; speech, language.*

linter, lintris, *f., tub; boat, skiff.*

līnum, līnī, *n., flax; cord, thread, string.*

liquefaciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factus [liqueō, *be fluid*, and faciō, *make*], *make liquid, melt.*

līs, lītis, *f., strife, litigation; action at law, lawsuit; damage.*

lītigiōsus, -a, -um [lītigium, *dispute*], *full of disputes; quarrelsome.*

littera, -ae, *f., letter of the alphabet;* pl., *letter; literature, books; records; dispatches.*

litterātus, -a, -um [litterae, *literature*], *well-educated, learned; cultured, refined.*

litūra, -ae [linō, *smear*], *f., smearing* (of the wax on a writing tablet); *erasure, correction.*

locātiō, locātiōnis [locō, *place*], *f., a placing; leasing, lease, contract.*

locō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [locus, *place*], *place, put; contract for, hire.*

Locrēnsis, Locrēnse [Locris, *Locris*], *of Locri, Locrian; m.*, pl., *the Locrians.*

locuplēs, locuplētis, *rich, wealthy; provided with.*

locuplētō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [locuplēs, *rich*], *make rich, enrich.*

locus, -ī, *m., place, position, station, post; locality, region; rank, order, state, condition; opportunity, cause, occasion.*

longē [longus, *far*], *adv., far, by far; long.*

longinquitās, longinquitātis [**longinquus**, *distant*], *f.*, *distance, remoteness.*

longinquus, -a, -um [**longus**, *far*], *distant, remote; strange, foreign.*

longiusculus, -a, -um [**longius**, *longer*], *somewhat longer, rather long.*

longus, -a, -um, *long, prolonged, tedious; far, distant.*

loquāciter [**loquāx**, *talkative*], *adv.*, *loquaciously.*

loquāx, loquācis [**loquor**, *talk*], *loquacious; talkative; chattering.*

loquor, loquī, locūtus, *speak, say; talk about; declare, indicate clearly.*

lōrīca, -ae [**lōrum**, *thong*], *f.*, *a leather corselet, cuirass.*

Lucceius, Lucceī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

lūceō, lūcēre, lūxī, — [**lūx**, *light*], *be light, be clear; be apparent, be evident.*

Lūcius, Lūcī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or first name.

lūctuōsus, -a, -um [**lūctus**, *grief*], *full of grief; doleful, mournful.*

lūctus, -ūs [**lūgeō**, *grieve*], *m.*, *grief, mourning.*

lūcubrātio, lūcubrātiōnis, *f.*, *nightwork, lucubration.*

Lūcullus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

lūcus, -ī, *m.*, *a grove* (usually surrounding a temple).

lūdus, -ī, *m.*, *play, game; athletic field; school;* pl., *public games.*

lūgeō, lūgēre, lūxī, —, *lament, mourn; be in mourning.*

lūmen, lūminis [**lūceō**, *be light*], *n.*, *light; a shining light* (referring to a person or place); *torch.*

luō, luere, luī, —, *loose; pay; undergo, suffer.*

lupa, -ae, *f.*, *she-wolf; prostitute, courtesan.*

lupīnus, -a, -um [**lupa**, *wolf*], *of a wolf, wolf's.*

lustrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**lustrum**, *a period of purification*], *purify.*

lutum, -ī, *n.*, *mud, mire.*

lūx, lūcis, *f.*, *light; light of day, dawn; a day.*

lūxuria, -ae [**lūxus**, *excess*], *f.*, *luxury, excess, extravagance.*

Lysippus, -ī, *m.*, a celebrated brass-founder of Sicyon, the only man whom Alexander the Great would allow to cast a statue of him.

M

M. = **Mārcus.**

M'. = **Mānius.**

m. = **mēnsis.**

Macedonia, -ae, *f.*, a country situated in the northern part of Greece, organized as a Roman province.

māchinātor, māchinātōris [**māchinor**, *contrive*], *m.*, *contriver, inventor; engineer, manager.*

māchinor, -ārī, -ātus [**māchina**, *machine*], *contrive, devise; plot.*

mactō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**mactus**, *honored*], *honor* (esp. with sacrifice), *sacrifice; put to death, kill; afflict, punish.*

macula, -ae, *f.*, *stain, blot, stigma; dishonor, disgrace.*

maculō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**macula**, *stain*], *stain, defile.*

Maelius, Maelī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

maereō, maerēre, —, —, *mourn, grieve; mourn for, bewail.*

maeror, maerōris [**maereō**, *mourning*], *m.*, *mourning, grief, sadness, sorrow, distress.*

maestitia, -ae [**maestus**, *sad*], *f.*, *sadness, sorrow, grief.*

maestus, -a, -um, *sad, sorrowful, despondent, gloomy.*

magis [**magnus**, *great*], *adv.*, *more, rather.*

magister, magistrī [**magis**, *more*], *m.*, *master, teacher, instructor.*

magistrātus, -ūs [**magister**, *master*], *m.*, *magistracy, a civil office; magistrate.*

magnificē [**magnificus**, *splendid*], *adv.*, *splendidly, gloriously.*

magnificentia, -ae [**magnificus**, *splendid*], *f.*, *splendor, grandeur, sumptuousness, magnificence; display.*

magnificus, -a, -um [**magnus**, *great*, and **faciō**, *make*], *magnificent, splendid, sumptuous.*

magnitūdō, magnitūdinis [**magnus**, *great*], *f.*, *greatness, size, magnitude, vastness; importance, enormity.*

magnoperē, or **magnō opere**, *adv.*, *very much, exceedingly.*

magnus, -a, -um, *great, large; strong, powerful; important, weighty; severe, intense.* Comp., **maior**; sup., **maximus.**

Magnus, -ī, *m.*, surname of Cn. Pompeius.

maiōrēs, maiōrum, *m.*, pl., *ancestors, forbears;* with **nātū**, *elders.*

Māius, -a, -um, *of May.*

male [**malus**, *bad*], *adv.*, *badly, poorly.* Comp., **peius**; sup., **pessimē.**

maledictum, -ī [**male**, *badly*, and **dīcō**, *talk*], *n.*, *insulting language, abuse.*

maledicus, -a, -um [**male**, *badly*, and **dīcō**, *talk*], *abusive, insulting, slanderous, scurrilous.*

maleficium, -ī [**male**, *badly*, and **faciō**, *act*], *n.*, *misdeed, wickedness, crime.*

malleolus, -ī [**malleus**, *hammer*], *m.*, *fire dart, grenade* (consisting of a pitch-soaked ball of tow attached to a stick).

Mallius, Mallī, *m.*, a Roman family name.

mālō, mālle, māluī [**magis**, *more*, and **volō**, *wish*], *choose rather, prefer.*

malum, -ī [**malus**, *bad*], *n.*, *anything bad; an evil, calamity, misfortune; plague.*

malus, -a, -um, *bad, ill, poor; inferior, wretched.* Comp., **peior**; sup., **pessimus.**

mancipium, mancipī [**manus**, *hand*, and **capiō**, *take*], *n.*, *a taking by the hand, legal purchase, property, ownership;* **rēs mancipī**, *property*, the legal title to which was transferred only by formal delivery before witnesses.

mancus, -a, -um, *maimed, crippled.*

mandātum, -ī [**mandō**, *intrust*], *n.*, *a commission, instructions; order, command.*

mandō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**manus**, *hand*, and **dō**, *put*], *put into one's hands, intrust; bestow upon, confer; enjoin, command, order.*

māne, *adv.*, *in the morning.*

maneō, manēre, mānsī, mānsūrus, *remain, stay, abide; continue, endure.*

manicātus, -a, -um [**manicae**, *long sleeves*], *with long sleeves, long-sleeved.*

manifēstō [**manifēstus**, *manifest*], *adv.*, *palpably; clearly, openly, manifestly.*

manifēstus, -a, -um [**manus**, *hand*], *palpable; clear, manifest.*

Mānīlius, Mānīlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Mānius, Mānī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or first name.

Mānliānus, -a, -um [**Mānlius**, *Manlius*], *of Manlius.*

Mānlius, Manlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

mānō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *flow; extend, spread.*

mānsuētē, *adv., gently, mildly, quietly.*

mānsuētūdō, mānsuētūdinis [**mānsuētus**, *tamed*], *f., mildness, gentleness, kindness, forbearance.*

mānsuētus, -a, -um, *mild, soft, quiet, gentle.*

Mantinēa, -ae, *f.*, a city of Arcadia in Greece, the site of a famous battle.

manubiae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *booty, spoils; money derived from the sale of booty.*

manus, -ūs, *f., a hand; handwriting; company, band, force.*

Mārcellus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

Mārcus, -ī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

mare, maris, *n., the sea.*

maritimus, -a, -um [**mare**, *sea*], *of the sea, marine, maritime, naval, sea-.*

marītus, -ī [**mās**, *male*], *m., husband.*

Marius, Marī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

marmor, marmoris, *n., marble.*

Mārs, Mārtis, *m., god of war; strife, battle.*

Massilia, -ae, *f.*, a Greek city on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, now Marseilles.

Massiliēnsis, -e [**Massilia**, *Massilia*], *of Massilia; m.*, pl. as noun, *the inhabitants of Massilia.*

māter, mātris, *f., mother;* **māter familiās**, *matron.*

māteriēs, māteriēi [**māteria**, *timber*], *f., wood, lumber, timber* [esp. for building purposes]; *material.*

mātrimōnium, mātrimōnī [**māter**, *mother*], *n., wedlock, marriage, matrimony.*

mātūrē [**mātūrus**, *mature*], *adv., early, seasonably, opportunely; quickly.*

mātūritās, mātūritātis [**mātūrus**, *mature*], *f., ripeness, maturity; full development.*

mātūrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *ripen, mature; make haste, hasten.*

mātūrus, -a, -um, *mature, ripe; early.*

maximē, *adv.*, sup. of **magis.**

maximus, -a, -um, sup. of **magnus.**

Maximus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name. *Q. Maximus*, an obscure person.

mēcum = **cum mē.**

Mēdēa, -ae, *f.*, daughter of Aeëtes, King of Colchis, and a famous sorceress.

medeor, medērī, —, *heal, remedy, cure.*

medicīna, -ae [**medicus**, *physician*], *f., the healing art; medicine, remedy*

mediocris, mediocre [**medius**, *middle*], *middling; moderate, medium, ordinary; mediocre, inferior, mean.*

mediocritās, mediocritātis [**mediocris**, *middling*], *f., mean, mediocrity;* "*the golden mean.*"

mediocriter [**mediocris**, *middling*], *adv., moderately, tolerably, slightly, somewhat.*

meditor, -ārī, -ātus, *reflect upon, think of, meditate; practice, exercise, perform.*

medius, -a, -um, *middle, midst of, mid;* **medius fidius**, *so help me, Jupiter*, see note on Marc. 10.

mehercule (see **Hercules**), *adv., so help me, Hercules! in Heaven's name! indeed!*

melior, comp. of **bonus.**

membrum, -ī, *n., limb* (of the body); *member.*

meminī, meminisse, —, *remember, recollect, recall.*

Memmius, Memmī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

memor, memoris [**meminī**, *remember*], *mindful.*

memoria, -ae [**memor**, *mindful*], *f., memory, remembrance, recollection;*

tradition; **post hominum memoriam,** *in the history of the world.*

mendācium, mendācī [**mendāx,** *deceitful*], *n., falsehood, lie.*

mendīcitās, mendīcitātis [**mendīcus,** *indigent*], *f., indigence, poverty, beggary.*

mendīcus, -a, -um, *indigent, needy.*

mēns, mentis, *f., mind, intellect, understanding, reason, judgment; thought, purpose, intention, design;* **mente captus,** *infatuated.*

mēnsis, mēnsis, *m., month.*

mentior, mentīrī, mentītus, *deceive, cheat, assert falsely, lie.*

mercātor, mercātōris [**mercor,** *trade*], *m., merchant.*

mercēnnārius, -a, -um [**mercēs,** *pay*], *serving for pay; mercenary.*

mercēs, mercēdis, *f., pay, wages, hire; compensation, reward.*

mereor, merērī, meritus, *deserve, merit, be worthy of.*

meritō [abl. of **meritum,** *merit*], *adv., deservedly, justly.*

meritum, -ī [**mereor,** *deserve*], *n., merit, kindness, service, favor, benefit, desert.*

merx, mercis, *f., merchandise, wares, goods, commodities.*

Messāla, -ae, *m.,* Roman gentile or clan name.

Metellus, -ī, *m.,* Roman family name.

metuō, metuere, metuī, — [**metus,** *fear*], *fear, be afraid, be apprehensive, dread.*

metus, -ūs, *m., fear, anxiety, apprehension, dread.*

meus, -a, -um, *my, mine, my own.*

mī, voc. of **meus.**

mih, short form of **mihi,** dat. of **ego,** found in the *Letters.*

mīles, mīlitis, *m., soldier.*

mīlitāris, mīlitāre [**mīles,** *soldier*], *military, warlike;* **rēs mīlitārēs,** *warfare.*

mīlitia, -ae [**mīles,** *soldier*], *f., military service,* (any) *employment;* **mīlitiae** (loc.), *in war, in the field;* **domī mīlitiaeque,** *at home and abroad.*

mīlle, *indecl. adj.,* in sing., *thousand;* pl., as noun, **mīllia, mīllium.**

mīlliēns, *adv., a thousand times.*

Milō, Milōnis, *m.,* Roman family name.

minae, -ārum, *f.,* pl., *threats.*

minimē [sup. of **parum,** *little*], *adv., least, very little; by no means.*

minimus, -a, -um [sup. of **parvus,** *little*], *least, smallest.*

minitor, -ārī, -ātus [freq. of **minor,** *threaten*], *threaten, menace.*

minor, -ārī, -ātus [**minae,** *threats*], *threaten, menace.*

minor, minus [comp. of **parvus,** *little*], *smaller, less.*

Minucius, Minucī, *m.,* Roman gentile or clan name.

minuō, minuere, minuī, minūtus [**minus,** *less*], *lessen, diminish.*

minus [comp. of **parum**], *adv., less.*

mīrifice [**mīrificus,** *wonderful*], *adv., wonderfully, exceedingly.*

mīror, -ārī, -ātus, *wonder, marvel at, be surprised at; admire.*

mīrus, -a, -um, *wonderful, marvelous.*

misceō, miscēre, miscuī, mixtus, *mix; throw into confusion, stir up, excite.*

misellus, -a, -um [**miser,** *poor*], *poor, wretched, unfortunate.*

Misēnum, -ī, *n.,* a town and promontory of Campania near the Gulf of Naples, now Punta di Miseno.

miser, misera, miserum, *poor, wretched; unfortunate, pitiable; worthless.*

miserandus, -a, -um [**miser,** *wretched*], *deplorable, pitiable.*

miserātiō, miserātiōnis [**miseror,** *lament*], *f., pity, compassion, sympathy.*

miserē [**miser**, *wretched*], *adv.*, *wretchedly, in misery.*

misereor, miserērī, miseritus [**miser**, *pitiable*], *feel pity, show pity, pity; deplore.*

miseret, miserērī, miseruit, — [**miser**, *pitiable*], *impers., one pities.*

miseria, -ae [**miser**, *wretched*], *f., wretchedness, misery, woe; trouble, anxiety.*

misericordia, -ae [**misericors**, *tender-hearted*], *f., tender-heartedness; clemency, mercy; pity, compassion.*

misericors, misericordis [**misereor**, *pity*, and **cor**, *heart*], *tender-hearted, compassionate, merciful, pitiful.*

miseror, -ārī, -ātus [**miser**, *sad*], *lament, bewail, deplore.*

missiō, missiōnis [**mittō**, *send*], *f., a sending away, dismissal; regularity.*

Mithridātēs, Mithridātis, *m.*, a king of Pontus in Asia Minor.

Mithridāticus, -a, -um [**Mithridātēs**], *of Mithridates, Mithridatic.*

mītigō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**mītis**, *mild*], *make mild; pacify.*

mītis, mīte, *mild, gentle, kind, lenient.*

mittō, mittere, mīsī, missus, *send, let go, discharge.*

mixtus, -a, -um [**misceō**, *mix*], *mixed, confused.*

moderātē [**moderor**, *limit*], *adv., moderately, with reserve.*

moderātiō, moderātiōnis [**moderor**, *limit*], *f., moderation, self-control, restraint.*

moderātus, -a, -um [**moderor**, *limit*], *moderate, temperate; discreet; sober, well-balanced.*

moderor, -ārī, -ātus [**modus**, *limit*], *set a limit; manage, regulate.*

modestē [**modestus**, *moderate*], *adv., moderately, soberly, with discretion.*

modestia, -ae [**modestus**, *moderate*], *f., moderation, discretion.*

modestus, -a, -um [**modus**, *measure*], *keeping due measure, moderate, well-balanced, self-controlled; sober, discreet.*

modicus, -a, -um [**modus**, *measure*], *in proper measure; moderate, tolerable.*

modo [abl. of **modus**, *measure*], *adv., with a limit; only, merely, solely; just now, just;* **nōn modo . . . sed etiam**, *not only . . . but also.*

modus, -ī, *m., measure, limit; moderation; manner, way, fashion; sort, kind;* **quem ad modum**, *in what way? how?*

moenia, moenium, *n.*, pl., *walls, ramparts, fortifications; city* (inclosed by walls).

mōlēs, mōlis, *f., mass, bulk, pile, weight, load.*

molestē [**molestus**, *burdensome*], *adv., with difficulty;* **molestē ferre**, *be annoyed.*

molestia, -ae [**molestus**, *burdensome*], *f., trouble, annoyance; vexation, distress.*

molestus, -a, -um [**mōlēs**, *load*], *burdensome, troublesome, annoying; unmanageable.*

mōlior, molīrī, molītus [**mōlēs**, *load*], *get under a load; struggle, strive; plan, contrive; attempt, undertake.*

mollis, molle, *soft; weak, effeminate; susceptible.*

mollitia, -ae [**mollis**, *soft*], *f., softness; susceptibility, sensitiveness.*

momentum, -ī, *n., movement, motion; weight, importance, influence; claim.*

moneō, monēre, monuī, monitus, *remind, advise, instruct, warn, urge.*

monitor, monitōris [**moneō**, *warn*], *m., an admonisher; secretary.*

mōns, montis, *m., mountain; hill.*

mōnstrum, -ī [**moneō**, *warn*], *n., a*

divine omen, wonder; monster, prodigy, abomination.

monumentum, -ī [moneō, *remind*], *n., a reminder, memorial, monument; writing, record, history.*

mora, -ae, *f., delay, hesitation, procrastination.*

mōrātus, -a, -um [mōs, *custom*], *constituted, regulated.*

morbus, -ī [morior, *die*], *m., sickness, ill-health; malady, disease.*

morior, morī, mortuus [**mors**, *death*], *die.*

moror, -ārī, -ātus [**mora**, *delay*], *delay, linger, wait.*

mors, mortis, *f., death; corpse, body.*

mortālis, mortāle, *liable to death, mortal.*

mōs, mōris, *m., custom, manner, habit, usage, practice;* pl., *conduct, character.*

mōtus, -ūs [**moveō**, *move*], *m., motion, activity; agitation, disturbance, tumult, commotion; change, vicissitude;* **terrae mōtus**, *earthquake.*

moveō, movēre, mōvī, mōtus, *move, set in motion; affect, excite, influence; alter, change; dislodge, drive away; arouse, disturb.*

mūcrō, mūcrōnis, *m., a sword's point; sword, blade, dagger.*

mulcō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *beat, maltreat, cudgel, handle roughly.*

mulier, mulieris, *f., woman.*

muliercula, -ae [**mulier**, *woman*], *f., mistress.*

multa, -ae, *f., fine.*

multitūdō, multitūdinis [**multus**, *many*], *f., a great number, multitude, crowd.*

multō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**multa**, *fine*], *punish.*

multus, -a, -um, *much, many a;* pl., *many.* Comp., **plus**; sup., **plurimus**; **multum posse** or **valēre**, *to have great influence.*

Mulvius, -a, -um, *Mulvian;* **Pōns Mulvius**, *the Mulvian Bridge.*

mūnia, -ōrum, *n.*, pl., *duties, functions.*

mūniceps, mūnicipis [**mūnia**, *official duties*, and **capiō**, *take*], *m.* and *f., an inhabitant of a municipium, burgher.*

mūnicipium, mūnicipī [**mūniceps**, *burgher*], *n., a free town.*

mūniō, mūnīre, mūnīvī, mūnītus [**moenia**, *walls*], *fortify, protect, strengthen, guard;* (of roads) *build, pave.*

mūnus, mūneris, *n., service, employment; official responsibility; present, gift, reward; public exhibition, entertainment.*

Mūrēna, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

mūrus, -ī, *m., wall.*

Mūsa, -ae, *f., muse*, one of the nine Muses.

mutātiō, mutātiōnis [**mūtō**, *change*], *change, alteration; vicissitude.*

Mutīna, -ae, *f.*, a town in Cisalpine Gaul.

mūtō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *change, vary, alter.*

mūtus, -a, -um, *dumb, mute, speechless.*

Myrmillus, -ī, *m.*, a gladiator who fought with Gallic arms.

mystērium, mystērī, *n., a secret service; secret, mystery.*

Mytilēnaeus, -a, -um, *of Mitylene*, an important city on the island of Lesbos.

N

Naeviānus, -a, -um [**Naevius**, poet, b. 480 B.C.], *of Naevius, Naevian.*

nam, *conj., for.*

nancīscor, nancīscī, nactus, *find, obtain, get, gain, secure; light upon, stumble upon.*

nāscēns, nāscentis [part. of **nāscor**, *be born*], *budding, growing, nascent.*

nāscor, nāscī, nātus, *be born, spring up, originate.*

nātiō, nātiōnis [**nāscor**, *be born*], *f., race, tribe, nation, people; set.*

Natta, -ae, *m.*, Roman name. *L. Pinarius Natta*, stepson of Murena.

nātū [**nāscor**, *be born*], *m.*, abl. only, *by birth, in age;* **maiōrēs nātū**, *elders.*

nātūra, -ae [**nāscor**, *be born*], *f., nature, disposition, natural bent, character.*

nātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **nāscor**, *be born*], *born.*

naufragus, -a, -um [**nāvis**, *ship*, and **frangō**, *break*], *shipwrecked; m.*, pl., as noun, *shipwrecked or ruined men, castaways.*

nauta, -ae [**nāvis**, *ship*], *m., sailor.*

nauticus, -a, -um [**nauta**, *sailor*], *pertaining to sailors; nautical, naval.*

nāvālis, nāvāle [**nāvis**, *ship*], *naval.*

nāviculārius, -a, -um [**nāvicula**, *small vessel*], *of a small boat; m.*, as noun, *shipowner, shipmaster, captain.*

nāvigātiō, -ōnis, *f., a voyage.*

nāvigō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nāvis**, *ship*, and **agō**, *drive*], *sail, make a voyage, cruise.*

nāvis, nāvis, *f., ship, boat, vessel.*

nāviter [**nāvus**, *busy*], *adv., actively, zealously.*

nē, *adv., verily, assuredly.*

nē, *conj., lest, that . . . not;* after verbs of fearing, *lest, that;* as adv., *not;* **nē . . . quidem**, *not even.*

-ne, *enclitic, whether, or.*

Neāpolitānus, -a, -um, *of Naples, Neapolitan; m.*, pl., as noun, *Neapolitans.*

nec, *see* **neque.**

necessāriō [abl. of **necessārius**, *necessary*], *adv., necessarily, inevitably.*

necessārius, -a, -um [**necesse**, *necessary*], *necessary, unavoidable, inevitable, urgent;* as noun, *kinsman, relative.*

necesse, *indecl. adj., necessary, unavoidable, inevitable.*

necessitās, necessitātis [**necesse**, *necessary*], *f., necessity, compulsion, requirement; relationship; close relation.*

necessitūdō, necessitūdinis [**necesse**, *necessary*], *f., relationship; friendship, intimacy.*

necne, *conj.* (in double indir. questions), *or not.*

necō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nex**, *death*], *kill, put to death, murder.*

nefandus, -a, -um [**nē**, *not*, and **for**, *speak*], *unspeakable; abominable, execrable, impious, heinous.*

nefāriē [**nefārius**, *impious*], *adv., unspeakably; impiously, wickedly, atrociously.*

nefārius, -a, -um [**nefās**, *crime*], *impious, abominable, nefarious, infamous.*

nefās, *indecl.* [**nē**, *not*, and **fās**, *divine law*], *contrary to divine law; an impious act, an ungodly offense, crime.*

neglēctiō, neglēctiōnis [**neglegō**, *neglect*], *f., indifference, neglect.*

neglegēns, neglegentis [**neglegō**, *neglect*], *careless, indifferent, negligent.*

neglegenter [**neglegō**, *neglect*], *adv., carelessly, indifferently.*

neglegō, -legere, -lēxī, -lēctus [**nec**, *not*, and **legō**, *collect*], *neglect, disregard, slight; pass by unnoticed, omit.*

negō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nec**, *not*, and **aiō**, *say*], *say no, refuse, deny, say . . . not.*

negōtior, -ārī, -ātus [**negōtium**, *business*], *carry on business.*

negōtiōsus, -a, -um [**negōtium**, *business*], *busy.*

negōtium, -ī [**nec**, *not*, and **ōtium**, *leisure*], *n.*, *business, employment, occupation, duty, difficulty, trouble.*

nēmō (gen. and abl. sing. and the entire pl., from **nūllus**) [from **nē**, *not*, and **homō**, *man*], *m.*, *no man, no one, nobody*; **nōn nēmō**, *somebody, some few*; *many a one.*

nempe, *adv.* and *conj.*, *certainly, assuredly, of course, as everybody knows*; often ironical, *no doubt, I suppose.*

nemus, nemoris, *n.*, *a grove* (usually consecrated to some god).

nepōs, nepōtis, *m.*, *grandson*; *spendthrift.*

nēquam, *indecl. adj.*, *worthless, good for nothing*; *vile, bad.*

nēquāquam [**nē**, *not*, and **quāquam**, *in any way*], *adv.*, *in no way, in no wise, not at all.*

neque or **nec** [**nē**, *not*, and **que**, *and*], *conj.*, *and . . . not, nor*; **neque** (**nec**) **. . . neque** (**nec**), *neither . . . nor.*

nequedum, *conj.*, *and not yet, nor yet.*

nēquitia, -ae [**nēquam**, *worthless*], *f.*, *worthlessness, inefficiency*; *vileness, dissoluteness.*

nervus, -ī, *m.*, *sinew, muscle*; *strength, vigor, power*, "*nerve.*"

nesciō, -scīre, -scīvī, — [**nescius**, *not knowing*], *not know, be ignorant*; **nesciō quis**, *some*; **nesciō quō modō**, *somehow or other*; **nesciō quid**, *something or other, hobby, fad.*

nescius, -a, -um [**nē**, *not*, and **sciō**, *know*], *not knowing, unconscious*; *ignorant.*

neu, *see* **nēve.**

nēve or **neu** [**nē**, *not*, and **ve**, *or*], *conj.*, *or not, nor*; *and not, and that not.*

nex, necis, *f.*, *death* (by violence), *murder.*

nexū (abl. sing. only) [**nectō**, *bind*], *m.*, *under bond.*

nihil [**nē**, *not*, and **hilum**, *whit*], *n.*, *indecl.*, *nothing*; as *adv.*, **nōl**, *not at all*; *in no way.*

nihildum, *n.*, *indecl.*, *nothing as yet.*

nihilum, -ī = **nihil.**

nīmīrum [**nē**, *not*, and **mīrum**, *strange*], *adv.*, *without doubt, doubtless, of course.*

nimis, *adv.*, *too much, too*; *excessively.*

nimium [**nimius**, *too much*], *adv.*, *too much, too.*

nimius, -a, -um [**nimis**, *too much*], *too much, too great, over-, excessive, beyond measure.*

nisi [**nē**, *not*, and **sī**, *if*], *conj.*, *if not, except, unless.*

niteō, nitēre, nituī, —, *shine, glitter, glisten.*

nitidus, -a, -um [**niteō**, *shine*], *shining, glittering*; *sleek, trim, spruce.*

nītor, nītī, nīsus *or* nīxus, *strive, struggle, endeavor*; *rely upon, depend upon.*

nix, nivis, *f.*, *snow.*

nōbilis, nōbile [**nōscō**, *know*], *well-known, famous, renowned*; *high-born, noble.*

nōbilitās, nōbilitātis [**nōbilis**, *well known*], *f.*, *celebrity, fame*; *nobility, dignity, true worth.*

nocēns, nocentis [part. of **noceō**, *harm*], *harmful*; *guilty.*

noceō, nocēre, nocuī, —, *harm, injure.*

noctū [**nox**, *night*], *adv.*, *by night.*

nocturnus, -a, -um [**nox**, *night*], *of the night, by night, nocturnal, night-.*

nōlō, nōlle, nōluī [**nē**, *not*, and **volō**, *wish*], *be unwilling, wish . . . not.*

nōmen, nōminis [**nōscō**, *know*], *n.*, *name, signature*; *pretext, pretense, account, behalf, authority.*

nōmenclātor, nōmenclātōris, *m.*, *a prompter* (a slave who attended his master on the street and gave to him the names of those whom he met).

nōmināt̄im [nōminō, *name*], *adv.*, *by name, expressly.*

nōminō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *call by name, name; render famous, celebrate, mention by name.*

nōn, *adv.*, *not, no.*

Nōn. = **Nōnae.**

Nōnae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *the Nones*, the seventh of March, May, July, and October, and the fifth of the other months.

nōndum [nōn, *not*, and dum, *while*], *adv.*, *not yet.*

nōnne, *interrog. adv.*, anticipating an affirmative answer, *is not? does not?*

norma, -ae, *f.*, *rule, precept.*

nōscō, nōscere, nōvī, nōtus, *learn, become acquainted with*; perf., *have learned, know.*

noster, nostra, nostrum, *our, ours, our own; of us.*

nōstī, contr. from **nōvistī**, from **nōscō**, which see.

nota, -ae [nōscō, *learn*], *f.*, *means of recognition; mark, sign; brand.*

notābilis, notābile [nōtus, *known*], *noteworthy, notable; eminent.*

notō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [nota, *mark*], *mark, single out, designate; brand.*

nōtus, -a, -um [nōscō, *learn*], *known, renowned, famous.*

novem, *indecl. num. adj.*, *nine.*

November, Novembris, Novembre [novem, *nine*], *of November* (so called, because it was the ninth month in the early calendar).

novitās, novitātis [novus, *new*], *f.*, *newness; low origin, humble birth.*

novus, -a, -um, *new, fresh, recent; novel, unusual, unheard of, unprecedented;* **rēs novae**, *political upheaval, revolution.*

nox, noctis, *f.*, *night.*

nūdius tertius [= **nunc diēs tertius est**], *it is now the third day, day before yesterday.*

nūdō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [nūdus, *naked*], *strip, expose, lay bare;* with **sē**, *lay aside one's outer garment.*

nūdus, -a, -um, *naked, bare; vacant.*

nūgae, -ārum, *f.*, pl., *jests; jesters, trifiers, foolish fellows; puppets.*

nūllus, -a, -um [nē, *not*, and ūllus, *any*], *not any, no; none; m.*, as noun, *nobody;* **nōn nūllus**, *some.*

num, *interrog. adv.*, anticipating a negative answer, untranslatable in dir. ques.; in indir. question, *whether.*

Numantia, -ae, *f.*, a town in Spain.

Numantīnus, -a, -um, *of Numantia, Numantian.*

nūmen, nūminis [nuō, *nod*], *n.*, *a nod; the will of heaven, divine sanction.*

numerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [numerus, *number*], *count; regard, esteem.*

numerus, -ī, *m.*, *number; estimation, rank.*

Numidicus, -a, -um, *of Numidia; m.* as noun, surname of Q. Metellus.

numquam [nē, *not*, and umquam, *ever*], *adv.*, *never.*

nunc, *adv.*, *now, at this time, at present.*

nūntiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [nūntius, *messenger*], *send a message; announce, make known, report.*

nūntius, nūntī, *m.*, *messenger; message, dispatch, order.*

nūper, *adv.*, *lately, recently, not long ago.*

nūptiae, -ārum [nūpta, *bride*], *f.*, pl., *wedding, marriage, nuptials.*

nusquam [nē, *not*, and usquam, *any-*

where], *adv., nowhere, in no place; on no occasion.*

nūtus, -ūs [nuō, *nod*], *m., nod; will, pleasure.*

O

Ō, *interj., O! oh!*

ob, *prep.* with acc., *because of, on account of, for the sake of;* quam ob rem, *for which reason, wherefore; why?*

obdūrēscō, -dūrēscere, -dūruī, — [dūrēscō, *grow hard*], *become hardened, grow obdurate.*

obeō, -īre, -iī, -itus [eō, *go*], *go to meet, encounter, visit; attend to, undertake, perform.*

obiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [iaciō, *throw*], *throw before, cast in the way; expose; upbraid.*

obiūrgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [iūrgō *quarrel*], *chide, scold, blame, rebuke, reprove.*

oblectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [lactō, *entice*], *delight, entertain, interest, amuse.*

obligō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [ligō, *bind*], *bind, make liable; pledge, mortgage.*

oblinō, -linere, -lēvī, -litus [linō, *smear*], *smear over, bedaub, besmear.*

oblītus, -a, -um [p. p. of oblīvīscor, *forget*], *forgetful, unmindful.*

oblīviō, oblīviōnis [oblīvīscor, *forget*], *f., forgetfulness; oblivion.*

oblīvīscor, -līvīscī, -lītus, *forget.*

obmūtēscō, -mūtēscere, -mūtuī, — [mūtus, *dumb*], *become silent.*

oboediō, -oedīre, -oedīvī, -oedītus [audiō, *hear*], *hearken unto, obey.*

oborior, -orīrī, -ortus [orior, *rise*], *arise, spring up, appear.*

obruō, -ruere, -ruī, -rutus [ruō, *fall*], *overwhelm, ruin, bury.*

obsaepiō, -saepere, -saepsī, -saeptus [saepēs, *hedge*], *hedge in, close, bar up.*

obscūrē [obscūrus, *obscure*], *adv., obscurely, vaguely.*

obscūritās, -ātis [obscūrus, *obscure*], *f., obscurity; uncertainty.*

obscūrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [obscūrus, *obscure*], *obscure, hide, conceal.*

obscūrus, -a, -um, *obscure; unknown.*

obsecrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [sacrō, *regard as sacred*], *implore, entreat, beseech.*

obsecundō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [secundō, *favor*], *be accommodating, favor, yield.*

obsequium, -ī [obsequor, *comply*], *n., compliance.*

observantia, -ae [observō, *observe*], *f., observance, regard; reverence, respect.*

observātiō, observātiōnis [observō, *observe*], *f., search, investigation.*

observō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *observe, watch, heed, guard; attend to, take care of.*

obses, obsidis, *m.* and *f., hostage; guaranty, pledge.*

obsessiō, obsessiōnis [obsideō, *besiege*], *f., blockade, siege.*

obsideō, -sidēre, -sēdī, -sessus [sedeō, *sit*], *besiege, blockade, invest.*

obsidiō, obsidiōnis [obsideō, *besiege*], *f., blockade, siege; invasion.*

obsīgnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [sīgnō, *seal*], *seal; attest.*

obsistō, -sistere, -stitī, -stitum [sistō, *stand*], *take place before, stand in the way; oppose, withstand, thwart.*

obsolēscō, -olēscere, -olēvī, -olētus [olēscō, *grow*], *wear out; become obsolete, be out of date.*

obstō, -stāre, -stitī, — [stō, *stand*], *stand against, withstand, hinder, oppose, injure.*

obstrepō, -strepere, -strepuī, — [strepō, *make a noise*], *roar at; annoy, trouble.*

obstupefaciō, -stupefacere, -stupefēcī,

-stupefactus [stupefaciō, *stun*], *amaze, astonish, astound.*

obstupēscō, -stupēscere, -stupuī [stupēscō, *become astonished*], *become senseless, be stupefied.*

obsum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus, *be against; be prejudicial to, injure, harm.*

obtemperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [temperō, *behave properly*], *comply with, submit to, yield, obey.*

obtestor, -ārī, -ātus [testor, *call to witness*], *call as a witness; make an appeal to, protest; implore, entreat, beseech.*

obtineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentus [teneō, *hold*], *hold, possess; maintain, uphold.*

obtingō, -tingere, -tigī, — [tangō, *touch*], *befall, occur, happen.*

obtrectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [tractō, *drag*], *detract from, disparage, belittle; oppose, object to.*

obviam [via, *way*], *adv., in the way;* with eō, fiō, veniō, *meet.*

obvius, -a, -um [obviam, *in the way*], *in the way;* with esse, *meet.*

occāsiō, occāsiōnis [occidō, *fall,*], *f., chance, opportunity, convenient time.*

occāsus, -ūs [cadō, *fall*], *m., a falling; downfall, ruin.*

occidēns, occidentis [part. of occidō, *fall, set*], *setting;* as noun, *the occident, the west; sunset.*

occīdō, -cīdere, -cīdī, -cīsus [caedō, *cut*], *cut down, kill, murder.*

occlūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsus [claudo, *shut*], *shut up, close.*

occultātiō, occultātiōnis [occultō, *hide*], *f., concealment.*

occultātor, occultātōris [occultō, *hide*], *m., a concealer, hider, harborer.*

occultē [occultus, *secret*], *adv., secretly.*

occultō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of occulō, *cover*], *hide, conceal.*

occultus, -a, -um [p. p. of occulō, *cover*], *covered; hidden, concealed, secret.*

occupātiō, occupātiōnis [occupō, *occupy*], *f., occupation, business, employment.*

occupātus, -a, -um [p. p. of occupō, *occupy*], *engaged, employed; invested in.*

occupō, -āre, -āvi, -ātus [capiō, *take*], *take possession of, seize, occupy.*

occurrō, -currere, -currī, -cursūrus [currō, *run*], *run to meet; rush upon, encounter, attack.*

occursātiō, occursātiōnis [occursō, *run to meet*], *f., a running to meet; greeting, welcome.*

Ōceanus, -ī, *m., the ocean.*

Octāvius, Octāvī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

octō, *indecl. adj., eight.*

oculus, -ī, *m., eye.*

ōdī, ōdisse, ōsūrus, *hate, despise.*

odiōsus, -a, -um [ōdium, *hatred*], *hateful, odious; troublesome, vexatious.*

odium, odī [ōdī, *hate*], *n., hatred, detestation, aversion.*

offendō, -fendere, -fendī, -fēnsus [fendō, *strike*], *strike against; offend, displease; be a cause of offense.*

offēnsiō, offēnsiōnis [offendō, *offend*], *f., a striking against, stumbling; mishap, misfortune, disaster.*

offēnsus, -a, -um [offendō, *offend*], *odious, offensive;* as noun, *object of offense.*

offerō, offerre, obtulī, ōblātus [ferō, *bring*], *bring forward, expose; offer, present, confer, bestow; inflict.*

officiōsus, -a, -um [officium, *service*], *full of courtesy; courteous, obliging; conscientious, dutiful; watchful.*

officium, officī [faciō, *do*], *n., service,*

courtesy; earnestness; obligation, duty, part.

offundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsus [**fundō**, *pour*], *pour out, spread over, fill.*

ōlim, *adv., once, formerly; sometime, hereafter.*

ōmen, ōminis, *n., omen.*

omittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *let go*], *let go; pass over, ignore, disregard, omit; not claim.*

omnīnō [**omnis**, *all*], *adv., altogether, entirely, utterly;* with neg., *at all.*

omnis, omne, *all, every.*

onus, oneris, *n., load, cargo; burden.*

opera, -ae [**opus**, *work*], *f., work, labor, exertion, pains; care, attention;* **operae pretium est**, *it is worth while.*

operiō, operīre, operuī, opertus, *cover; shut, close; overwhelm.*

Opīmius, Opīmī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

opīmus, -a, -um, *fat; rich, fertile, productive.*

opīniō, opīniōnis [**opīnor**, *think*], *f., opinion; expectation; supposition, conjecture, belief.*

opīnor, -ārī, -ātus, *think, judge; suppose, imagine, fancy.*

opitulor, -ārī, -ātus, *help, aid, assist.*

oportet, oportēre, oportuit, *impers., it is necessary, it is proper, it behooves, it ought.*

oppetō, -petere, -petīvī, -petītus [**petō**, *seek*], *go to meet; encounter.*

oppidum, -ī, *n., town.*

oppōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *set*], *set against, oppose to, place opposite; compare, contrast.*

opportūnitās, opportūnitātis [**opportūnus**, *advantageous*], *f., fitness, advantage, convenience.*

oppositus, -ūs [**oppōnō**, *set against*], *m., opposition.*

opprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press against, press down; overwhelm, sink; crush, oppress, subdue.*

oppugnātiō, oppugnātiōnis [**oppugnō**, *attack*], *f., an attack, assault, siege.*

oppugnātor, oppugnātōris [**oppugnō**, *attack*], *m., an assaulter, assailant.*

oppugnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pugnō**, *fight*], *fight against, assault, besiege, storm; oppose.*

(**ops**), opis (nom., dat., voc. sing. wanting), *f., help, support, assistance;* pl., *means, resources, wealth; advantage.*

optābilis, optābile [**optō**, *desire*], *desirable.*

optātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **optō**, *desire*], *desired, wished for.*

optimās, optimātis [**optimus**, *best*], *of the best, aristocratic;* pl., as noun, *the optimates* (Roman aristocrats).

optō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *desire, wish for, wish; choose, select.*

opus, operis, *n., work* (both the effort and the result), *labor, employment, business;* **opus est** (followed by abl.), *there is need;* **magnopere**, *greatly;* **tantopere**, *so greatly.*

ōra, -ae, *f., border, margin; shore, coast; region, district.*

ōrātiō, ōrātiōnis [**ōrō**, *speak*], *f., words, speech, language, discourse, oration; oratory, eloquence; subject, theme.*

ōrātor, ōrātōris [**ōrō**, *speak*], *m., speaker, orator; ambassador, representative.*

orbis, orbis, *m., circle;* with **terrae** or **terrārum**, *the world.*

orbitās, orbitātis [**orbus**, *destitute*], *f., destitution; bereavement.*

orbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *deprive, despoil.*

ōrdior, ōrdīrī, ōrsus, *begin, commence, undertake.*

ōrdō, ōrdinis, *m.*, *line, row, series, rank, order; arrangement, position, station, class.*

oriēns, orientis [part. of **orior**, *rise*], *rising;* as noun, *the rising sun, the east.*

orior, orīrī, ortus, *arise, rise; be descended from.*

ōrnāmentum, -ī [**ōrnō**, *furnish*], *n.*, *equipment, apparatus; ornament, decoration, badge of honor, distinction;* pl., *supplies, treasures; dignities.*

ōrnātē [**ōrnātus**, *adorned*], *adv.*, *gracefully, eloquently.*

ōrnātus, -a, -um [**ōrnō**, *furnish*], *equipped, adorned; honored, honorable.*

ōrnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *fit out, furnish, supply, provide, equip, prepare; deck, adorn, embellish; honor.*

ōrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ōs**, *mouth*], *speak; beg, beseech, pray, entreat.*

Orpheus, Orpheī, *m.*, a mythical singer of Thrace.

ortus, -ūs [**orior**, *rise*], *m.*, *a rising;* with **solis**, *sunrise.*

ōs, ōris, *n.*, *mouth; face, countenance, features.*

ōscitō, -āre, —, — [**ōs**, *mouth*], *yawn.*

ōsculor, -ārī, -ātus [**ōs**, *mouth*], *kiss; embrace; value, prize.*

ostendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentus [obs (= **ob**) and **tendō**, *stretch*], *point out, show, exhibit, display; prove, demonstrate.*

ostentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **ostendō**, *point out*], *show, exhibit, display.*

Ōstiēnsis, Ōstiēnse, *of Ostia* (the port at the mouth of the Tiber, about sixteen miles from Rome); *at Ostia.*

ōstium, ōstī [**ōs**, *mouth*], *n.*, *door; mouth, entrance; gateway.*

Othō, -ōnis, *m.*, a family name. *L. Roscius Otho*, a friend of Cicero.

ōtiōsus, -a, -um [**ōtium**, *leisure*], *at leisure, unemployed, unoccupied; quiet, tranquil, peaceful, calm.*

ōtium, ōtī, *n.*, *leisure, ease, idleness; quiet, repose, peace, rest.*

P

P. = **Pūblius**, Pūblī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

p. = **pūblica.**

pācātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **pācō**, *subdue*], *subdued, subjugated; at peace; peaceful.*

pacīscor, pacīscī, pactus, *agree, stipulate.*

pācō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pāx**, *peace*], *pacify, subdue.*

pactum, -ī [**pacīscor**, *agree*], *n.*, *agreement; way, manner.*

pactus, -a, -um [p. p. of **pacīscor**, *agree*], *agreed upon.*

paene, *adv.*, *nearly, almost.*

paenitet, -tēre, -tuit, *impers.*, *cause* (one) *to repent or regret.*

paenula, -ae, *f.*, *a traveling cloak, mantle.*

paenulātus, -a, -um [**paenula**, *mantle*], *wearing a mantle.*

palam, *adv.*, *openly.*

Palātium, Palātī [**Pales**, an Italian god of shepherds and pastures], *n.*, *the Palatine Hill.*

Pamphȳlia, -ae, *f.*, a Roman province situated on the southern coast of Asia Minor.

Panaetius, Panaetī, *m.*, a Stoic philosopher of Rhodes.

Pansa, -ae, *m.*, a family name.

Papīrius, -ī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Pāpius, -a, -um, *of Papius, Papian.*

pār, paris, *equal, like; befitting, suitable; comparable.*

parātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **parō**, *prepare*], *prepared, ready.*

parcē [parcus, *sparing*], *adv., sparingly; modestly.*

parcō, parcere, pepercī *or* parsī, parsūrus, *spare; take into consideration.*

parēns, parentis [**pariō**, *bring forth*], *m.* and *f., parent.*

pāreō, pārēre, pāruī, pāritūrus, *obey, submit to, yield to, comply with, consult.*

pariēs, parietis, *m., wall* (of a building).

pariō, parere, peperī, partus, *bring forth, bear; obtain, secure, procure, acquire.*

parō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *make ready, prepare, provide; design, contrive.*

parricīda, -ae [**pater**, *father*, and **caedō**, *kill*], *m.* and *f., parricide; assassin, murderer.*

parricīdium, parricīdī [**parricīda**, *parricide*], *n., parricide, murder.*

pars, partis, *f., part, piece, share, portion; manner, degree, direction; side, faction; office, duty; place, region; count.*

particeps, participis [**pars**, *part*, and **capiō**, *take*], *sharing;* as noun, *a sharer, partaker, participant.*

partim, *adv., partly, in part.*

partior, partīrī, partītus [**pars**, *part*], *divide.*

parturiō, parturīre, parturīvī, — [**pariō**, *beget*], *be pregnant with; brood over, meditate.*

parum, *adv., too little, not enough, not sufficiently.* Comp., **minus**, *less;* sup., **minimē**, *least.*

parvolus, -a, -um [dimin. of **parvus**, *little*], *little, dear little.*

parvus, -a, -um, *little, small; petty, trifling, insignificant; vile, mean;* **parvī**, *of little value;* **parvī refert**, *it makes little difference.*

passus, -ūs, *m., step, pace.*

pāstiō, pāstiōnis [**pāscō**, *feed, pasture*], *f., grazing, pasturage.*

pāstor, pāstōris [**pāscō**, *feed*], *m., shepherd, herdsman.*

patefaciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factus [**pateō**, *lie open*, and **faciō**, *make*], *lay open, open; lay bare, make known, disclose, reveal.*

pateō, -tēre, -tuī, —, *lie open, stand open; be revealed, be well known.*

pater, patris, *m., father.*

paternus, -a, -um [**pater**, *father*], *of a father, paternal.*

patiēns, patientis [part. of **patior**, *endure*], *patient, enduring, long-suffering.*

patientia, -ae [**patiēns**, *patient*], *f., patience, endurance; indulgence, forbearance.*

patior, patī, passus, *suffer, endure; undergo; let, allow, permit.*

patria [**pater**, *father*], *f., fatherland, native land.*

patricius, -a, -um [**pater**, *father*], *patrician.*

patrimōnium, -ī [**pater**, *father*], *n., patrimony, inheritance..*

patrius, -a, -um [**pater**, *father*], *of a father; of their fathers, ancestral.*

patrōnus, -ī [**pater**, *father*], *m., protector, patron; defender, advocate.*

patruus, -ī [**pater**, *father*], *m., a father's brother, uncle.*

paucī, -ae, -a, pl., *a few;* as noun, *only a few, a few words.*

paulisper [**paulum**, *a little*], *adv., for a short time, a little while.*

paulō [abl. of **paulus**, *little*], *adv., a little, somewhat.*

paulum [**paulus**, *little*], *adv., somewhat, a little.*

Paulus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

pāx, pācis, *f.*, *peace.*

peccātum, -ī [p. p. of **peccō**, *err*], *n.*, *an error, mistake; fault, sin, offense, transgression.*

peccō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *err, sin; make a mistake, blunder.*

pectō, pectere, pexī, pexus, *comb.*

pectus, pectoris, *n.*, *breast, heart; feelings.*

pecuāria, -ae [**pecus**, *cattle*], *f.*, *stock raising, cattle breeding.*

peculātus, -ūs [**peculor**, *embezzle*], *m.*, *embezzlement.*

pecūnia, -ae [**pecus**, *cattle*], *f.*, *property* (in early times often represented by cattle), *money.*

pecus, pecudis, *f.*, *a single head of cattle; beast, brute.*

pedester, pedestris, pedestre [**pedēs**, *foot soldier*], *on foot, foot-; with* **cōpiae**, *foot soldiers, infantry.*

Peducaeus, -ī, *m.*, a Roman surname. *Sex. Peducaeus*, a praetor in Sicily when Cicero was quaestor there.

pellicula, -ae [dimin. of **pellis**, *skin*], *f.*, *a small skin; stingy little hide.*

pellō, pellere, pepulī, pulsus, *beat, strike; drive out, thrust out, expel; repulse, rout, defeat.*

Penātēs, Penātium, *m.* pl., *Penates, household gods.*

pendeō, pendēre, pependī —, *hang, be suspended, be in suspense.*

penes, *prep.* with acc., *at the house of, with; in the power of.*

penetrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *enter, penetrate, force one's way into.*

penitus, *adv.*, *inwardly, far within; thoroughly, entirely, utterly.*

pēnsitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **pēnsō**, *weigh*], *weigh out, pay.*

per, *prep.* with acc., *through, through the midst of; during, for; by means of, by; for the sake of, on account of;* **per sē**, *independently.*

peradulēscēns, peradulēscentis [**adulēscēns**, *young*], *very young.*

peragratus, -a, -um [p. p. of **peragrō**, *wander*], *widespread.*

peragrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *wander through, traverse, penetrate.*

perbenevolus, -a, -um [**bene**, *well*, and **volō**, *wish*], *very friendly.*

perbrevis, perbreve [**brevis**, *short*], *very short, very brief.*

percallēscō, -callēscere, -calluī, — [**callēscō**, *become callous*], *become thoroughly hardened, grow callous.*

percellō, -cellere, -culī, -culsus [**cellō**, *strike*], *strike down, smite; overthrow, overwhelm.*

percipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *take in thoroughly, understand; hear, listen, attend to; perceive, observe.*

percitus, -a, -um [p. p. of **percieō**, *excite*], *deeply moved, roused, excited, incensed.*

percontor, -ārī, -ātus, *question strictly, investigate thoroughly.*

percrēbrēscō, -crēbrēscere, -crēbruī, —, *become generally known, be bruited abroad.*

percutiō, -cutere, -cussī, -cussus [**quatiō**, *shake*], *strike through, pierce, stab; strike* (of lightning); *overwhelm; affect deeply.*

perditus, -a, -um [p. p. of **perdō**, *ruin*], *ruined, lost, abandoned, desperate; incorrigible, utterly worthless.*

perdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus, *ruin, destroy, waste, lose, throw away.*

perdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [**dūcō**, *lead*], *lead through; persuade.*

perduelliō, perduelliōnis [**perduellis**, *public enemy*], *f.*, *open rebellion; high treason.*

peregrīnor, -ārī, -ātus [**peregrīnus**, *foreign*], *travel abroad, travel about; take a trip.*

peregrīnus, -a, -um [**peregrē**, *abroad*], *foreign; outlandish, provincial.*

perendinus, -a, -um, *after to-morrow.*

perennis, perenne [**annus**, *year*], *perennial, never-failing, perpetual, unceasing.*

pereō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [**eō**, *go*], *pass away, disappear; perish, be lost, die.*

perfectiō, -ōnis [**perficiō**, *finish*], *f., a finishing, completing, perfecting.*

perfectus, -a, -um [p. p. of **perficiō**, *finish*], *finished, complete, perfect.*

perferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**ferō**, *carry*], *carry through, bring about; bring, report, announce; suffer, endure, put up with, tolerate, bear.*

perficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *do*], *do thoroughly, carry out, perform, accomplish, complete, finish; cause, effect, bring about, bring to pass.*

perfidia, -ae [**perfidus**, *faithless*], *f., faithlessness, perfidy, treachery.*

perfringō, -fringere, -frēgī, -frāctus [**frangō**, *break*], *break into pieces, shatter; break through, infringe upon, violate.*

perfruor, -fruī, -frūctus [**fruor**, *enjoy*], *enjoy thoroughly, be delighted.*

perfugium, -fugī [**fugiō**, *flee*], *n., shelter, asylum, place of refuge, refuge.*

perfungor, -fungī, -fūnctus [**fungor**, *fulfill*], *perform, go through with, finish; encounter; get rid of.*

pergō, pergere, perrēxī, perrēctus [**regō**, *keep straight*], *keep straight on, continue, proceed, hasten.*

pergrātus, -a, -um [**grātus**, *pleasing*], *very pleasing, extremely gratifying.*

perhibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitus [**habeō**, *hold*], *bring forward, adduce; assert.*

perhorrēscō, -horrēscere, -horruī, — [**horrēscō**, *bristle*], *tremble greatly, shudder at the thought of.*

periclitor, -ārī, -ātus [**periculum**, *danger*], *put in peril, imperil, endanger, jeopardize.*

periculōsē [**periculōsus**, *dangerous*], *adv., dangerously, at a hazard, at one's peril.*

periculōsus, -a, -um [**periculum**, *danger*], *full of danger, dangerous, hazardous.*

periculum, -ī [(ex)perior, *test*], *n., trial, test; risk, hazard, danger, peril; action at law, lawsuit, trial.*

perincommodē [**perincommodus**, *very troublesome*], *adv., very inconveniently.*

perinde, *adv., in the same manner;* **perinde atque**, *just as.*

perinīquus, -a, -um [**inīquus**, *unfair*], *very unfair, most unjust.*

perītus, -a, -um [(ex)perior, *test*], *experienced, trained in, familiar with, acquainted with; skillful, expert.*

periucundus, -a, -um [**iucundus**, *pleasant*], *very pleasant, exceedingly agreeable.*

permagnus, -a, -um [**magnus**, *great*], *very great, extremely large.*

permaneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -mānsūrus [**maneō**, *stay*], *remain, continue.*

permittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *intrust, hand over, commit; allow, grant, permit.*

permodestus, -a, -um [**modestus**, *modest*], *very modest, very retiring, humble.*

permoveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtus [**moveō**, *move*], *move deeply, rouse; incite, impel, prompt, influence.*

permultus, -a, -um [**multus**, *many*], *very many, numerous, in large*

numbers; very much; **permultum valēre,** *be very strong.*

permūtātiō, permūtātiōnis [**permūtō,** *change completely*], *f., change, alteration; exchange, interchange; bill of exchange.*

perniciēs, perniciēī [**nex,** *death*], *f., ruin, destruction, overthrow; curse, wretch.*

perniciōsus, -a, -um [**perniciēs,** *ruin*], *destructive, ruinous, pernicious, fatal.*

pernoctō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nox,** *night*], *pass the night.*

perpaucī, -ae, -a [**paucī,** *few*], *very few.*

perpendō, -pendere, -pendī, — [**pendō,** *weigh*], *weigh carefully, consider, estimate the value of, value.*

perpetior, -petī, -pessus [**patior,** *endure*], *bear patiently, stand, endure, submit to, suffer.*

perpetuus, -a, -um, *continuous, unbroken, uninterrupted, perpetual;* **in perpetuum,** *for all time, forever.*

perpoliō, -polīre, -polīvī, -polītus [**poliō,** *polish*], *polish thoroughly, perfect, finish.*

perpūrgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pūrgō,** *cleanse*], *cleanse thoroughly; clear up, explain.*

perrogātiō, perrogātiōnis [**perrogō,** *call the roll*], *f., enactment* (of a law).

perrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptus [**rumpō,** *break*], *break through, get across.*

persaepe [**saepe,** *often*], *adv., very often.*

persalūtātiō, persalūtātiōnis [**persalūtō,** *salute all round*], *f., a general salutation, a greeting on all sides.*

persapienter [**sapienter,** *wisely*], *adv., very wisely.*

perscrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō,** *write*], *write out in full; record, enter, copy.*

persequor, -sequī, -secūtus [**sequor,** *follow*], *follow up, pursue; prosecute, take vengeance upon, revenge, avenge.*

Persēs, -ae, *m.,* king of Macedonia.

persevērantia, -ae [**persevērō,** *persist*], *f., persistence, perseverance, steadfastness.*

persolvō, -solvere, -solvī, -solūtus [**solvō,** *loose*], *pay in full.*

persōna, -ae, *f., a mask; character, rôle; person, personage; high office.*

perspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectus [**speciō,** *look*], *see through; look into, inspect, view; perceive clearly, observe, discern; ascertain, learn.*

persuādeō, -suādēre, -suāsī, -suāsūrus [**suādeō,** *urge*], *persuade, convince.*

perterreō, -terrēre, -terruī, -territus [**terreō,** *frighten*], *frighten thoroughly, terrify.*

pertimēscō, -timēscere, -timuī, — [**timēscō,** *become frightened*], *become terribly frightened, be alarmed; fear greatly, dread.*

pertinācia, -ae [**pertināx,** *holding fast*], *f., persistence, obstinacy.*

pertināx, pertinācis [**pertineō,** *hold firm*], *holding fast; preserving, obstinate.*

pertineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, — [**teneō,** *hold*], *hold out to, extend; pertain to, have to do with, concern.*

perturbātiō, perturbātiōnis [**perturbō,** *disturb*], *f., disturbance, disorder; revolution.*

perturbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**turbō,** *confuse*], *disturb, confuse; agitate, embarrass, upset.*

pervādō, -vādere, -vāsī, -vāsus [**vādō,** *go*], *go through, penetrate, reach; extend, spread.*

pervagātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **per-**

vagor, *wander through*], ***widespread, well-known.***

pervagor, -ārī, -ātus [**vagor**, *wander*], *range through; spread out, extend; be known.*

perveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventus [**veniō**, *come*], *come through to, arrive at, attain to, reach.*

perversus, -a, -um [p. p. of **pervertō**, *overturn*], *perverse.*

pervertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus [**vertō**, *turn*], *turn around; overturn, destroy.*

pervolgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**volgus**, *people*], *make public, make known.*

pēs, pedis, *m.*, *foot.*

Pescennius, Pescennī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

pestis, pestis, *f.*, *pest, plague; ruin, destruction; curse, wretch.*

petītiō, petītiōnis [**petō**, *seek*], *f.*, *thrust, attack; a soliciting for office, canvass, candidacy.*

petītor, petītōris [**petō**, *seek*], *m.*, *candidate.*

petīturiō, petīturīre, —, — [**petō**, *seek*], *to be full of desire, be an eager candidate.*

petō, -ere, petīvī, petītus, *seek, make for, aim at, thrust at, lunge at, attack; canvass for, be a candidate for, try to obtain; go to, travel to.*

petulāns, petulantis, *forward, pert, impudent, saucy, petulant.*

petulantia, -ae, *f.*, *impudence, wantonness, petulance.*

Philhetaerus, -ī, *m.*, *Clodius Philhetaerus*, probably a freedman of Cicero.

Philippus, -ī, *m.*, *Philip*, Roman family name; also, *Philip*, King of Macedon.

Philogonus, -ī, *m.*, a freedman of *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother.

philosophus, -ī, *m.*, *philosopher.*

Phōcēus, -a, -um, *of Phocis, Phocian.*

Pīcēnum, -ī, *n.*, a district in the eastern part of Italy.

Pīcēnus, -a, -um [**Pīcēnum**, *Picenum*], *of Picenum, Picenian.*

piē [**pius**, *good*], *adv.*, *conscientiously, loyally.*

pietās, pietātis [**pius**, *good*], *f.*, *a sense of duty; conscientiousness, loyalty, love; devotion* (to gods, country, or parents).

pigritia, -ae [**piger**, *unwilling*], *f.*, *sloth, laziness, indolence; listlessness.*

pīla, -ae, *f.*, *ball, ball-playing, the game of ball.*

pīlum, -ī, *n.*, *heavy javelin, pike.*

pingō, pingere, pīnxī, pictus, *paint; represent, portray, depict.*

pinguis, pingue, *fat; clumsy, heavy, stupid, dull.*

Pīsō, Pīsōnis, *m.*, Roman family name. *Calpurnius Piso*, Cicero's son-in-law.

Pius, -ī, *m.*, the surname of *Q. Metellus.*

pl. = **plēbs.**

plācābilis, plācābile [**plācō**, *appease*], *easily pacified, placable.*

placeō, placēre, placuī, placitūrus, *please;* usually *impers.*, **placet**, *it pleases, it is one's pleasure, seems best;* pass., *be satisfied.*

plācō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *appease, soothe, quiet; conciliate, reconcile, win over.*

plāga, -ae, *f.*, *blow, thrust, wound.*

plānē [**plānus**, *even*], *adv.*, *evenly; plainly, simply, clearly.*

plēbēius, -a, -um [**plēbs**, *common people*], *of the common people, plebeian.*

plēbs, plēbis (or, **plēbēs**, **plēbēī** *or* **plēbī**), *f.*, *common people, plebeians, plebs.*

plēnus, -a, -um, *full.*

plērumque, *adv., for the most part, generally.*

plērusque, plēraque, plērumque, usually pl., *most, the greater part, most of, the majority.*

Plōtius, Plōtī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. *M. Plotius Silvanus.*

plurimus, sup. of **multus.**

plus, pluris, comp. of **multus.**

plūsculus, -a, -um [dimin. of **plus**, *more*], *somewhat more, a little more.*

pluvius, -a, -um [**pluvia**, *rain*], *rainy, rain-.*

poena, -ae [**puniō**, *punish*], *f., punishment, penalty, satisfaction.*

Poenī, -ōrum, *m.* pl., *the Carthaginians.*

poēta, -ae, *m., poet.*

poliō, polīre, polīvī, polītus, *smooth, polish; finish, adorn, embellish.*

polliceor, -licērī, -licitus, *promise, pledge, offer.*

polluō, -luere, -luī, -lūtus, *pollute, defile, contaminate, dishonor, desecrate.*

Polybius, Polybī, *m.*, a celebrated Greek historian.

pompa, -ae, *f., a solemn public procession, procession.*

Pompēius, Pompēī, *m., Pompey*, Roman gentile or clan name.

Pompōnia, -ae, *f.*, daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus and wife of Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother.

Pompōnius, Pompōnī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name. Esp. *T. Pomponius Atticus*, Cicero's friend and publisher.

Pomptīnus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

pondus, ponderis [**pendō**, *weigh*], *n., weight; load, burden.*

pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positus, *put, place, set, lay; regard, consider; spend, consume; risk, stake.*

pōns, pontis, *m., bridge.*

pontifex, pontificis, *m., priest;* with **maximus**, *Pontifex Maximus, high-priest.*

Pontus, -ī, *m.*, a district bordering on the Black Sea in the northeastern part of Asia Minor.

popa, -ae, *m., a priest's assistant* (who slew the victims); *slaughterer.*

popīna, -ae, *f., cookshop, low den, brothel.*

populāris, populāre [**populus**, *people*], *of the people, democratic; popular.*

populus, -ī, *m., people; nation; the entire body of citizens, the common folk.*

porrigō, -rigere, -rēxī, -rēctus [**regō**, *make straight*], *stretch out* (often the hand), *extend; hand, offer, present.*

porrō, *adv., forward, onward, farther on; henceforth, hereafter; furthermore, then, moreover.*

porta, -ae, *f., gate, entrance; passage, avenue.*

portentum, -ī [**portendō**, *presage*], *n., sign, omen, portent; monstrosity.*

portus, -ūs, *m., port, harbor, haven; asylum, retreat.*

poscō, poscere, poposcī, —, *ask earnestly, request, demand.*

positus, -a, -um [p. p. of **pōnō**, *place*], *placed, situated; dependent upon.*

possessiō, possessiōnis [**possideō**, *possess*], *f., a taking possession of; possession; property, estate.*

possideō, possidēre, possēdī, possessus [**sedeō**, *sit*], *possess, occupy, hold.*

possīdō, possīdere, possēdi, possessus, *take possession of, seize, occupy.*

possum, posse, potuī [**potis**, *able*, and **sum**, *be*], *be able, have power, can; avail, accomplish, have influence;* **plurimum posse**, *have great influence.*

post, *prep.* with acc., *after, behind,*

since; as *adv., afterwards, behind, back; next, then.*

posteā, *adv., afterwards.*

posteāquam, *conj., after.*

posteritās, posteritātis [**posterus,** *next*], *f., the future; future generations, posterity.*

posterus, -a, -um [**post,** *after*], *following, ensuing, next;* in **posterum,** *for the future;* pl. as noun = **posteritās.** Comp., **posterior;** sup., **postrēmus.**

posthāc, *adv., hereafter, after this, henceforth, in the future.*

postrēmō [**postrēmus,** *last*], *adv., at last, at length, finally.*

postrēmus, -a, -um [sup. of **posterus,** *next*], *last; lowest, basest.*

postrīdiē [**posterus,** *next,* and **diēs,** *day*], *adv., on the following day, the day after.*

postulātiō, postulātiōnis [**postulō,** *demand*], *f., demand, request.*

postulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *ask, demand, request.*

Postumus, -ī, *m.,* Roman name. *C. Postumus,* an obscure person.

potēns, potentis [**possum,** *be able*], *able, strong, powerful, mighty; m.,* pl. as noun, *influential citizens, political leaders.*

potentia, -ae [**potēns,** *able*], *f., power, might, force; influence, authority.*

potestās, potestātis [**potis,** *able*], *f., power, ability; possibility, opportunity; permission; office, magistracy.*

potior, potīrī, potītus [**potis,** *able*], *become master of, take possession of, obtain control of.*

potior [comp. of **potis,** *able*], *more capable, better.*

potissimum [sup. of **potius,** *rather*], *adv., especially, in particular, most of all, in preference to any one else, rather than to others.*

potius [comp. of **potis,** *able*], *adv., rather.*

potō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *drink.*

pōtus, -a, -um [p. p. of **potō,** *drink*], *drunk, intoxicated;* often used as the perf. pass. part. of **bibō,** *drink.*

pr. = **prīdiē.**

prae, *prep.* with abl., *before, in front of; compared with; for, on account of.*

praebeō, -bēre, -buī, -bitus [**prae,** *before,* and **habeō,** *hold*], *hold before, offer; afford, furnish;* with **sē,** *act, become.*

praeceps, praecipitis [**prae,** *before,* and **caput,** *head*], *headforemost, headlong; hasty, rash, inconsiderate; headstrong, obstinate.*

praeceptor, praeceptōris [**praecipiō,** *instruct*], *m., instructor, teacher, preceptor.*

praeceptum, -ī [**praecipiō,** *instruct*], *n., instruction, precepts; order, command.*

praecipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**prae,** *before,* and **capiō,** *take*], *seize in advance; instruct, admonish, advise.*

praecipuē [**praecipuus,** *especial*], *adv., chiefly, especially.*

praecipuus, -a, -um [**capiō,** *take*], *taken in preference; particular, especial.*

praeclārē [**praeclārus,** *very bright*], *adv., gloriously, worthily, nobly, honorably.*

praeclārus, -a, -um [**clārus,** *bright*], *very bright; splendid, fine, excellent, admirable; famous, renowned.*

praecō, praecōnis, *m., a herald.*

praecōnium, praecōnī [**praecō,** *herald*], *n., a heralding, proclaiming; celebration.*

praecurrō, -currere, -cucurrī (*or* currī), -cursūrus [**prae,** *before,* and **currō,**

run], *run before, hasten, surpass, excel.*

praeda, -ae [**prendō**, *seize*], *f., booty, spoils, plunder.*

praedātor, praedātōris [**praeda**, *booty*], *m., robber, brigand.*

praedicātiō, praedicātiōnis [**praedicō**, *proclaim*], *f., a proclaiming; publication, praising, praise, commendation.*

praedicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**dicō**, *proclaim*], *proclaim, announce, assert, declare; set forth, describe, celebrate, talk about.*

praedīcō, -dīcere, -dīxī, -dictus [**prae**, *before*, and **dīcō**, *say*], *say in advance; foretell, predict.*

praedītus, -a, -um [**prae**, *before*, and **dō**, *give*], *gifted; provided with, furnished with, endowed with.*

praedium, praedī, *n., farm, estate.*

praedō, praedōnis [**praedor**, *plunder*], *m., robber, brigand; pirate.*

praeeō, -īre, -iī, — [**prae**, *before*, and **eō**, *go*], *go before; dictate, prescribe.*

praefectūra, -ae [**praefectus**, *prefect*], *f., prefecture.*

praefectus, -ī [**praficiō**, *set over*], *m., prefect.*

praeferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**prae**, *before*, and **ferō**, *bear*], *bear before, hold forth; extend, hand to.*

praficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *make*], *set over, appoint to take charge of.*

praeiūdicium, praeiūdicī [**prae**, *before*, and **iūdicium**, *judgment*], *n., a prejudgment; precedent.*

praemittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**prae**, *before*, and **mittō**, *send*], *send before, dispatch.*

praemium, praemī, *n., reward, recompense, prize.*

Praeneste, Praenestis, *n.* and *f.*, a Latin town southeast of Rome.

praenūntia, -ae [**praenūntiō**, *foretell*], *f., omen, harbinger.*

praepōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**prae**, *before*, and **pōnō**, *place*], *place before; set over, intrust with, put in command of.*

praerogātīvus, -a, -um [**praerogō**, *ask first*], *voting first, of the first vote.*

praescrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**prae**, *before*, and **scrībō**, *write*], *write in advance; prescribe, enjoin upon, command, direct.*

praesēns, praesentis [**praesum**, *be present*], *present in person, at hand; propitious, favoring, divinely ordered.*

praesentia, -ae [**praesēns**, *present*], *f., presence.*

praesentiō, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsus [**prae**, *before*, and **sentiō**, *perceive*], *perceive in advance; foresee, anticipate.*

praesertim, *adv., especially, particularly, chiefly.*

praesideō, -sidēre, -sēdī, — [**prae**, *before*, and **sedeō**, *sit*], *preside over, have a care for, watch over, guard, defend.*

praesidium, praesidī [**praesideō**, *watch over*], *n. defense, protection, help, assistance, aid; garrison, convoy; an armed force; position, post.*

praestābilis, praestābile [**praestō**, *excel*], *prēēminent, distinguished, excellent.*

praestāns, praestantis [**praestō**, *excel*], *prēēminent, superior, distinguished.*

praestō [**prae**, *before*, and **stō**, *stand*], *adv., on hand, present;* with **esse**, *wait upon, serve, help.*

praestō, praestāre, praestitī, praestitus [**prae**, *before*, and **stō**, *stand*],

stand before, excel; undergo, answer for, be responsible for; preserve, maintain, keep; show, exhibit; vouch for, guarantee.

praestōlor, -ārī, -ātus, *wait for.*

praesum, -esse, -fuī, — [prae, *before*, and sum, *be*], *be before; have charge of, have command of.*

praeter, *prep.* with acc., *past, in front of, along, beyond; more than; in addition to, besides, except; contrary to, against.*

praetereā [praeter, *besides*, and eā, *this*], *adv., in addition, moreover; further, besides.*

praetereō, -īre, -iī, -itus [praeter, *past*, and eō, *go*], *omit, leave out; overlook, neglect.*

praeteritus, -a, -um [p. p. of praetereō, *go by*], *past, gone by.*

praetermittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [praeter, *past*, and mittō, *let go*], *let pass, omit, pass over; overlook, neglect.*

praeterquam, *adv., besides, beyond; except, other than.*

praetextātus, -a, -um [praetextus, *bordered*], *wearing the* toga praetexta; *young, in one's childhood.*

praetextus, -a, -um [p. p. of praetexō, *weave a border*], *bordered;* as noun [= toga praetexta], *f., a purple bordered toga* (worn by curule magistrates and children under seventeen).

praetor, praetōris, *m., praetor.* See Introduction, p. 31.

praetōrius, -a, -um [praetor, *praetor*], *of a praetor, praetorian;* cohors praetōria, *the bodyguard* (of the commander in chief).

praetūra, -ae [praetor, *praetor*], *f., the office of praetor, praetorship.*

prandeō, prandēre, prandī, prānsus [prandium, *breakfast*], *take breakfast, breakfast.*

prandium, prandī, *n., a late breakfast, luncheon* (taken about noon and consisting usually of bread and fish or cold meats).

prānsus, -a, -um [p. p. of prandeō, *take breakfast*], *filled with food.*

prāvitas, -ātis [prāvus, *crooked*], *f., crookedness; viciousness, depravity.*

prāvus, -a, -um, *crooked; perverse, vicious, bad, depraved.*

precātiō, precātiōnis [precor, *pray*], *f., praying, prayer.*

precēs, precum, *f.*, pl., *prayers, entreaties; intercession.*

precor, -ārī, -ātus [precēs, *prayers*], *pray to or for, entreat, beseech, beg of.*

premō, premere, pressī, pressus, *press, pursue closely, press hard; oppress, burden, overwhelm; crowd, throng.*

pretium, pretī, *n., a price, value; bribe;* operae pretium est, *it is worth while.*

prīdem, *adv., for some time;* iam prīdem, *now for a long time, long since.*

prīdiē [prior, *before*, and diēs, *day*], *adv., on the previous day, the day before.*

Prilius, Prilī, *m.*, a small lake in Etruria.

prīmārius, -a, -um [prīmus, *first*], *of the first rank, principal; distinguished.*

prīmō [prīmus, *first*], *adv., at first.*

prīmum [prīmus, *first*], *adv., at first, in the first place, first; for the first time;* ut prīmum, *as soon as;* quam prīmum, *as soon as possible.*

prīmus, -a, -um [sup. of prior, *former*], *first, foremost; beginning of, first part of;* in prīmīs, *especially.*

prīnceps, prīncipis [prīmus, *first*, and

capiō, *take*], *first in rank, foremost;* as noun, *head, founder;* pl., *the leaders, promoters.*

prīncipiō [abl. of **prīncipium**, *beginning*], *adv., in the first place, to begin with.*

prīncipium, prīncipī [**prīnceps**, *leader*], *n., beginning.*

prior, prius, comp., *former, previous;* sup., **prīmus**, *first.*

prīstinus, -a, -um [**prius**, *former*], *former, previous; early, primitive, time-honored.*

priusquam [**prius**, *former*], *conj., before.*

prīvātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **prīvō**, *deprive*], *private;* as noun, *private citizen.*

prīvō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**prīvus**, *private*], *deprive, strip, rob.*

prō, *interj., O! Ah! In the name of!*

pro, *prep.* with abl., *before, in front of; for, in behalf of; in return for, in recognition of; in accordance with, in view of; in place of, as a requital for; on account of, for the sake of; in the capacity of, as.*

proavus, -ī [**avus**, *grandfather*], *m., great grandfather.*

probitās, probitātis [**probus**, *good*], *f., goodness, worth, uprightness, honesty.*

probō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**probus**, *good*], *esteem good, approve; commend; prove, show, demonstrate.*

probus, -a, -um, *estimable, good, honorable, upright.*

procella, -ae, *f., blast, storm, tempest, tumult; commotion, violence.*

prōcessiō, prōcessiōnis [**prōcēdō**, *go forward*], *f., advance.*

prōcreō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**creō**, *bring forth*], *beget, give birth to.*

procul, *adv., at a distance, afar off, far away.*

prōcūrātiō, prōcūrātiōnis [**prōcūrō**, *take care of*], *f., a caring for, management, charge, oversight.*

prōcūrātor, prōcūrātōris [**prōcūrō**, *take care of*], *m., manager, overseer, agent, keeper.*

prōdeō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus [**eō**, *go*], *go or come forth or out; appear.*

prōdigium, prodigī, *n., a prophetic sign; prodigy, monster.*

prōdigus, -a, -um, *wasteful, lavish, prodigal;* as noun, *spendthrift.*

prōditiō, prōditiōnis [**prōdō**, *betray*], *f., treason.*

prōditor, prōditōris [**prōdō**, *betray*], *m., betrayer, traitor.*

prōdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus [**dō**, *put*], *put forth; report, record; hand down, transmit; proclaim, appoint; betray, abandon;* **memoriae prōditum**, *tradition.*

prōdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxi, -ductus [**dūcō**, *lead*], *lead forth, cause to appear, produce; bring forward, introduce.*

proelium, proelī, *n., battle, combat, fight.*

profectiō, prōfectiōnis [**proficīscor**, *set out*], *f., a setting out, start, departure.*

profecto [**pro**, *for*, and **factum**, *fact*], *adv., for a fact; really, actually, assuredly, certainly, by all means.*

prōferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**ferō**, *bring*], *bring forth, produce; discover, make known, reveal; extend, enlarge; defer, adjourn.*

professiō, professiōnis [**profiteor**, *declare publicly*], *f., declaration, avowal; registration; set of declarations.*

prōficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**faciō**, *make*], *make headway; accomplish, effect, achieve.*

proficīscor, -ficīscī, -fectus [**prōficiō**,

make headway], *set out, start, depart; go on, proceed; begin, commence.*

profiteor, -fitērī, -fessus [**fateor**, *confess*], *declare publicly, confess openly; announce, acknowledge, make declaration, register;* with **sē**, *offer one's self freely, volunteer.*

prōflīgātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **prōflīgō**, *strike down*], *stricken down, prostrate; abandoned, corrupt, profligate.*

prōflīgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**flīgō**, *strike*], *strike down, crush, ruin, destroy.*

profugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitūrus [**fugiō**, *flee*], *flee, run away; escape.*

profundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsus [**fundō**, *pour*], *pour forth; throw away, squander.*

profūsus, -a, -um [p. p. of **profundō** *pour forth*], *lavish, extravagant.*

prōgredior, -gredī, -gressus [**gradior**, *step*], *go forward, advance, proceed.*

prohibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitus [**habeō**, *have*], *hold back, check, hinder, prevent; preserve, protect, defend.*

prōiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *cast forth, throw out, expel; hurry, precipitate.*

proinde [**inde**, *from there*], *adv., hence, therefore, accordingly; just so, the same as;* **proinde quasi**, *just as if, forsooth.*

prōlābor, -lābī, -lāpsus [**lābor**, *glide*], *glide forward, slip, tumble; fall in ruins.*

prōlātō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ferō**, *carry*], *put off, postpone, defer.*

prōmereō, -merēre, -meruī, —, *deserve, merit; gain, win.*

prōmissum, -ī [**prōmittō**, *promise*], *n., a promise.*

prōmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *let go*], *let go forward; assure, promise.*

prōmptus, -a, -um [p. p. of **prōmō**, *bring out*], *set forth; visible, manifest; prepared, at hand, ready.*

prōmulgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *bring forward, propose, publicly announce.*

prōnūntiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [**nūntiō**, *report*], *report, set forth, make an announcement, proclaim.*

prooemium, -ī, *n., an introduction, preface.*

prōpāgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *extend, enlarge, increase; prolong, preserve.*

prope, *adv., nearly, almost.* Comp., **propius**; sup., **proximē**.

prope, *prep.*, with acc., *near.*

propēnsus, -a, -um [p. p. of **propendō**, *lean forward*], *inclined, prone; disposed.*

properātiō, properātiōnis [**properō**, *hasten*], *f., a hastening, haste; speediness.*

properātus, -ī [**properō**, *hasten*], *m., haste;* **properātō opus est**, *there is need of haste.*

properō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**properus**, *quick*], *make haste, hasten, be in haste.*

propinquus, -a, -um [**prope**, *near*], *near, nigh, kindred;* as noun, *relative, kinsman.*

propior, comp., *nearer;* sup., **proximus**, *nearest, next.*

propius, *adv.*, comp. of **prope**.

prōpōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positus [**pōnō**, *place*], *place before, set forth; propose, offer, proffer; point out, declare, adduce.*

proprius, -a, -um [**prope**, *near*], *one's own, special, peculiar, particular, characteristic; proper, appropriate.*

propter, *adv., near, near by, close at hand; prep.*, with acc., *on account of.*

proptereā [**propter**, *on account of*, and **eā**, *this*], *adv., on that account, therefore.*

prōpugnāculum, -ī [**prōpugnō**, *fight in defense*], *n.*, *defense, protection, bulwark.*

prōpugnātor, prōpugnātōris [**prōpugnō**, *fight in defense*], *m.*, *defender, champion.*

prōpulsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **prōpellō**, *drive before*], *drive back, repulse; ward off, repel.*

prōrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptus [**rumpō**, *burst*], *burst forth, break out.*

prōscrīptiō, prōscrīptiōnis [**prōscrībō**, *offer for sale*], *f.*, *public notice of sale, advertisement; proscription, confiscation, sale.*

prōsequor, -sequī, -secūtus [**sequor**, *follow*], *accompany, attend, escort.*

prōsperē [**spēs**, *hope*], *adv.*, *according to one's hope, as desired; successfully.*

prōspiciō, -spicere, -spēxī, -spectus [**speciō**, *look*], *look forward, look out for, care for, provide for.*

prōsternō, -sternere, -strāvī, -strātus [**sternō**, *strew*], *throw down; overthrow, destroy, ruin.*

prōstrātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **prōsternō**], *ruin, destroyed, overcome; prostrate.*

prōsum, prōdesse, prōfuī, prōfutūrus, *be useful, be of advantage, benefit, assist, profit, do good.*

prōtinus [**tenus**, *as far as*], *adv.*, *right on, forward.*

prōvidentia, -ae [**prōvideō**, *foresee*], *f.*, *foresight, forethought; precaution.*

prōvideō, -vidēre, -vīdī, -vīsus [**videō**, *see*], *see beforehand, foresee; discern, descry; take precautions, be careful; look after, provide against, avoid.*

prōvincia, -ae, *f.*, *province; sphere of activity, or of office.*

prōvinciālis, prōvinciāle [**prōvincia**, *province*], *of a province, provincial; official.*

prōvocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vocō**, *call*], *call forth; call out, challenge; excite, rouse, provoke.*

proximus, -a, -um [sup. of **propior**, *nearer*], *nearest, next; following, ensuing; last.*

prūdēns, prūdentis [for **prōvidēns**], *foreseeing, prudent, wise.*

prūdentia, -ae [**prūdēns**, *foreseeing*], *f.*, *foresight, wisdom.*

pruīna, -ae, *f.*, *frost.*

pūbēs, pūbis, *f.*, *full-grown men; people.*

pūblicānus, -a, -um [**pūblicus**, *public*], *of the public revenue; m.* as noun, *a farmer of the revenues, publican.*

pūblicātiō, pūblicātiōnis [**pūblicō**, *confiscate*], *f.*, *confiscation.*

pūblicē [**pūblicus**, *public*], *adv.*, *publicly, officially, for the state, in the name of the state.*

Pūblicius, Pūblicī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

pūblicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *confiscate.*

pūblicus, -a, -um [**pūbēs**, *people*], *of the state, public, common, official;* **rēs pūblica**, *the state, commonwealth, government, republic; common weal, public welfare, general good.*

Pūblius, Pūblī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

pudēns, pudentis [part. of **pudet**, *be ashamed*], *bashful, modest, sensitive; conscientious, honorable.*

pudet, pudēre, puduit *or* puditum est [**pudor**, *sense of shame*], *impers., it causes a feeling of shame;* **mē quid pudeat**, *why should I feel ashamed?*

pudīcitia, -ae [**pudīcus**, *modest*], *f.*, *modesty, chastity, virtue.*

pudor, pudōris, *m.*, *feeling of shame, sense of decency; self-respect, conscientiousness; honor, sense of honor; bashfulness.*

puella, -ae, *f.*, *girl.*

puer, puerī, *m.*, *boy;* **ex puerīs**, *from childhood.*

puerīlis, puerīle [**puer**, *boy*], *of childhood; childish, youthful.*

pueritia, -ae [**puer**, *boy*], *f.*, *boyhood, youth.*

pugna, -ae, *f.*, *fight, conflict, combat, contest, engagement.*

pugnāx, pugnācis [**pugnō**, *fight*], *ready to fight, combative, quarrelsome.*

pugnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *fight, contend.*

pulcher, pulchra, pulchrum, *beautiful; fine, noble, honorable, glorious.*

pulvīnar, pulvīnāris [**pulvīnus**, *cushion*], *n.*, *a couch of the gods; shrine, temple.*

pūnctum, -ī [**pungō**, *prick*], *n.*, *a point; a vote; instant, moment.*

Pūnicus, -a, -um [**Poenī**, *Carthaginians*], *of Carthage, Carthaginian, Punic.*

pūniō, pūnīre, pūnīvī, pūnītus [**poena**, *punishment*], *punish.*

pūnītor, pūnītōris [**pūniō**, *punish*], *m.*, *a punisher, avenger.*

pūrgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pūrus**, *clean*, and **agō**, *drive*], *make clean, cleanse, purge.*

purpura, -ae, *f.*, *purple; purple garment.*

purpurātus, -a, -um [**purpura**, *purple*], *clad in purple;* as noun, *a royal attendant.*

pūrus, -a, -um, *pure, clean, unstained; honest, unselfish.*

putō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**putus**, *clear*], *clear up, clean up; adjust; reckon, consider, regard; think, believe.*

Pyrrhus, -ī, *m.*, King of Epirus, and a bitter enemy of the Romans.

Q

Q. = **Quīntus, -ī**, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

quā [abl. of **quī**, *who*], *adv.*, *by which way, whither, where.*

quadrīduum, -ī [**quattuor**, *four*, and **diēs**, *days*], *n.*, *four days' time.*

quadrīgae, -ārum [**quadriiugus**, *four-horsed*], *f.*, pl., *four-horse team.*

quaerō, quaerere, quaesīvī, quaesītus, *seek, look for; ask, make inquiry, question, inquire into, investigate.*

quaesītor, quaesītōris [**quaerō**, *seek for*], *m.*, *investigator, prosecuting officer.*

quaesō, *defect. v.*, *beg, pray, beseech, entreat; please.*

quaestiō, quaestiōnis [**quaerō**, *inquire into*], *f.*, *inquiry, investigation; examination* (by torture); *cause, question; trial; court.*

quaestōr, quaestōris, *m.*, *quaestor.* See Introduction, p. 32.

quaestōrius, -a, -um [**quaestōr**, *quaestor*], *of a quaestor, quaestorian.*

quaestūra, -ae [**quaestōr**, *quaestor*], *f.*, *quaestorship.*

quaestus, -ūs [**quaerō**, *seek*], *m.*, *gain, acquisition; profit, advantage.*

quālis, quāle, *interrog. adj.*, *what kind of, of what sort, what;* **tālis . . . quālis**, *such . . . as.*

quam, *adv.*, *how; than, as;* with sup., *as . . . as possible.*

quamdiū, *adv.*, *as long as; how long.*

quamquam, *conj.*, *although, though, albeit; and yet, however.*

quamvīs [**vīs**, 2d sing. of **volō**, *wish*], *adv.*, *as you wish, however much;* as conj., *although.*

quandō, *adv.*, *at any time, ever; some day;* as conj., *when; since.*

quantus, -a, -um, *how great, how much, how significant, how impor-*

tant; **quantus . . . tantus,** *as great . . . as;* **quantum** [acc. as *adv.*], *how greatly;* **quantō opere,** *how greatly.*

quantuscumque, quantacumque, quantumcumque, *however great.*

quāpropter, *adv., wherefore, on what account.*

quārtus, -a, -um [**quattuor,** *four*], *fourth.*

quasi [**quam,** *as,* and **sī,** *if*], *conj., as if; about, as it were, so to speak.*

quassō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *shake violently, shatter.*

quattuor, *indecl. num., four.*

-que, *conj., enclit., and.*

queō, queīre, queīvī or queiī, queītus, *be able, can.*

querēla, -ae [**queror,** *complain*], *f., complaint; cause for complaint.*

querimōnia, -ae [**queror,** *complain*], *f., complaint.*

queror, querī, questus, *complain, complain of, find fault with.*

quī, quae, quod, *rel. pron., who, which, that, what;* also *interrog. adj., what, what kind of.*

quī [old abl. of **quis,** interrog.], *adv., how?*

quia, *conj., because.*

quīcumque, quaecumque, quodcumque, *indef. rel. pron., whoever, whichever, whatever.*

quīdam, quaedam, quiddam *and* [as *adj.*] quoddam, *indef. pron., a certain* (*person* or *thing*), *some one, something; some, certain, a.*

quidem, *adv., assuredly, indeed; certainly, at least;* **nē . . . quidem,** *not even.*

quiēs, quiētis, *f., rest, repose, quiet; surcease, respite.*

quiēscō, quiēscere, quiēvī, quiētus [**quiēs,** *quiet*], *be quiet, keep still; go to rest, retire.*

quiētus, -a, -um [p. p. of **quiēscō,** *be quiet*], *quiet, still; undisturbed, peaceful; unoccupied.*

quīn [**quī,** *how,* and **nē,** *not*], *conj., why not? but that, that; from; that not.*

quīnque, *indecl. num., five.*

Quīntus, Quīntī, *m.,* Roman praenomen or given name.

quīntus, -a, -um [**quīnque,** *five*], *fifth.*

quippe, *adv., of course, obviously, indeed, forsooth.*

Quirītēs, Quirītium, *m.,* pl., *citizens of Rome, fellow-citizens.*

quis, quid, *interrog. pron., who? which? what?*

quis or **quī,** quae *or* qua, quid *or* quod, *indef. pron., any one, anybody; anything; any* (generally after **sī, nisi, nē,** or **num**).

quisnam or **quīnam,** quaenam, quidnam *or* quodnam, *interrog. pron., who, pray? who in the world? what then?*

quispiam, quaepiam, quidpiam *or* quodpiam, *indef. pron., any one, anything, any; some one, something, some.*

quisquam, quaequam, quicquam *or* quodquam, *indef. pron., any one, anything.*

quisque, quaeque, quidque *or* (as *adj.*) quodque, *indef. pron., each, every.*

quisquis, quicquid *or* quidquid, *rel. pron., whoever, whatever; all who, every one who.*

quīvīs, quaevīs, quidvīs *and* (as *adj.*) quodvīs [**vīs,** 2d sing. of **volō,** *wish*], *indef. pron., any one you please, whomsoever you wish; any whatever.*

quō, *adv., to what place? whither? where?* Often strengthened by **ūsque,** *how long? how far?*

quō, *conj.* (usually in clauses contain-

ing a comparative), *that, in order that.*

quoad, *conj.*, *as far as, as long as, until.*

quōcumque, *adv.*, *to whatever place, whithersoever.*

quod, *conj.*, *because, since; in that, that; as for the fact that, as far as;* **quod sī**, *but if.*

quom, archaic form for cum, *when.*

quōminus, *conj.*, *by which the less, that . . . not, from* (with verbal in *-ing*).

quondam, *adv.*, *once, formerly.*

quoniam, *conj.*, *since, inasmuch as, seeing that.*

quoque, *adv.*, *also, too.*

quot, *indecl. adj.*, *how many?*

quotannīs, *adv.*, *yearly, every year.*

quotiēns [**quot**, *how many?*], *adv. how often?*

quotiēnscumque, *adv.*, *however often, as often as.*

quotus, -a, -um, *which* (in order)*? what proportion of?*

R

raeda, **-ae**, *f.*, *carriage*, four-wheeled and drawn by two or four horses.

raedārius, raedārī [**raeda**, *carriage*], *m.*, *driver* (of a raeda), *coachman.*

rapīna, -ae [**rapiō**, *seize*], *f.*, *an act of robbery*; usually pl., *robbery, rapine, pillage, plunder.*

rapiō, rapere, rapuī, raptus, *seize, snatch; hurry away, drag off; hurry, hurry along.*

ratiō, ratiōnis [**reor**, *reckon*], *f.*, *a reckoning; any business transaction; negotiation, business, interest; respect, regard, consideration; way, manner, method, system, character; judgment, reasoning; theory, theoretical knowledge, rational acquaintance; sphere, range; view, way of thinking; meaning, purport; motive; the state.*

ratiōcinor, -ārī, -ātus [**ratiō**, *a reckoning*], *reckon; argue, reason.*

rea, -ae, *f.*, *defendant.*

Reatīnus, -a, -um,, *of Reate*, a very ancient town of the Sabines.

recēns, recentis, *fresh, new, recent.*

recēnsiō, recēnsiōnis [**recēnseō**, *count*], *f.*, *an enumeration; the census.*

receptor, receptōris [**recipiō**, *receive*], *m.*, *a receiver, harborer.*

recessus, -ūs [**recēdō**, *go back*], *m.*, *a retreat, recess.*

reciperō, -āre, -ārī, -ātus, *get back, recover, regain.*

recipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *take back; receive, accept, take upon, welcome; promise;* with **sē**, *betake one's self, go away, withdraw.*

recitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *read aloud, read out, read; recite.*

reclāmō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**clāmō**, *shout*], *cry out against; protest, oppose, object.*

recōgnōscō, -cōgnōscere, -cōgnōvī, -cōgnitus [**cōgnōscō**, *learn*], *know again, recognize, recollect; examine, review.*

recolligō, -colligere, -collēgī, -collēctus [**colligō**, *gather*], *gather again, gather up, collect.*

recolō, -colere, -coluī, -cultus [**colō**, *cultivate*], *cultivate again; renew, revive, review; delve into.*

reconciliātiō, reconciliātiōnis [**reconciliō**, *reëstablish*], *f.*, *a reëstablishing; restoration, reëstablishment.*

reconciliō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *reëstablish, renew.*

recondō, -condere, -condidī, -conditus, *hide, conceal.*

recordātiō, recordātiōnis [**recordor**,

recall], *f., a recalling to mind, recollection, remembrance.*

recordor, -ārī, -ātus [**cor**, *heart, mind*], *recall to mind, recollect, remember.*

recreō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**creō**, *create*], *revive, restore, renew;* with **sē**, *recover.*

recrūdēscō, -crūdēscere, -crūduī [**crūdus**, *bloody*], *become raw again, open up afresh.*

rēctā [**rēctus**, *straight*], *adv., straightway, directly.*

rēctē [**rēctus**, *straight*], *adv., rightly, correctly, properly; appropriately, with reason, fittingly.*

rēctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **regō**, *make straight*], *straight; fitting, proper; upright, just.*

recurrō, -currere, -currī, — [**currō**, *run*], *run back, hasten back.*

recūsātiō, recūsātiōnis [**recūsō**, *refuse*], *f., a refusal; objection, protest.*

recūsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *refuse, decline, object to, refuse to do; protest.*

redactus, see **redigō**.

redarguō, redarguere, redarguī, — [**re**(**d**), *against*, and **arguō**, *argue*], *disprove.*

reddō, reddere, reddidī, redditus [**re**(**d**), *back*, and **dō**, *give*], *give back, return, restore.*

redeō, redīre, redīī, reditūrus [**eō**, *go*], *go back, return; recur.*

redigō, redigere, redēgī, redāctus, [**re**(**d**), *back*, and **agō**, *drive*], *drive back; bring down, reduce.*

redimiō, redimīre, redimiī, redimītus, *encircle, wreathe, crown.*

redimō, redimere, redēmī, redēmptus [**re**(**d**), *back*, and **emō**, *buy*], *buy back; buy off, release, save; ransom, regain; take under contract, contract for, farm.*

reditus, -ūs [**redeō**, *return*], *m., a return.*

redundō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**undō**, *surge*], *overflow, be filled* (to overflowing), *be choked, reek; abound in.*

redux, reducis [**redūcō**, *lead back*], *brought back, returned, restored.*

refellō, -fellere, -fellī, — [**fallō**, *deceive*], *show to be false, refute.*

referō, referre, rettulī, relātus [**ferō**, *carry*], *carry back, bring back; pay back, repay, requite; refer, submit, lay before.*

rēfert, rēferre, rētulit [**rēs**, *thing*, and **ferō**, *bear*], *impers., it is of advantage, it is of importance, it concerns;* with **parvī**, *it is of little consequence.*

refertus, -a, -um [p. p. of **referciō**, *stuff*], *stuffed, filled; full, replete.*

reficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus [**re**, *again*, and **faciō**, *make*], *make* (over) *again, repair, renew, revive, restore, refresh.*

reformīdō, -āre, -ātus [**formīdō**, *fear*], *fear greatly, dread.*

refrāgor, -ārī, -ātus, *oppose, thwart.*

refringō, -fringere, -frēgī, -frāctus [**frangō**, *break*], *break open.*

refūtō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *check, drive back; refute, disprove.*

rēgālis, rēgāle [**rēx**, *king*], *of a king, royal, regal.*

rēgia, -ae [**rēx**, *king*], *f., a palace;* as prop. noun, the **Rēgia**, also called the Castle of Numa. It was situated on the Via Sacra, and served as headquarters for the pontifical college. See Introduction, p. 43.

rēgiē [**rēgius**, *royal*], *adv., despotically, tyrannically.*

Rēgīnī, -ōrum [**Rēgium**, *Regium*], *m., the Regians, people of Regium* (situated in southern Italy, now Reggio).

regiō, regiōnis [**regō**, *make straight*], *f., path, line, boundary, limitation;*

region, district, location; territory, domain, possessions.

rēgius, -a, -um [**rēx**, *king*], *of a king; royal, regal.*

rēgnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**rēgnum**, *kingdom*], *reign, be on the throne, play the part of king, hold sway.*

rēgnum, -ī [**regō**, *rule*], *n., kingdom, dominion, sovereignty, supreme power, sway.*

regō, regere, rēxī, rēctus, *keep straight; guide, manage, govern; set right, correct.*

rēiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *throw back, cast aside, repel, reject.*

relaxō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**laxō**, *unloose*], *relax, ease, relieve.*

relevō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *lift up; lighten, ease, mitigate.*

religiō, religiōnis [**ligō**, *bind*], *f., moral obligation, moral* or *religious scruple, reverence, conscientiousness;* pl., *sanctuaries.*

religiōsus, -a, -um [**religiō**, *reverence*], *sacred, holy.*

relinquō, -linquere, -līquī, -lictus [**linquō**, *leave*], *leave behind, quit, abandon, leave* (at death), *bequeath; leave unmentioned, pass by unnoticed, disregard, omit.*

reliquus, -a, -um, *remaining, the rest of;* **reliquum est**, *it remains;* **quod reliquum est**, *as to the future;* **nihil reliquī**, *nothing left;* **reliquum facere**, *leave.*

remaneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -mānsūrus [**re**, *back*, and **maneō**, *stay*], *stay behind, remain; last, endure.*

remānsiō, remānsiōnis [**remaneō**, *remain*], *f., a remaining.*

remedium, remedī [**medior**, *cure*] *n., cure, remedy; medicine; antidote.*

rēmex, rēmigis [**rēmus**, *oar*, and **agō**, *drive*], *m., oarsman, rower.*

reminīscor, -minīscī, — [**meminī**, *remember*], *recall to mind, remember.*

remissiō, remissiōnis [**remittō**, *let go back*], *f., an easing up, diminishing, reducing.*

remissus, -a, -um [p. p. of **remittō**, *let go back*], *slack, lax, remiss, indifferent.*

remittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [**mittō**, *send*], *send back, return, restore; pardon, release.*

remoror, -ārī, -ātus [**moror**, *delay*], *hold back, delay; defer.*

remōtus, -a, -um [p. p. of **removeō**, *remove*], *removed, remote; free.*

removeō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtus [**moveō**, *move*], *move back; remove, put out of the way, do away with.*

renovō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**novō**, *renew*], *renew, restore; revive.*

renūntiātiō, renūntiātiōnis [**renūntiō**, *report*], *f., report, notice, proclamation, announcement.*

renūntiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**nūntiō**, *report*], *bring back word, report; proclaim as chosen, declare elected, announce the election of.*

repellō, repellere, reppulī, repulsus [**pellō**, *drive*], *drive back, repel; keep from, ward off, repulse.*

repente [abl. of **repēns**, *sudden*], *adv., suddenly, unexpectedly.*

repentīnus, -a, -um [**repēns**, *sudden*], *adv., sudden, unexpected.*

reperiō, reperīre, repperī, repertus, *find, discover, ascertain.*

repetō, -petere, -petīvī, -petītus [**petō**, *seek*], *seek again, demand back, claim; demand restitution; go back* (in memory).

repleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētus [**pleō**, *fill*], *fill again; make up for, replace.*

repōnō, repōnere, reposuī, repositus [**pōnō**, *put*], *put back.*

reportō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**portō**, *carry*], *bring back, obtain, secure; carry off.*

reprehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehēnsus [**prehendō**, *seize*], *hold back; blame, censure, find fault with.*

reprehēnsiō, reprehēnsiōnis [**reprehendō**, *hold back*], *f., blame, censure, reproof.*

reprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus [**premō**, *press*], *press back, repress, check, curb.*

repudiātiō, repudiātiōnis [**repudiō**, *reject*], *f., a rejecting; disdaining; contempt.*

repudiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**repudium**, *divorce*], *reject, refuse, spurn, scorn, disdain.*

repugnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**pugnō**, *fight*], *fight against, oppose.*

repulsa, -ae [**repellō**, *drive back*], *f., rejection; refusal; defeat.*

requiēs, requiētis [**quiēs**, *quiet*], *f., rest, repose; relaxation, recreation.*

requīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīvī, -quīsītus [**quaerō**, *seek*], *seek for, seek; ask, inquire, call for, demand; feel the lack of, look in vain for, miss; pass, become scarce.*

rēs, reī, *f., a thing, object, matter, affair, event, fact; circumstance, condition, consideration; property, cash; lawsuit, cause, case;* **rēs gestae**, *exploits;* **rēs pūblica**, *the state, government, commonwealth;* **rērum potīrī**, *obtain sovereignty, get control of the government.*

rescindō, -scindere, -scidī, -scissus [**scindō**, *cut*], *cut off; annul, abolish, repeal, rescind.*

rescrībō, -scrībere, -scrīpsī, -scrīptus [**scrībō**, *write*], *write back, reply.*

resecō, -secāre, -secuī, -sectum [**secō**, *cut*], *cut back, cut away.*

reservō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**servō**, *keep*], *keep back, reserve; preserve, save.*

resideō, -sidēre, -sēdī, — [**sedeō**, *sit*], *sit back; remain behind, remain; be left, linger, rest; reside.*

resīgnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sīgnō**, *seal*], *unseal; cancel, destroy.*

resistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [**sistō**, *cause to stand*], *make a stand, resist, withstand; stay behind, remain; survive.*

respiciō, -spicere, -spēxī, -spectus [**speciō**, *look*], *look back; contemplate, review.*

respīrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**spīrō**, *breathe*], *breathe again.*

respondeō, -spondēre, -spondī, -spōnsus [**spondeō**, *vow*], *reply, make a reply, answer, respond; equal, be a match for; give an opinion, give legal advice, advise, decide.*

respōnsum, -ī [**respondeō**, *reply*], *n., answer, reply, response.*

rēs pūblica, see **rēs**.

respuō, -spuere, -spuī, — [**spuō**, *spit*], *spit back; reject, disapprove, spurn.*

restinguō, -stinguere, -stīnxī, -stīnctus [**stinguō**, *put out*], *put out, quench, extinguish.*

restituō, -stituere, -stituī, -stitūtus [**statuō**, *set up*], *set up again, replace, restore, recall; reëstablish, reënact; afford.*

restitūtor, restitūtōris [**restituō**, *set up again*], *m., a restorer.*

restō, -stāre, -stitī [**stō**, *stand*], *be left, remain.*

retardō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *keep back, hinder, delay, detain; retard, check.*

reticeō, -ticēre, -ticuī, — [**taceō**, *be silent*], *remain silent, keep silent; say nothing.*

retineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentus [**teneō**, *hold*], *hold back, retain; preserve, maintain, uphold, keep.*

retorqueō, -torquēre, -torsī, -tortus

[torqueō, *twist*], *twist back* (the head), *turn back.*

retractō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of retrahō, *draw back*], *reconsider.*

retundō, retundere, rettudī, retūsus [tundō, *beat*], *beat back; blunt, dull; thrust back.*

reus, reī, *m.*, *the accused, the defendant.*

revellō, -vellere, -vellī, -volsus [vellō, *pluck*], *pluck away, tear down.*

revertor, -vertī, -versūrus [vertō, *turn*], *turn back, return; revert, recur.*

revincō, -vincere, -vīcī, -victus [vincō, *conquer*], *conquer; convict; refute, disprove.*

revīviscō, -vīviscere, -vīvīxī, — [vīvō, *live*], *come to life again, rise from the dead.*

revocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [vocō, *call*], *call back, recall, encore; summon in turn.*

rēx, rēgis [regō, *rule*], *m.*, *king.*

Rhodius, -a, -um [Rhodus, *Rhodes*], *of Rhodes, Rhodian.*

rīdeō, rīdēre, rīsī, rīsus, *laugh.*

rīdiculus, -a, -um [rīdeō, *laugh*], *laughable, absurd, ridiculous, preposterous.*

rīpa, -ae, *f.*, *bank* (of a stream).

rōbur, rōboris, *n.*, *oak; enduring strength, force, vigor.*

rōbustus, -a, -um [rōbur, *oak*], *firm, solid, strong, vigorous, hardy.*

rogātiō, rogātiōnis [rogō, *ask*], *f.*, *question; resolution, bill, law.*

rogātū [rogō, *ask*], *m.*, abl. only, *at the request.*

rogō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *ask; propose, introduce, enact.*

Rōma, -ae, *f.*, *Rome.*

Rōmānus, -a, -um [Rōma, *Rome*], *of Rome, Roman; m.*, pl., as noun, *the Romans, the Roman people.*

Rōmulus, -ī, *m.*, according to tradition, the founder of Rome.

Rōscius, Rōscī, *m.*, Roman family name.

rōstrum, -ī, *n.*, *beak* (of a ship); pl., *the Rostra*, a platform for speakers in the Forum.

Rudīnus, -a, -um, *of Rudiae*, a town in Calabria.

rudis, *rude, rough, raw; ignorant, unrefined.*

ruīna, -ae [ruō, *fall*], *f.*, *fall, collapse; downfall, destruction, ruin.*

rūmor, rumōris, *m.*, *report, rumor, common talk, hearsay.*

rumpō, rumpere, rūpī, ruptum, *break, burst.*

ruō, ruere, ruī, —, *fall; collapse.*

rūrsus [for reversus, *turned back*], *adv., again, on the other hand.*

rūsticor, -ārī, -ātus [rūs, *country*], *sojourn in the country.*

rūsticus, -a, -um [rūs, *country*], *uncouth, rustic, coarse, rough.*

S

s. = **salūs**, *greetings.*

sacer, sacra, sacrum, *sacred; n.*, pl., as noun, *sacred rights, worship.*

sacrāmentum, -ī [sacrō, *set apart as sacred*], *n.*, a sum of money deposited by the parties to a lawsuit and forfeited by the loser; *a guaranty, security; lawsuit.*

sacrārium, sacrārī [sacer, *sacred*], *n.*, *a shrine, sanctuary.*

sacrificium, sacrificī [sacrificus, *sacrificial*], *n.*, *a sacrifice.*

sacrōsānctus, -a, -um, *consecrated with religious ceremonies; sacred, inviolable.*

saeculum, -ī, *n.*, *generation, age.*

saepe, *adv.*, *often*; comp., **saepius**, *too often, repeatedly.*

saepiō, saepīre, saepsī, saeptus

[**saepēs**, *hedge*], *hedge in, surround, inclose; guard, protect.*

saepta, -ōrum, *n.*, pl., *an inclosure for voting; voting booths, polls.*

sagāx, sagācis [**sagiō**, *perceive*], *of quick perception; keen, sharp, acute, sagacious.*

sal. = **salūs**, *greetings.*

Salamīniī, -ōrum, *m.*, pl., *the people of Salamis*, a town on the island of Cyprus.

Sallustius, Sallustī, *m.*, Roman name.

saltātiō, saltātiōnis [**saltō**, *dance*], *f.*, *a dancing; dance.*

saltātor, saltātōris [**saltō**, *dance*], *m.*, *a dancer.*

saltem, *adv.*, *at least, at all events.*

saltō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **saliō**, *leap*], *dance.*

saltus, -ūs, *m.*, *forest, glade; pasture.*

salūbritās, salūbritātis [**salūbris**, *healthful*], *f.*, *healthfulness; comfort; means of safety.*

salūs, salūtis [cf. **salvus**, *safe, well*], *f.*, *soundness; health; welfare, prosperity, safety; deliverance, preservation;* in letters (abbrev. **sal.**), *greetings.*

salūtāris, salūtāre [**salūs**, *soundness*], *healthful, wholesome, salutary; serviceable, useful.*

salūtō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**salūs**, *greetings*], *greet, salute, hail; call upon, pay respects to, visit.*

salvus, -a, -um [cf. **salūs**, *safety*], *safe, secure, unharmed, uninjured; sound, in good condition, well; solvent.*

Samius, -a, -um, *of Samos.*

Samos or **Samus**, -ī, *f.*, the name of an island and its chief city, in the Aegean Sea.

sanciō, sancīre, sānxī, sānctus [**sacer**, *sacred*], *make sacred, ratify.*

sānctē [**sānctus**, *holy*], *adv.*, *conscientiously, scrupulously.*

sānctitās, sānctitātis [**sānctus**, *holy*], *f.*, *sacredness, sanctity.*

sānctus, -a, -um [p. p. of **sanciō**, *make sacred*], *sacred, holy, hallowed, revered; just, conscientious, upright.*

sānē [**sānus**, *sound*], *adv.*, *reasonably; indeed, truly, certainly; assuredly, without doubt; as far as I am concerned, for aught I care; if you please.*

sanguis, sanguinis, *m.*, *blood; vigor, strength, life; bloodshed, murder.*

sanitās, sanitātis [**sānus**, *sound*], *f.*, *soundness; good judgment.*

sānō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sānus**, *sound*], *make sound, cure; heal, restore, repair, remedy.*

sānus, -a, -um, *sound, rational, sober, sane.*

sapiēns, sapientis [**sapiō**, *taste*], *discriminating, discreet, wise, sensible; m.* as noun, *a wise man, a philosopher.*

sapienter [**sapiēns**, *wise*], *adv.*, *discreetly, sensibly, wisely.*

sapientia, -ae [**sapiēns**, *wise*], *f.*, *good taste, discrimination, discretion, discernment; wisdom, prudence, good judgment.*

sapiō, sapere, sapīvī, —, *taste, have taste* or *discrimination; be sensible, be wise, discern.*

Sardinia, -ae, *f.*, a large island in the Mediterranean Sea.

satelles, satellitis, *m.* and *f.*, *an attendant; accomplice, tool, agent, henchman.*

satietās, satietātis [**satis**, *enough*], *f.*, *a sufficiency; satiety, loathing, disgust; weariness.*

satiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**satis**, *enough*], *satisfy; glut, satiate, feast.*

satis, *adv.*, *enough, sufficiently, ade-*

quately; quite, rather, pretty; as noun, indecl., *enough.*

satisfaciō, satisfacere, satisfēcī, satisfactus [**satis,** *enough,* and **faciō,** *do*], *give satisfaction, satisfy, do enough for.*

Sāturnālia, Sāturnāliōrum, *n.* pl., *the Saturnalia* (a festival celebrated in December).

Sāturnīnus, -ī, *m.,* Roman family name.

saucius, -a, -um, *wounded.*

saxum, -ī, *n., rock, crag.*

scaena, -ae, *f., stage;* also used to refer to the theater itself.

scaenicus, -a, -um [**scaena,** *stage*], *of the stage, theatrical.*

scālae, -ārum, *f.* pl., *staircase, stairs.*

Scaurus, -ī, *m.,* Roman name.

scelerātē [**scelerātus,** *criminal*], *adv., criminally, wickedly, nefariously, impiously.*

scelerātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **scelerō,** *pollute*], *polluted, defiled; criminal, wicked, infamous, accursed.*

scelus, sceleris, *n., a wicked deed, heinous act; crime, sin, wickedness, enormity, villainy.*

sciēns, scientis [**sciō,** *know*], *knowing, acquainted with, aware of; versed, skilled, expert.*

scientia, -ae [**sciēns,** *knowing*], *f., knowledge, skill, acquaintance, familiarity.*

scīlicet [**scīre,** *to know,* and **licet,** *it is permitted*], *adv., you may know; forsooth, indeed, to be sure; doubtless.*

sciō, scīre, scīvī, scītus, *know, understand; perceive, be aware of, have knowledge of.*

Scīpiō, Scīpiōnis, *m.,* Roman family name.

scortum, -ī, *n., harlot, prostitute.*

scr. = **scrīptum,** *written.*

scrība, -ae [**scrībō,** *write*], *m., clerk, secretary, scribe.*

scrībō, scribere, scrīpsī, scrīptus, *write; compose; draw up papers, draught, formulate, execute; write of, describe, commemorate.*

scrīptor, scrīptōris [**scrībō,** *write*], *m., writer, author; recorder, historian.*

scrīptum, -ī [**scrībō,** *write*], *n., any written composition; treatise, formula, document.*

scrīptūra, -ae [**scrībō,** *write*], *f., a writing; pasture tax* (so called from the registering of cattle in pastures).

scurra, -ae, *m., an idler, loafer; clown.*

scūtum, -ī, *n., shield* (of wood covered with hide).

sēcēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus [**cēdō,** *go*], *go apart, separate.*

sēcernō, -cernere, -crēvī, -crētus [**cernō,** *part*], *put apart, part, separate, sever; distinguish; exclude, reject.*

sēcessiō, sēcessiōnis [**sēcēdō,** *go apart*], *f., a withdrawal; secession, insurrection.*

sectātor, sectātōris [for **secutātor,** cf. **sequor,** *follow*], *m., a follower, attendant;* pl., *candidates'* (for office) *train, henchmen,* "*ward-heelers.*"

sector, sectōris [**secō,** *cut*], *m., one who cuts, cutthroat; a purchaser* (of confiscated property).

secundus, -a, -um [**sequor,** *follow*], *following, next; second; favorable, propitious, prosperous;* **rēs secundae,** *prosperity.*

secūris, secūris [**secō,** *cut*], *f., ax* (of the fasces carried by lictors); **duodecim secūres** = *two praetors* (as each praetor was attended by six lictors).

sēcūrus, -a, -um [**cūra,** *care*], *free*

from care, careless, quiet, unconcerned, untroubled.

secus, *adv., otherwise, not so, differently;* **nōn secus ac**, *just as if;* **nōn multō secus ac**, *about.*

sed, *conj., but, yet; on the other hand.*

sedeō, sedēre, sēdī, sessūrus, *sit, keep one's seat.*

sēdēs, sēdis [**sedeō**, *sit*], *f., a seat; abode, abiding place, dwelling place, habitation; residence, home.*

sēditiō, sēditiōnis [**sed**, *apart*, and **eō**, *go*], *f., a going apart; dissention, civil discord, insurrection, riot, sedition; mutiny.*

sēditiōsē [**sēditiōsus**, *seditious*], *adv., seditiously, with evil intent.*

sēditiōsus, -a, -um [**sēditiō**, *dissention*], *full of discord, seditious.*

sēdō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *settle, put an end to, stop; quiet, allay.*

sēductiō, sēductiōnis [**sēdūcō**, *lead apart*], *f., a leading aside; suborning.*

sēdulitās, sēdulitātis [**sēdulus**, *assiduous*], *f., assiduity, persistency, zeal, officiousness.*

seges, segetis, *f., a cornfield; field, ground, soil.*

sēgniter [**sēgnis**, *slow*], *adv., slowly;* **nihilō sēgnius**, *with equal spirit.*

sēgregō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**grex**, *flock*], *separate, remove, exclude.*

sēiungō, sēiungere, sēiūnxī, sēiūnctus [**iungō**, *join*], *disjoin; separate, disconnect, dissociate.*

sella, -ae [for **sedla**, cf. **sedeō**, *sit*], *f., seat, chair; workbench.*

semel, *adv., once.*

sēmen, sēminis [**serō**, *sow*], *n.; seed.*

sēminārium, sēminārī, [**sēmen**, *seed*], *n., nursery, school, seminary; hotbed.*

sēmiūstilātus, -a, -um [**sēmi**, *half*, and **ūrō**, *burn*], *half-burned.*

semper, *adv., always, at all times, ever.*

sempiternus, -a, -um [**semper**, *always*], *everlasting, perpetual, eternal; imperishable.*

Semprōnius, Semprōnī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

senātor, senātōris [**senex**, *old man*], *m., senator.*

senātōrius, -a, -um [**senātor**, *senator*], *of a senator, senatorial.*

senātus, -ūs [**senex**, *old man*], *m., senate.* See Introduction, p. 32.

senectūs, senectūtis [**senex**, *old man*], *f., old age.*

senex, senis, *m., old man.*

senium, senī [**senex**, *old man*], *n., old age, senility; trouble, grief; affliction.*

sēnsus, -ūs [**sentiō**, *feel*], *m., feeling, sensation, consciousness; sentiment, inclination.*

sententia, -ae [**sentiō**, *feel*], *f., a way of thinking, thought, opinion; purpose, will, desire; decision, judgment, sentence, vote; resolution, motion, proposal; sense, meaning, import, purport.*

sentīna, -ae, *f., bilge water; offscourings, dregs, refuse.*

sentiō, sentīre, sēnsī, sēnsus, *discern through the senses, perceive, see, feel, be sensible of; experience, suffer, undergo; observe, understand, think, judge, imagine, suppose, believe; hold views; be full of sentiment, cherish sentiments.*

sēparō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**se-**, *apart*, and **parō**, *get*], *separate, part.*

sepeliō, sepelīre, sepelīvī, sepultus, *bury; bury in ruins, overthrow, destroy.*

sēpōnō, sēpōnere, sēposuī, sēpositus [**se-**, *apart*, and **pōnō**, *set*], *set apart.*

septem, *indecl. num., seven.*

sepulchrum, -ī [**sepeliō**, *bury*], *n., a burial place; grave, tomb, sepulcher.*

sequor, sequī, secūtus, *follow, pursue, attend; take as a guide, comply with, accede to, adopt; strive after, aim at, seek.*

sērius, comp. of **sērō**, *late.*

sermō, sermōnis [**serō**, *weave*], *m., discourse, conversation, conference; talk, speech, language; report, rumor.*

sērō [**sērus**, *late*], *adv., late;* comp. **sērius**, *too late, rather late.*

serpō, serpere, serpsī, —, *creep, crawl; extend gradually, spread.*

Sertōriānus, -a, -um, *of Sertorius, Sertorian.*

sertum, -ī [**serō**, *weave*], *n., wreath, garland.*

sērus, -a, -um, *late, deferred.*

servīlis, servīle [**servus**, *slave*], *of a slave, with the slaves, servile.*

Servīlius, Servīlī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

serviō, servīre, servīvī *or* serviī, servītus [**servus**, *slave*], *be a slave, serve; comply with, gratify; subserve, be subservient to, have regard for, look after; yield to, obey; labor for, aim at, be devoted to.*

servitium, servitī [**servus**, *slave*], *n., slavery, servitude;* pl., *slaves, bands of slaves.*

servitūs, servitūtis [**servus**, *slave*], *f., slavery, servitude, serfdom.*

Servius, Servī, *m.*, a Roman praenomen or given name.

servō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *save, preserve, protect, deliver, rescue. keep, preserve, maintain; observe, heed, watch.*

servus, -ī, *m., slave.*

Sestus, Sestī, *m.*, Roman family name.

sevērē [**sevērus**, *severe*], *adv., severely, with severity, harshly, austerely; strictly.*

sevēritās, sevēritātis [**sevērus**, *severe*], *f., severity, harshness, sternness, strictness, rigor.*

sevērus, -a, -um, *severe, stern, harsh, strict, rigorous.*

sēvocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**se-**, *apart*, and **vocō**, *call*], *call aside, lead away; remove.*

sexāgintā, *indecl. num., sixty.*

sextus, -a, -um [**sex**, *six*], *sixth.*

sī, *conj., if, on condition that; whether.*

Sibyllīnus, -a, -um, *of the Sibyl, Sibylline;* with **fāta**, *the Sibylline Books.*

sīc, *adv., so, thus, in this way.*

sīca, -ae [**secō**, *cut*], *f., dagger.*

sīcārius, sīcārī [**sīca**, *dagger*], *m., assassin, murderer.*

Sicca, -ae, *f.*, one of the slaves whom Cicero emancipated at the time of his exile.

siccus, -a, -um, *dry, parched.*

Sicilia, -ae, *f., Sicily.*

sīcut or **sīcutī**, *adv., just as, as indeed, as.*

Sīgēum, Sīgēī, *n.*, a promontory in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont.

sīgnifer, sīgniferī [**sīgnum**, *standard*, and **ferō**, *bear*], *m., standard bearer, color sergeant.*

sīgnificātiō, sīgnificātiōnis [**sīgnificō**, *point out*], *f., a pointing out; indication, sign, mark, token, notice, intimation, hint.*

sīgnificō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sīgnum**, *sign*, and **faciō**, *make*], *make a sign, point out, indicate, signify; make known, express; betoken, foreshadow, portend.*

sīgnum, -ī, *n., sign; standard, ensign; image, figure, statue.*

Sīlānus, Sīlānī, *m.*, Roman family name.

silentiō [**silentium**, *silence*], *adv., silently.*

silentium, silentī [**silēns**, *silent*], *n.*, *silence;* **tantō silentiō**, *so quietly.*

sileō, silēre, siluī, —, *be silent, be silent about; leave unmentioned, pass over, omit; be still, remain quiet, rest.*

silva, -ae, *f.*, *wood, forest, grove.*

Silvānus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

silvestris, silvestre [**silva**, *wood*], *wooded, woody.*

similis, simile, *like, similar.*

similiter [**similis**, *like*], *adv.*, *similarly, in a like manner.*

similitūdō, similitūdinis [**similis**, *like*], *f.*, *likeness, resemblance.*

simpliciter [**simplex**, *simple*], *adv.*, *simply, plainly, directly.*

simul, *adv.*, *at the same time, simultaneously; at once;* **simul atque** or **simul ac**, *as soon as.*

simulācrum, -ī [**simulō**, *make like*], *n.*, *a likeness, image, statue, representation.*

simulātiō, simulātiōnis [**simulō**, *make like*], *f.*, *deceit, simulation; pretense; false assumption.*

simulātor, simulātōris [**simulō**, *make like*], *m.*, *a feigner, pretender; fraud.*

simulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *make like; pretend, feign, assume; simulate.*

simultās, simultātis [**simul**, *at one time*], *f.*, *a coming together, hostile encounter; dissention, enmity, rivalry, animosity, hostility.*

sīn [**sī**, *if*, and **nē**, *not*], *conj.*, *but if.*

sine, *prep.* with abl., *without.*

sine, 2d. pers. sing. pres. imper. of **sinō**, *permit.*

singulāris, singulāre [**singulī**, *one by one*], *single, solitary; singular, extraordinary, remarkable, matchless, unparalleled.*

singulī, -ae, -a, *num. distr. adj.*, *one each; one at a time; each, every, separate.*

sinister, sinistra, sinistrum, *left.*

sinō, sinere, sīvī, situs, *let down; suffer, permit, allow, let.*

Sinōpē, Sinōpēs, *f.*, a city of Asia Minor, on the shore of the Black Sea.

sinus, -ūs, *m.*, *curve; bay; bosom, breast.*

sistō, sistere, stitī, status [**stō**, *stand*], *make stand; place, set, establish, fix, appoint.*

sitis, sitis, *f.*, *thirst.*

situs, -a, -um [p. p. of **sinō**, *permit*], *situated, lie; placed, vested.*

sīve or **seu**, *conj.*, *or if;* **sīve . . . sīve**, *either . . . or, whether . . . or.*

Smyrnaeus, -a, -um, *of Smyrna; m.*, pl. as noun, *the inhabitants of Smyrna.*

sōbrius, -a, -um, *temperate, sober.*

societās, societātis [**socius**, *sharing*], *f.*, *association, alliance, league; company.*

socius, -a, -um [**sequor**, *follow*], *associated with, sharing, partaking in.*

socius, socī [**sequor**, *follow*], *m.*, *partner, associate, companion, comrade, confederate, ally.*

sodālis, sodālis [**sedeō**, *sit*], *m.*, *table companion; boon companion, comrade,* "*crony.*"

sodālis, -e, *social, of a club man.*

sōl, sōlis, *m.*, *sun; sunshine.*

sōlācium, sōlācī [**sōlor**, *comfort*], *n.*, *comfort, consolation, solace.*

soleō, solēre, solitus sum, *be accustomed, be in the habit of, be wont.*

sōlitūdō, sōlitūdinis [**sōlus**, *alone*], *f.*, *a being alone; loneliness, solitude; a lonely place, desert, wilderness.*

sollemnis, sollemne, *yearly; stated, appointed; sacred, consecrated, solemn, religious.*

sollicitātiō, sollicitātiōnis [**sollicitō**, *arouse*], *f., an inciting, an investigating; a tampering with, bribing.*

sollicitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *arouse, agitate, stir up; tamper with, bribe.*

sollicitūdō, sollicitūdinis [**sollicitō**, *arouse*], *f., an uneasiness of mind; apprehension, anxiety, solicitude.*

sollicitus, -a, -um [**sollicitō**, *arouse*], *agitated, disturbed; anxious, restless, solicitous; distressing, disquieting, alarming; full of care and anxiety.*

solum, -ī, *n., bottom; soil, ground.*

sōlum, *adv., only, merely;* **nōn sōlum . . . sed etiam**, *not only . . . but also.*

sōlus, -a, -um, *alone; only, single, sole.*

solūtiō, solūtiōnis [**solvō**, *pay*], *f., payment.*

solvō, solvere, solvī, solūtus, *loosen, set free, start* (a ship), *set sail, release, exempt; acquit, absolve, hold guiltless; discharge, pay.*

somnus, -ī, *m., sleep; sleepiness, sloth.*

sonō, -āre, -uī, -itus [**sōnus**, *sound*], *sound; speak, utter.*

sōnus, -ī, *m., sound, noise.*

sordēs, sordium, *f.* pl., *dirt, filth; vileness; meanness, niggardliness, sordidness; dregs of the populace, the rabble, riffraff.*

soror, sorōris, *f., sister.*

sors, sortis, *f., lot, decision by lot; fate, destiny.*

sortītiō, sortītiōnis [**sors**, *lot*], *f., a casting of lots, choosing by lot, allotment.*

Sōspita, -ae, *f., the Deliverer* (an epithet of Juno).

spargō, spargere, sparsī, sparsus, *strew, scatter; spread, extend widely.*

Spartiātēs, -ae, *m., the Spartan* (used by Cicero as an epithet of Agesilaus).

spatium, spatī, *n., space, distance; length; room, extent; interval, span* (of life); *duration, period of time; path.*

speciēs, speciēī [**speciō**, *look*], *f., sight, appearance, aspect.*

spectāculum, -ī [**spectō**, *look on*], *n., a spectator's seat* (at the gladiatorial shows), *a stand; show, spectacle, sight.*

spectātus, -a, -um [p.p. of **spectō**, *look on*], *tried, tested; respected, esteemed.*

spectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **speciō**, *look*], *look on, behold, gaze at; face, front; look after, bear in mind; aim at, strive for; relate to, refer to, pertain to; scrutinize, examine, judge.*

specula, -ae, *f., watch tower;* **in speculīs**, *on the lookout.*

speculātor, speculātōris [**speculor**, *spy out*], *m., a spy.*

speculor, -ārī, -ātus [**specula**, *watch tower*], *spy out, watch, observe.*

spernō, spernere, sprēvī, sprētus, *spurn, scorn, despise; reject.*

spērō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**spēs**, *hope*], *hope, expect; anticipate, look for; trust.*

spēs, speī, *f., hope, expectation.*

spīculum, -ī [**spīcum**, *spike*], *n., a little sharp point; sting; dart, arrow, javelin.*

spīritus, -ūs [**spīrō**, *breathe*], *m., a breathing, breath; air, atmosphere; inspiration;* pl., *haughtiness, arrogance, pride, insolence.*

spīrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *breathe.*

splendidus, -a, -um [**splendeō**, *shine*], *bright; illustrious, distinguished.*

splendor, splendōris [**splendeō**, *shine*], *m., sheen; brightness, radiance, splendor; dignity, honor, glory.*

spolia, -ōrum, *n.* pl., *booty, prey, spoils, plunder.*

spoliātiō, spoliātiōnis [**spoliō**, *strip*], *f., a pillaging;* (unjust) *deprivation, removal from.*

spoliō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**spolia**, *spoils*],

strip, rob, plunder, pillage, despoil, deprive.

spondeō, spondēre, spopondī, spōnsus, *promise solemnly, bind one's self; assume an obligation; engage, agree.*

sponte, *f.*, abl. only; *of one's own accord, willingly, voluntarily.*

Spurius, Spurī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

squāleō, squālēre, squāluī, — [**squālor**, *filthiness*], *be filthy; go into mourning; wear mourning, be in mourning.*

squālor, squālōris [**squālus**, *filthy*], *m., filthiness; mourning; weeds.*

stabiliō, stabilīre, stabilīvī, stabilītus [**stabilis**, *firm*], *make firm, strengthen, support; establish, make secure, give stability to.*

stabilis, stabile [**stō**, *stand*], *steady, firm, steadfast, stable; lasting.*

stabilitās, stabilitātis [**stabilis**, *steady*], *f., a standing firm, steadfastness, strength.*

Statilius, Statilī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

statim [**stō**, *stand*], *adv., on the spot, at once, immediately, instantly, forthwith.*

Stator, Statōris [**sistō**, *cause to stand*], *m., the Stayer, the Protector* (epithet of Jupiter).

statua, -ae [**statuō**, *set up*], *f., image; statue* (usually of men).

statuō, statuere, statuī, statūtus [**status**, *station*], *set up, erect; decide, resolve, determine, propose; be convinced, judge.*

status, -ūs [**stō**, *stand*], *m., station, position, order, arrangement; standing, rank, station.*

sternō, sternere, strāvī, strātus, *spread out, extend, cover.*

stilus, -ī, *m., a pointed instrument; stilus* (used in writing).

stimulus, -ī, *m., goad, spur; incentive, stimulus.*

stipendium, stipendī [**stips**, *coin*, and **pendō**, *weigh*], *n., tax, tribute, pay; military service, campaign.*

stīpō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *crowd together, surround, encompass.*

stirps, stirpis, *f., stem, root; source, cause.*

stō, stāre, stetī, stātūrus, *stand, keep standing.*

Stōicē, *adv., stoically, like a Stoic.*

Stōicus, -a, -um, *of the School of Stoics; m.* as noun, *a Stoic.*

stomachus, -ī, *m., the alimentary canal, gullet; taste; bile; displeasure, irritation, vexation, wrath, disgust, chagrin.*

strepitus, -ūs [**strepō**, *rattle*], *m., a confused sound; din, clatter.*

studeō, studēre, studuī, — [**studium**, *zeal*], *be eager, be zealous; desire, strive after, pursue, apply one's self to.*

studiōsē [**studiōsus**, *eager*], *adv., eagerly, zealously, carefully, devotedly.*

studiōsus, -a, -um [**studium**, *zeal*], *eager, zealous; fond; devoted.*

studium, studī, *n., zeal, eagerness, enthusiasm; fondness, interest; study, occupation, pursuit; profession; affection, attachment, devotion, loyalty, party zeal, partisanship.*

stultitia, -ae [**stultus**, *foolish*], *f., folly, stupidity.*

stultus, -a, -um, *foolish, stupid, silly, simple-minded.*

stuprum, -ī, *n., defilement; debauchery, lewdness, lust; outrage.*

suādeō, suādēre, suāsī, suāsūrus, *advise, recommend; exhort, persuade, urge.*

suāvis, suāve, *sweet, pleasant, agreeable.*

suāvitās, suāvitātis [**suāvis**, *sweet*], *f., amiability, kindliness.*

sub, *prep.* with the acc. or abl., *under; towards.*

subeō, subīre, subiī, subitus [**eō**, *go*], *go under; undergo; suffer, endure, submit to.*

subiciō, subicere, subiēcī, subiectus [**iaciō**, *throw*], *put under, place beneath, apply to; submit, present, offer.*

subiector, subiectōris [**subiciō**, *forge*], *m., a forger.*

subigō, subigere, subēgī, subāctus [**agō**, *drive*], *drive under; put down, conquer, subdue, reduce.*

subitō [**subitus**, *sudden*], *adv., suddenly, unexpectedly.*

subitus, -a, -um [p. p. of **subeō**, *arrive unexpectedly*], *sudden, unexpected.*

sublevō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**levō**, *lift*], *lift from beneath, raise up; lighten, lessen, alleviate.*

subodiōsus, -a, -um [**odiōsus**, *hateful*], *somewhat annoying, rather vexatious.*

subolēs, subolis, *m.* and *f.*, *a sprout; offspring; lineage; posterity.*

subrūsticus, -a, -um [**rūsticus**, *uncouth*], *somewhat clownish;* **subrūsticus pudor**, *maiden modesty, uncouth bashfulness.*

subscrīptor, subscrīptōris, *m., a joint prosecutor, counsel.*

subsellium, subsellī [**sella**, *seat*], *n., bench.*

subsidium, subsidī, *n., reserve, relief, reënforcement, assistance, help, aid; resources, support;* pl., *supplies.*

subsīdō, subsīdere, subsēdī, subsessus [**sedeō**, *sit*], *sit down; settle down, establish one's self, remain, stay; lie in wait* or *ambush.*

substrūctio, subtrūctiōnis [**substruō**, *build beneath*], *f., foundation, substructure.*

subsum, subesse, —, —, *be under, be near, close by, be close at hand.*

subtrahō, subtrahere, **subtrāxī**, subtractus [**trahō**, *draw*], *draw from under, draw off; withdraw, remove, take away.*

suburbānus, -a, -um [**urbs**, *city*], *near the city* (Rome), *suburban.*

subveniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventus [**veniō**, *come*], *come to help of, aid, assist, relieve.*

succēdō, succēdere, successī, successūrus [**cēdō**, *go*], *go from under, go up; take the place of, succeed; return, approach, draw near; go on well, be successful, succeed.*

succurrō, succurrere, succurrī, succursus [**currō**, *run*], *run up, run to one's aid, succor, assist.*

sufferō, sufferre, sustulī, sublātus [**ferō**, *bear*], *bear, endure, suffer.*

sufficiō, sufficere, suffēcī, suffectus [**faciō**, *make*], *appoint* (to a vacancy), *choose a substitute.*

suffōcō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**faux**, *throat*], *throttle, choke, strangle; suffocate, stifle.*

suffrāgātiō, suffrāgātiōnis [**suffrāgor**, *vote for*], *f., suffrage, support; privilege to canvass.*

suffrāgātor, suffrāgātōris [**suffrāgium**, *vote*], *m., a canvasser* (for votes); *supporter, partisan.*

suffrāgium, suffrāgī [**suffrāgor**, *vote for*], *n., vote, ballot.*

suffrāgor, -ārī, -ātus, *vote for, support, favor; commend.*

sui, sibi, sē or sēsē, *reflex. pron.* of the 3d pers., *himself, herself, itself;* pl., *themselves; him, her, it;* pl., *them.*

Sulla, -ae, *m.*, Roman family name.

Sulpicius, Sulpicī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

sum, esse, fuī, futūrus, *be, exist.*

summa, -ae [**summus**, *highest*], *f., highest rank, chief place, leadership*

supremacy, preëminence; amount, sum, total, aggregate; **summa ordinis**, *precedence in rank.*

summus, -a, -um [sup. of **superus**, cf. **super**, *above*], *highest, loftiest, greatest, best; very eminent.*

sūmō, sūmere, sūmpsī, sūmptus [**sub**, *under*, and **emō**, *take*], *take, derive, take up, assume control of; enter upon, undertake, begin; arrogate to one's self, appropriate;* **supplicium sūmere**, *inflict punishment.*

sūmptuōsē [**sūmptuōsus**, *expensive*], *adv., sumptuously, lavishly, extravagantly.*

sūmptuōsus, -a, -um [**sūmptus**, *expense*], *expensive, costly; lavish, luxurious.*

sūmptus, -ūs, *m., outlay, expense, cost.*

superbē [**superbus**, *proud*], *adv., haughtily, arrogantly, insolently.*

superbia, -ae [**superbus**, *proud*], *f., haughtiness, arrogance, insolence.*

superbus, -a, -um [**super**, *above*], *haughty, arrogant.*

superior, superius [comp. of **superus**, cf. **super**, *above*], *higher, superior; earlier, previous.*

superō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**super**, *above*], *be above, surmount, overtop, exceed, surpass, overcome, subdue, conquer, vanquish.*

superstes, superstitis [**super**, *above*, and **stō**, *stand*], *m., one standing by, a witness.*

supersum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus, *be left over, remain, survive.*

superus, -a, -um, *above;* comp., **superior**, sup., **suprēmus** or **summus.**

suppeditō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**sub**, *under*, and **pes**, *foot*], *furnish, supply, provide.*

suppetō, -petere, -petīvī, -petītus [**sub**, *under*, and **petō**, *seek*], *be on hand, be present, be available, be supplied; suffice, avail.*

supplex, supplicis [**plicō**, *bend*], *kneeling; m.* as noun, *suppliant.*

supplicātiō, supplicātiōnis [**supplicō**, *kneel down*], *f., supplication; thanksgiving.*

supplicium, supplicī [**supplicō**, *kneel down*], *n., punishment, penalty.*

suprā, *adv.* and *prep.* with acc., *above; before.*

suprēmus, see **summus.**

surgō, surgere, surrēxī, surrectus [**sub**, *under*, and **regō**, *guide*], *raise, rise, leap up.*

suscēnseō, suscēnsēre, suscēnsuī, — [**succendō**, *kindle*], *be incensed, be angry, be enraged.*

susceptō, -āre, —, —, *look up at, gaze upon.*

suscipiō, suscipere, suscēpī, susceptus [**capiō**, *take*], *undertake, enter upon; undergo, incur, suffer.*

suspectus, -a, -um [p. p. of **suspiciō**, *suspect*], *suspected, mistrusted; n.* as noun, *object of suspicion.*

suspiciō, suspiciōnis [**suspiciō**, *suspect*], *f., suspicion, distrust, mistrust.*

suspicōr, -ārī, -āvī, -ātus [**suspiciō**, *suspect*], *mistrust, suspect.*

sustentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **sustineō**, *hold up*], *support, sustain; put off, defer, delay.*

sustineō, sustinēre, sustinuī, sustentus [**teneō**, *hold*], *hold up, uphold, support, sustain; undergo, endure; forbear.*

suus, -a, -um, *poss. pron., his, her, its;* pl., *their, theirs.*

symphōniācus, -a, -um, *of music, singing;* with **puerī**, *boys' chorus, choristers.*

syngrapha, -ae, *f., note, bond.*

Syria, -ae, *f.*, a Roman province

organized by Pompey, lying east of the Mediterranean Sea.

T

T. = **Titus**, -ī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

tabella, -ae [dim. of **tabula**, *board*], *f.*, *a small board; writing tablet*; usually pl. (as two tablets smeared with wax were used together), *letter, document.* See note, *Cat.* III, 10.

taberna, -ae, *f.*, *place of business; booth, shop, stall; inn, tavern.*

tābēscō, tābēscere, tabuī, — [**tabeō**, *waste*], *waste away, dwindle; pine away, languish.*

tabula, -ae, *f.*, *a board; writing tablet; record, list, schedule*; pl., *archives*; **novae tabulae**, *new accounts* = *cancellation of debts.*

tabulārium, tabulārī [**tabulae**, *records*], *n.*, *depository for public documents; record office; the Tabularium* (the public record building of Rome, situated at the west end of the Forum).

taceō, tacēre, tacuī, tacitus, *be silent, keep silent, say nothing; pass over in silence, leave unmentioned.*

tacitē [**tacitus**, *silent*], *adv.*, *silently, tacitly, in silence.*

taciturnitās, taciturnitātis [**taciturnus**, *silent*], *f.*, *silence.*

tacitus, -a, -um [p. p. of **taceō**, *be silent*], *silent, speechless, mute.*

Tadiānus, -a, -um, *of Tadius, concerning Tadius.*

Tadius, Tadī, *m.*, one of Cicero's clients.

taeter, taetra, taetrum, *disgusting, loathsome, foul, noisome; disgraceful, abominable.*

tālāris, tālāre [**tālus**, *ankle*], *reaching to the ankles.*

tālis, tāle, *such, of such a kind*; **tālis . . . quālis**, *such . . . as.*

tam, *adv.*, *so, so much, so very, to such a degree.*

tamen, *adv.*, *nevertheless, notwithstanding; however, still, yet.*

tametsī, *conj.*, *although, though, albeit.*

tamquam, *adv.*, *as much as, just as, as though; as it were, so to speak.*

tandem, *adv.*, *at length, at last, finally*; in eager questions, *pray.*

tangō, tangere, tetigī, tāctus, *touch; border on, adjoin; strike, hit.*

tantum [**tantus**, *such*], *adv.*, *only, merely, but.*

tantundem, *adv.*, *to the same extent, just as much, the same amount.*

tantus, -a, -um [**tam**, *so*], *such, so great, so important, so widespread; so many; of such value, worth so much* or *so little, of no consequence, of small account.*

tardē [**tardus**, *slow*], *adv.*, *slowly; tardily.*

tarditās, tarditātis [**tardus**, *slow*], *f.*, *slowness, delay.*

tardō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**tardus**, *slow*], *make slow, delay, retard.*

Tarentīnī, -ōrum, *m.*, *the inhabitants of Tarentum, the Tarentines.*

tēctum, -ī [**tegō**, *cover*], *n.*, *a covering, roof; house, dwelling, abode.*

tēcum = **cum tē.**

tegō, tegere, tēxī, tēctus, *cover, hide, conceal; defend, guard, protect.*

tēlum, -ī, *n.*, *missile, weapon; javelin, dart, spear.*

temerē, *adv.*, *blindly, recklessly, heedlessly, rashly, without due reflection.*

temeritās, temeritātis [**temerē**, *recklessly*], *f.*, *rashness, heedlessness, foolhardiness, temerity.*

temperāns, temperantis [**temperō**, *control one's self*], *moderate, temperate, self-controlled.*

temperantia, -ae [**temperāns**, *moderate*], *f.*, *moderation, self-control; discretion.*

temperō, -āre -āvī, -ātus, *control one's self, forbear; moderate, temper.*

tempestās, tempestātis [**tempus**, *time, season*], *f.*, *weather; storm, tempest; favorable weather, wind, commotion, disturbance.*

tempestīvus, -a, -um [**tempus**, *time*], *timely, seasonable; opportune, suitable, fitting; in good season, early.*

templum, -ī, *n.*, *a consecrated place; sanctuary, temple.*

temptō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *make trial of, try, test; attack, assail, harass; disturb, excite.*

tempus, temporis, *n.*, *time, period, season, interval; occasion, opportunity, leisure; circumstances; hard times, emergency, extremity, need, requirements;* **ex quō tempore**, *ever since.*

tendō, tendere, tetendī, tentus, *stretch, extend, hold out.*

tenebrae, -ārum, *f.* pl., *darkness, gloom, obscurity; shades* (of night); *shadows.*

Tenedos, -ī, *f.*, an island in the Aegean Sea.

teneō, tenēre, tenuī, tentus, *hold, keep, have, retain; hold in custody; allow to continue; have possession of, hold sway over, occupy; know;* **memoriā tenēre**, *remember.*

tener, tenera, tenerum, *soft, delicate, tender, mobile, yielding; fickle, changeable.*

tenuis, tenue, *drawn out, thin; weak, mean, poor, slight; inferior, common.*

ter, *adv.*, *three times, thrice.*

Terentia, -ae, *f.*, wife of Cicero.

Terentius, -a, -um, *of Terentius, Terentian.*

tergiversātiō, tergiversātiōnis [**tergum**, *back*, and **vertō**, *turn*], *f.*, *a declining, refusing; subterfuge.*

tergum, -ī, *back;* **ā tergō**, *from behind; in the rear.*

terminō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**terminus**, *boundary*], *bound, limit, end, terminate.*

terminus, -ī, *m.*, *boundary line, boundary, limit.*

terra, -ae, *f.*, *earth, ground; land, country;* **orbis terrae** or **terrārum**, *the world.*

terreō, terrēre, terruī, territus, *frighten, alarm, terrify.*

terror, terrōris [**terreō**, *frighten*], *m.*, *fear, fright, alarm, terror; dread.*

tertius, -a, -um [**ter**, *thrice*], *third.*

testāmentum, -ī [**testor**, *witness*], *n.*, *will.*

testātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **testor**, *witness*], *attested; clear, manifest.*

testificātiō, testificātiōnis [**testificor**, *call to witness*], *f.*, *attestation, proof, testimony, evidence; the giving of testimony.*

testificor, -ārī, -ātus [**testis**, *witness*, and **faciō**, *make*], *call to witness; show, demonstrate.*

testimōnium, testimōnī [**testis**, *witness*], *n.*, *testimony, evidence, proof.*

testis, testis, *m.* and *f.*, *witness.*

testor, -ārī, -ātus [**testis**, *witness*], *call as a witness; call to witness, invoke.*

tetrarchēs, -ae, *m.*, *tetrarch, prince.*

Teutonēs, Teutonum, *m.* pl., a Germanic people dwelling on the Baltic Sea.

Themistoclēs, -ī (-is), *m.*, a famous Athenian statesman and general.

Theophanēs, -is, *m.*, a Greek historian, living in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, who wrote a *Life of Pompey.*

Thessalonīca, -ae, *f.*, a city of Macedonia.

Ti. = Tiberius.

Tiberīnus, -a, -um [**Tiberis**, *Tiber*], *of the Tiber.*

Tiberis, -is, *m.*, *the Tiber.*

tībīcen, tībīcinis [**tībia**, *flute*], *m.*, *a flute player, flutist.*

Tigrānēs, -is, *m.*, King of Armenia.

Timaeus, Timaeī, *m.*, a Sicilian historian who wrote a *Life of Pyrrhus.*

timeō, timēre, timuī, —, *fear, be afraid, apprehend; be afraid of, be anxious about.*

timidē [**timidus**, *fearful*], *adv.*, *timidly, with timidity.*

timiditās, timiditātis [**timidus**, *fearful*], *f.*, *timidity; cowardice.*

timidus, -a, -um [**timeō**, *fear*], *fearful, timid, faint-hearted, shrinking, cowardly.*

Timoleōn, Timoleontis, *m.*, a Corinthian general.

timor, timōris [**timeō**, *fear*], *m.*, *fear, dread, anxiety, alarm, apprehension.*

Titus, -ī, *m.*, Roman praenomen or given name.

toga, -ae [**tegō**, *cover*], *f.*, lit., *a covering; toga.*

togātus, -a, -um [**toga**, *toga*], *clad in a toga, in the garb of peace; as a private citizen.*

tolerābilis, tolerābile [**tolerō**, *bear*], *bearable, endurable, tolerable.*

toleranter [**tolerō**, *bear*], *adv.*, *patiently.*

tolerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *bear, endure; tolerate.*

tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātus, *lift, raise; elevate, exalt; take away, steal, remove; destroy, abolish, ruin; abrogate, annul.*

Tongilius, -ī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

tormentum, -ī [**torqueō**, *twist*], *n.*, *a hurling machine, sling, missile; an instrument of torture, rack, torture horse; torture, pain, torment.*

Torquātus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

tortor, tortōris [**torqueō**, *twist*], *m.*, *torturer, inquisitor; executioner.*

tot, *indecl. adj.*, *so many.*

totiēns [**tot**, *so many*], *adv.*, *so often, so frequently, so many times.*

tōtus, -a, -um, *the whole, the whole of, all, entire.*

tractō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **trahō**, *draw*], *draw violently, drag; touch, handle, manage;* pass., *be involved in.*

trādō, trādere, trādidi, trāditus [**trāns**, *across*, and **dō**, *give*], *give up, hand over, deliver; commit, intrust, confide; hand down, transmit, pass on; propound, teach.*

trādūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus [**trāns**, *across*, and **dūcō**, *lead*], *lead across, carry across; win over.*

tragoedia, -ae, *f.*, *tragedy; commotion, disturbance.*

trahō, trahere, trāxī, tractus, *draw, drag; lead on, attract, allure; influence.*

tranquillitās, tranquillitātis [**tranquillus**, *quiet*], *f.*, *calm, peace, quiet, tranquillity.*

tranquillus, -a, -um, *still, quiet, calm, tranquil, peaceful.*

trāns, *prep.* with acc., *across, over; beyond.*

Trānsalpīnus, -a, -um, *beyond the Alps, Transalpine.*

trānscendō, -scendere, -scendī [**scandō**, *climb*], *climb over, scale, cross.*

trānseō, -īre, -iī, -itus [**eō**, *go*], *go across, pass over, cross.*

trānsferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus [**ferō**, *carry*], *carry across, convey over, transport, transfer; direct, turn.*

trānsigō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctus [agō, *drive*], *drive over, carry through; carry out, finish, complete; perform, accomplish, transact.*

trānsmarīnus, -a, -um [mare, *sea*], *across the sea, transmarine.*

trānsmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus [mittō, *send*], *send across; cross over; intrust.*

trēs, tria, *three.*

tribūlis, -is [tribus, *tribe*], *m., a fellow-tribesman.*

tribūnal, tribūnālis [tribūnus, *tribune*], *n., platform* (for the magistrates' seats); *judgment seat; tribunal.*

tribūnātus, -ūs [tribūnus, *tribune*], *m., office of tribune, tribuneship.*

tribūnicius, -a, -um [tribūnus, *tribune*], *of a tribune.*

tribūnus, -ī [tribus, *tribe*], *m., tribune,* esp. *a tribune of the people.* See Introduction, p. 32. With **mīlitāris,** *a military tribune;* with **aerārius,** *a tribune of the Treasury.*

tribuō, tribuere, tribuī, tribūtus, *assign, confer, allot; grant, allow; show, pay, render; bestow, spend, devote; attribute.*

tribus, -ūs, *f., a tribe.*

tribūtim [tribus, *tribe*], *adv., tribe by tribe, by tribes, by entire tribes.*

triclīnium, triclīnī, *n., a dining couch; the furnishings for a feast.*

trīduum, trīduī [trēs, *three,* and diēs, *days*], *n., three days, three days' time.*

triennium, triennī [trēs, *three,* and annus, *year*], *n., three years.*

trīnī, trīnae, trīna [trēs, *three*], *three each.*

trīstis, trīste, *sad, mournful, dejected, gloomy, downcast, disconsolate.*

triumphō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [triumphus, *triumph*], *march in a triumphal procession, celebrate a triumph, triumph; exult, be glad, rejoice.*

triumphus, -ī, *m., triumphal procession, triumph.*

Troiānus, -a, -um, *of Troy, Trojan.*

tropaeum, tropaeī, *n., a memorial of victory, trophy.*

trucīdō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [caedō, *cut*], *cut to pieces, butcher, slaughter; execute cruelly.*

tū, tuī, *pers. pron., thou, you;* pl., **vōs.**

tuba, -ae, *f., trumpet.*

Tūberō, Tūberōnis, *m.,* Roman family name.

tueor, tuērī, tūtus, *look at, view, regard, consider; look after, care for, guard, preserve, defend, protect.*

Tullia, -ae, *f.,* Cicero's daughter.

Tulliola, -ae, *f.,* Cicero's pet name for his daughter.

Tullius, Tullī, *m.,* Roman gentile or clan name.

Tullus, -ī, *m.,* Roman praenomen or first name.

tum, *adv., then, at that time, thereupon.*

tumultus, -ūs [tūmeō, *swell, rise up*], *uprising, uproar, commotion, disturbance, disorder, tumult; revolt.*

tumulus, -ī [tumeō, *swell*], *m., a rise of ground; mound, hill; grave.*

tunc, *adv., then, at that time; on that account.*

tunica, -ae, *f., tunic.*

turba, -ae, *f., turmoil, uproar, riot, disorder, disturbance; a turbulent crowd, mob, gang.*

turbulentus, -a, -um [turba, *disturbance*], *disorderly, turbulent, seditious; disordered, lawless, chaotic.*

turma, -ae, *f., crowd, throng.*

turpis, turpe, *ugly, repulsive; odious, base, infamous, shameful, disgraceful.*

turpiter [**turpis**, *base*], *adv.*, *basely, shamefully, disgracefully; unseemly.*

turpitūdō, turpitūdinis [**turpis**, *base*], *f.*, *baseness, disgrace, infamy, dishonor, turpitude.*

Tusculānus, -a, -um, *of Tusculum, Tusculan.*

tūtēla, -ae [**tueor**, *watch*], *f.*, *a watching; care, defense, protection, guardianship.*

tūtō [**tūtus**, *safe*], *adv.*, *safely, without danger, in safety.*

tūtor, -ārī, -ātus, *watch, guard, keep, protect, defend.*

tūtus, -a, -um [**tueor**, *defend*], *guarded; safe, secure, out of danger; assured.*

tuus, -a, -um [**tū**, *you*], *your, of you, yours.*

tyrannus, -ī, *m.*, *an arbitrary ruler; despot, tyrant.*

U

ūber, ūberis, *rich.*

ūber, ūberis, *n.*, *udder, dug, breast.*

ūbertās, ūbertātis [**ūber**, *rich*], *f.*, *richness; productiveness, fertility.*

ubi, *adv.* and *conj.*, *where, in what place; when, whenever, as;* in place of rel. pron., *in which, by which;* **ubi prīmum**, *as soon as.*

ubinam, *adv.*, *where? where indeed?* **ubinam gentium**, *where on earth? where in the world?*

ubīque, *adv.*, *anywhere, everywhere.*

ulcīscor, ulcīscī, ultus, *avenge one's self, avenge, punish.*

ūllus, -a, -um [for **unulus**, dim. of **ūnus**], *any; any one, anybody.*

ultimus, -a, -um [sup. of **ulterior**, cf. **ultrā**, *beyond*], *farthest, most remote.*

ultor, ultōris [**ulcīscor**, *avenge*], *m.*, *avenger.*

ultrō, *adv.*, *of one's own accord, voluntarily, unasked.*

umbra, -ae, *f.*, *shadow, shade; attendant; accompaniment, appearance, semblance; rest, repose.*

Umbrēnus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

umerus, -ī, *m.*, *shoulder.*

umquam, *adv.*, *ever, at any time.*

ūnā, *adv.*, *at the same time, together;* **ūnā cum**, *together with, along with.*

unde, *adv.*, *whence, from what place, from what source.*

ūndecimus, -a, -um [**ūndecim**, *eleven*], *eleventh.*

ūndēquīnquāgēsimus, -a, -um, *forty-ninth.*

undique, *adv.*, *from all sides, on every hand.*

unguentum, -ī [**unguō**, *anoint*], *n.*, *ointment, perfume, unguent.*

ūnicē [**ūnicus**, *singular*], *adv.*, *singularly; single-heartedly, utterly, with one's whole heart.*

ūniversus, -a, -um [**ūnus**, *one*, and **versus**, *turned*], *all in one, all together; the whole of, entire.*

ūnus, -a, -um, *one, one only; sole, single, alone.*

urbānus, -a, -um [**urbs**, *city*], *of a city, urban, city.*

urbs, urbis, *f.*, *city, the city* (usually Rome).

urgeō, urgēre, ursī, —, *press, force, urge, impel.*

ūsitātus, -a, -um [**ūsitor**, freq. of **ūtor**, *practice*], *usual, customary, ordinary, familiar, common.*

uspiam, *adv.*, *at any place, anywhere.*

usquam, *adv.*, *at any place, anywhere.*

usque, *adv.*, *all the way, as far as, even.*

ustor, ūstōris [**ūrō**, *burn*], *m.*, *one who burns; a burner* (of the dead), *corpse burner, cremator.*

ūsūra, -ae [**ūsus**, *use*], *f.*, *the use, enjoyment, privilege; interest, usury.*

ūsūrpō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**ūsus**, *use*, and **rapiō**, *seize*], *seize for use, employ; speak of, talk of.*

ūsus, -ūs [**ūtor**, *use*], *m.*, *use, practice, exercise, enjoyment, advantage; experience, training, skill, prowess;* **ūsus est**, *there is need.*

ut (or **utī**), *adv.* and *conj.*: *interrog. adv., how? rel. adv., as, so as, just as; conj.* expr. purpose, *that, in order that, to;* expr. result, *that;* after vbs. of fearing, *lest, that not;* expr. concession, *although, though.*

uter, utra, utrum, *interrog.* or *rel. adj., which of two, whichever, the one who.*

uterque, utraque, utrumque [**uter**, *which of two*], *each* (of two), *one as well as the other, both.*

utī, see **ut.**

Ūtica, -ae, *f.*, an old Phoenician city in Africa, near Carthage.

ūtilis, ūtile [**ūtor**, *use*], *useful, advantageous, profitable, serviceable, expedient.*

ūtilitās, ūtilitātis [**ūtilis**, *useful*], *f., usefulness, utility, serviceableness; advantage, expediency.*

utinam, *adv., would that! would to heaven! O that!*

ūtor, ūtī, ūsus, *use, make use of, employ, avail one's self of, take advantage of; exercise, practice, engage in; possess, have, find.*

utrum, *adv.*, used to introduce direct double questions where it is best not translated; in indir. questions, *whether.*

uxor, uxōris, *f., wife.*

V

vacillō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *reel, totter, stagger.*

vacō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vacuus**, *empty*], *be empty; be free, be without.*

vacuēfaciō, **vacuēfacere**, vacuēfēcī, vacuēfactus [**vacuus**, *empty*, and **faciō**, *make*], *make empty, empty, vacate.*

vacuus, -a, -um [cf. **vacō**, *be empty*], *empty, unoccupied; devoid of, free from; destitute of.*

vadimōnium, vadimōnī [**vas**, *bail*], *n., bail bond; security, bail.*

vāgīna, -ae, *f., scabbard, sheath.*

vagor, -ārī, -ātus, *wander; spread, extend.*

vagus, -a, -um [**vagor**, *wander*], *wandering, roving; restless; unsteady, unreliable.*

valdē [for **validē**, from **validus**, *strong*], *adv., strongly; exceedingly, thoroughly, very.*

valēns, valentis [**valeō**, *be strong*], *strong, powerful.*

valeō, valēre, valuī, valitūrus, *be strong, be powerful, be effective, redound, hold good, be efficient, have influence; be able, be capable, avail; be well, be in good health.*

Valerius, Valerī, *m.*, Roman gentile or clan name.

valētūdō, valētūdinis [**valeō**, *be strong*], *f., state of health, health.*

vāllō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vallum**, *palisade*], *surround with palisades, intrench; fortify, protect, defend.*

variātus, -a, -um [p. p. of **variō**, *vary*], *conflicting.*

varietās, varietātis [**varius**, *varied*], *f., difference; dissent; diversity, variety; vicissitude.*

variō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *diversify, change, vary; conflict.*

varius, -a, -um [**variō**, *vary*], *various, different, diverse, varying, varied.*

Vārus, -ī, *m.*, Roman family name.

vās, vāsis, *n., vessel, dish.*

vāstātiō, vāstātiōnis [**vāstō**, *make*

empty], *f., a ravaging, desolating; devastation, destruction.*

vāstitās, vāstitātis [**vāstō**, *make empty*], *f., destruction, devastation, desolation, ruin.*

vāstō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vāstus,** *empty*], *make empty, lay waste, ravage, devastate, destroy.*

vātēs, vātis, *m.* and *f., seer, soothsayer, prophet.*

vectīgal, vectīgālis [**vehō,** *carry*], *n., revenue, tax, tribute.*

vectīgālis, vectīgāle [**vectīgal,** *revenue*], *of taxes, paying taxes; tributary;* pl., as noun, *tributaries.*

vehemēns, vehementis [**vehō,** *carry*], *carried along; impetuous, furious, violent, vehement; active, earnest; very closely.*

vehementer [**vehemēns,** *eager*], *adv., eagerly, impetuously, earnestly, vehemently; extremely, exceedingly, very much.*

vehiculum, -ī [**vehō,** *carry*] *n., carriage, wagon.*

vehō, vehere, vēxī, vectus, *carry, draw;* pass., *ride.*

vel [old imperative of **volō,** *wish*], *conj.* (*take your choice*), *or;* as adv., *even, indeed, exceedingly, very;* **vel . . . vel,** *either . . . or.*

vēlum, -ī [for **vehelum,** from **vehō,** *carry*], *n.* (*that which carries*), *sail.*

vēna, -ae, *f., vein.*

vēndō, vēndere, vēndidī, vēnditus [**vēnum,** *sale,* and **dō,** *put*], *put up for sale; sell.*

venēficus, -a, -um [**venēnum,** *poison,* and **faciō,** *make*], *poisoning, poisonous;* as noun, *a poisoner.*

venēnum, -ī [**Venus,** *Venus*], *love charm; poison.*

vēneō, vēnīre, vēniī, vēnitūrus [**vēnum,** *sale,* and **eō,** *go*], *be sold.*

veneror, -ārī, -ātus, *worship, venerate, adore; ask reverently, implore; pray to.*

venia, -ae, *f., indulgence, kindness, favor.*

veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventūrus, *come.*

venter, ventris, *m., the belly, stomach.*

ventus, -ī, *m., wind.*

venustās, venustātis [**Venus,** *Venus*], *f., loveliness, grace; art.*

venustus, -a, -um [**Venus,** *Venus*], *lovely, charming, pleasing.*

vēr, vēris, *n., spring.*

verbera, -um, *n.,* pl., *lashings, scourging; lashes, stripes, blows.*

verberō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *lash, scourge.*

verbōsē [**verbōsus,** *wordy*], *adv., verbosely, diffusely.*

verbōsus, -a, -um [**verbum,** *word*], *full of words, wordy, prolix, verbose.*

verbum, -ī, *n., a word.*

vērē [**vērus,** *true*], *adv., truly, really, in fact; properly, rightly, justly.*

verēcundia, -ae [**verēcundus,** *modest*], *f., modesty, reserve.*

verēcundus, -a, -um, *modest, retiring.*

vereor, verērī, veritus, *fear, reverence, stand in awe of.*

vēritās, vēritātis [**vērus,** *true*], *f., truth.*

vērō [**vērus,** *true*], *adv., in truth, in fact, truly, really;* as conj., *but in fact, however;* **immō vērō,** *nay rather, aye even.*

versiculus, -ī [dim. of **versus,** *line*], *m., a little line, one short line* or *sentence* (of prose or poetry).

versō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **vertō,** *turn*], *turn repeatedly;* in pass., *be employed, be busy with, be engaged in, be concerned with;* as dep., *lie, live, dwell, stay, abide; be abroad.*

versus, -ūs [**vertō,** *turn*], *m., a verse, line* (so we speak colloquially of "turning" a verse); *epigram.*

vertō, **vertere**, **vertī**, versus, *turn.*

vērum [**vērus**, *true*], *adv., truly;* as conj., *but in truth, but really, but.*

vērus, -a, -um, *true, real, actual, genuine, well-grounded.*

vesper, vesperī, *abl.*, vespere, *m., evening.*

vespera, -ae, *f., evening.*

Vesta, -ae, *f.*, goddess of the hearth.

Vestālis, Vestāle, *of Vesta, Vestal; f.*, pl., as noun, *the Vestal Virgins.*

vester, vestra, vestrum [**vōs**, *you*], *your, yours.*

vēstibulum, -ī, *n., an entrance, front door; front yard, entrance court, fore-court; doorway, vestibule.*

vēstīgium, vēstīgī [**vēstīgō**, *track*], *n., footstep, footprint, track, tread, trace;* pl., *tracks, vestiges; ruins.*

vestīmentum, -ī [**vestis**, *clothing*], *n., a garment;* pl., *clothes, clothing.*

vestītus, -ūs [**vestiō**, *clothe*], *m., clothing, clothes, attire, apparel, garments.*

vetō, vetāre, vetuī, vetitus, *not to permit, forbid.*

vetus, veteris, *old, aged; of long standing, deep-seated; former, earlier, ancient; m.*, pl., as noun, *men of old, forefathers.*

vetustās, vetustātis [**vetus**, *old*], *f., antiquity; long life, long duration; future generations, posterity.*

vexātiō, vexātiōnis [**vexō**, *shake*], *f., a shaking up; harassing; distress, outrage.*

vexātor, vexātōris [**vexō**, *shake*], *m., a troublesome fellow; persecutor.*

vexō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **vehō**, *carry*], *shake; trouble, plague, disturb, persecute, vex.*

via, -ae, *f., way, highway, road; way, passage; way, manner, fashion.*

viātor, viātōris [**via**, *way*], *m., wayfarer, traveler.*

vibrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *brandish, wield.*

vicārius, -a, -um [**vicem**, *in place of*], *substituted;* as noun, *substitute, proxy; successor.*

vīcēsimus, -a, -um [**vīgintī**, *twenty*], *twentieth.*

vīcīnus, -a, -um [**vīcus**, *village*], *neighboring;* as noun, *neighbor.*

vicissim [**vicis**, *change*], *adv., in turn.*

vicissitūdō, vicissitūdinis [**vicissim**, *in turn*], *f., interchange, alternation, vicissitude.*

victor, victōris [**vincō**, *conquer*], *m., conqueror, victor;* often used as adj., *victorious.*

victōria, -ae [**victor**, *conqueror*], *f., victory.*

victus, -ūs [**victus** (p. p. of **vīvō**, *live*)], *m., nourishment, sustenance, means of a livelihood.*

vīcus, -ī, *m., street; quarter, ward; village, hamlet.*

vidēlicet [**vidēre**, *to see*, and **licet**, *it is permitted*], *adv., clearly, plainly, obviously, evidently, manifestly;* often ironical, *doubtless, of course, I suppose, forsooth.*

videō, vidēre, vīdī, vīsus, *see, observe, perceive, regard, notice, note; understand, comprehend, discern; see to it, provide, take care, make sure; experience, enjoy;* pass., *be seen, seem, seem proper, seem best.*

videor, vidērī, vīsus, see **videō**, under passive.

vigeō, vigēre, viguī, —, *be strong, thrive, flourish.*

vigilāns, vigilantis [**vigilō**, *watch*], *watchful, vigilant.*

vigilanter [**vigilō**, *watch*], *adv., watchfully, carefully, with vigilance.*

vigilia, -ae [**vigil**, *awake*], *f., a keeping awake; watching, guard, vigil;* pl., *watchmen, sentinels; watches* (of the night).

vigilō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vigil**, *awake*], *remain awake; be vigilant, watch, sit up late.*

vīlis, vīle, *of trifling value; cheap, paltry, worthless.*

vīlitās, vīlitātis [**vīlis**, *cheap*], *f., cheapness.*

vīlla, -ae, *f., a country house, country seat; villa.*

vinciō, vincīre, vīnxī, vīnctus, *bind, fasten, restrain.*

vinclum, see **vinculum.**

vincō, vincere, vīcī, victus, *conquer, overcome, defeat, subdue, vanquish; prevail over, outdo, excel.*

vinculum, -ī [**vinciō**, *bind*], *n., means of binding; bond, chain, fetter;* pl., *fetters, chains; prison, imprisonment.*

vindex, vindicis, *m.* and *f., claimant; punisher, avenger; protector, defender.*

vindiciae, -ārum [**vindicō**, *claim*], *f.,* pl., *a legal claim.*

vindicō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**vindex**, *claimant*], *claim, make a formal demand; claim as one's own, lay claim to; protect, defend, save; avenge, revenge, punish.*

vīnum, -ī, *n., wine.*

violō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *treat violently; outrage, injure; violate, desecrate.*

vir, virī, *m., man, husband.*

virgō, virginis, *f., maiden, virgin.*

virtūs, virtūtis [**vir**, *man*], *f., manliness; courage, fortitude; moral excellence, goodness; worth, merit, value; strength;* pl., *deeds of heroism; virtues, good qualities.*

vīs, vīs, *f., force, energy, vigor, strength, might; quantity, number; mental power, influence;* pl., *strength, efficiency, force.*

vīscera, vīscerum, *n.,* pl., *vitals.*

vīsō, vīsere, vīsī, vīsus [freq. of **videō**, *see*], *look at carefully; survey, view; go to see, visit.*

vīta, -ae [**vīvō**, *live*], *f., life; way of living, manner of life, manners.*

vitiōsus, -a, -um [**vitium**, *fault*], *full of faults; faulty, defective.*

vitium, vitī, *n., fault, defect, blemish; vice, sin.*

vītō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *avoid, shun; seek to escape, evade.*

vitricus, -ī, *m., stepfather.*

vituperātiō, vituperātiōnis [**vituperō**, *blame*], *f., blame, censure; abuse.*

vituperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *blame, censure, reproach.*

vīvō, vīvere, vīxī, vīctūrus, *live, be still alive.*

vīvus, -a, -um [**vīvō**, *live*], *alive, living.*

vix, *adv., with difficulty, hardly, scarcely, barely.*

vixdum, *adv., scarcely yet, but just.*

vocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, *call, summon; bid, invite; devote.*

volgō [**volgus**, *crowd*], *adv., generally, commonly, usually; publicly.*

volgus, -ī, *n., multitude, crowd, people, the public; a mob.*

volitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [freq. of **volō**, *fly*], *fly around, flit about, hover about.*

volnerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus [**volnus**, *wound*], *wound; harm, injure, damage.*

volnus, volneris, *n., wound; misfortune.*

volō, velle, voluī, —, *wish, be willing; desire, want; intent, purpose.*

Volturcius, Volturcī, *m.,* one of the Catilinarian conspirators.

voltus, -ūs [**volō**, *wish*], *m., facial expression; countenance, features, looks, mien, aspect.*

volūbilis, volūbile [**volō**, *fly*], *revolv-*

ing, whirling; changeable, fickle; unstable.

voluntārius, -a, -um, *voluntary, willing, ready.*

voluntās, voluntātis [**volō**, *be willing*], *f.*, *willingness; wish, desire, will, designs; good will, favor, affection; solicitude.*

Voluptās, Voluptātis, *f.*, the Goddess of Pleasure.

voluptās, voluptātis [**volō**, *desire*], *f.*, *pleasure, enjoyment, satisfaction, delight.*

vōtum, -ī [**voveō**, *vow*], *n.*, *a solemn pledge; vow, prayer.*

vōx, vōcis, *f.*, *voice, utterance, sound, cry; word, speech; order, command.*

vulnus, see **volnus**.

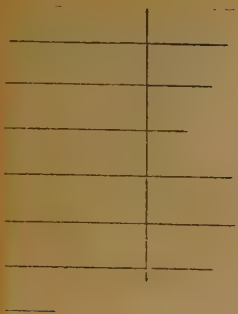
X

Xenophōn, Xenophontis, *Xenophon*, a Greek historian.

Xenophontius, -a, -um, *of Xenophon.*

Z

Zēnō, Zēnōnis, *m.*, an Epicurean philosopher, teacher of Cicero.



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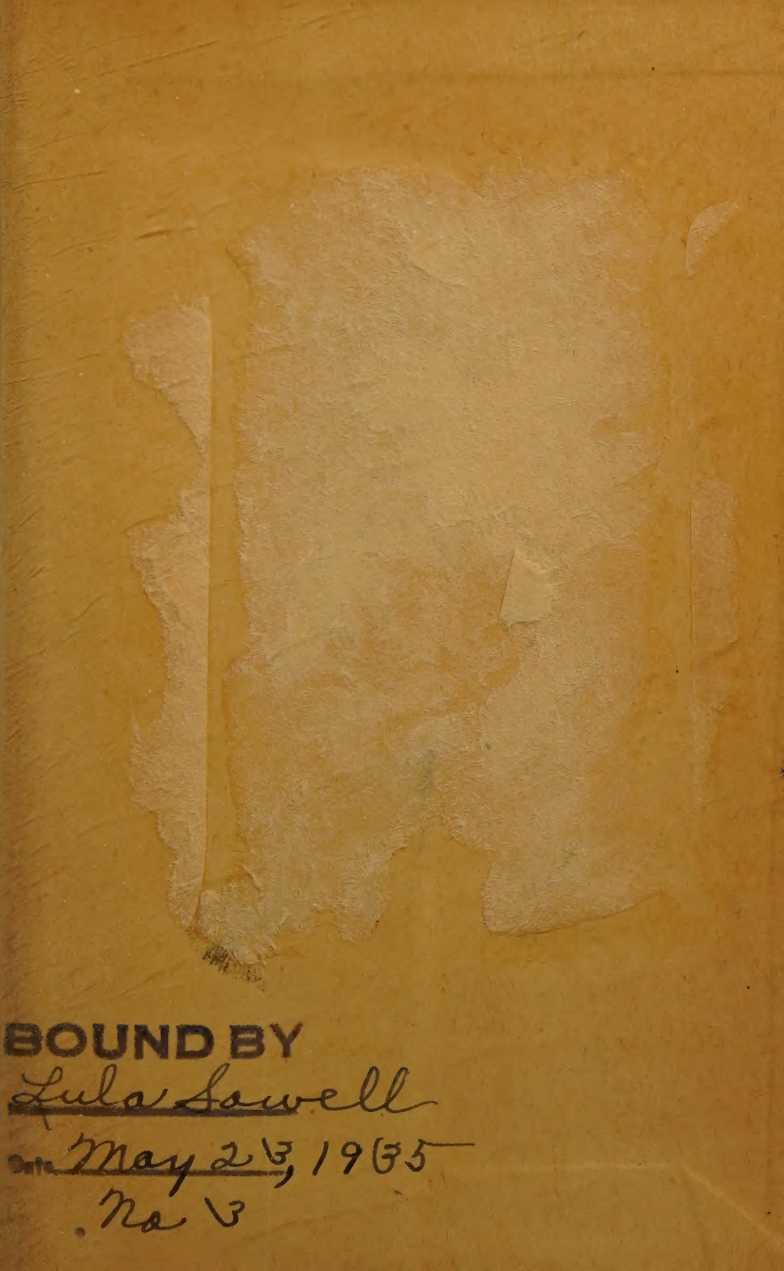

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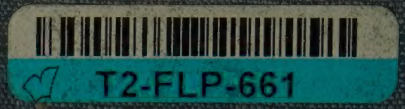
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